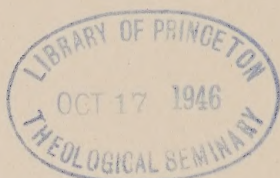


A HISTORY  
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EDUCATION





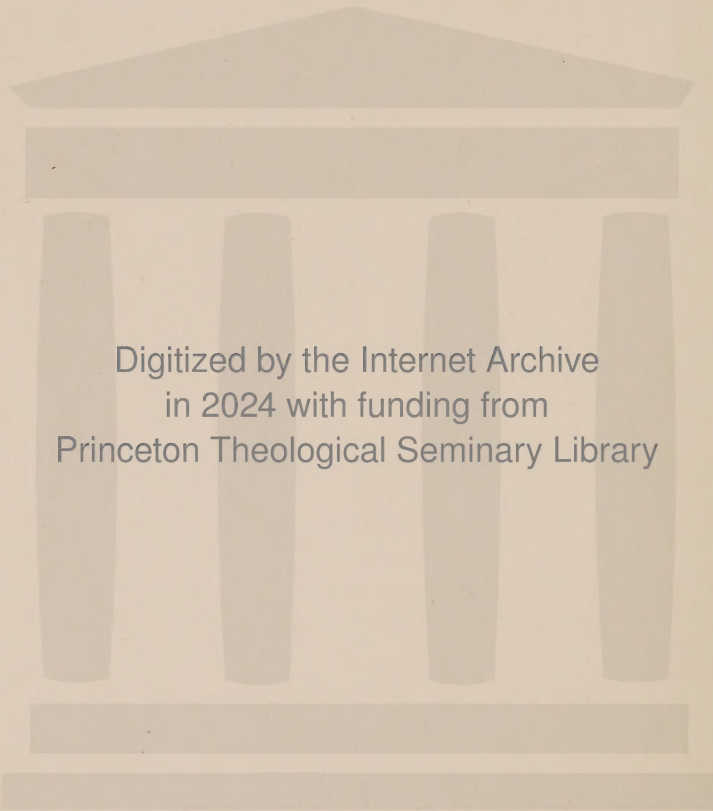
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PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

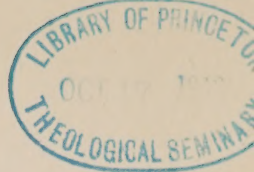
LOUIS P. THORPE, Ph.D., PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION AND  
PSYCHOLOGY, THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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# A HISTORY *of* EDUCATION



By  
JAMES MULHERN

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION •  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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## PREFACE

This book is the outcome of a course in the history of education given to students at the University of Pennsylvania for the past twenty years. It represents a selection of materials which the author has found to be a useful basis of class lectures and discussions.

It is not a history of education as it used to be presented, and, perhaps, as it is still presented in some schools. It is not a history of pedagogical theory and practice isolated from their social setting. Rather is it, in broad outline, the story of education in its relation to evolving society. Throughout, the emphasis is placed upon social thought, social institutions, and their evolution, as conditioning educational thought, educational practice, and educational change.

Where have we come from in education, where are we now, and how did we come to be here? This book represents an attempt to answer these questions. Whether or not the answer be the correct one, of this we are certain: our understanding of modern problems and practices depends upon our knowledge of their origin and development. The world is now emerging from a crisis in which education has played a critical rôle. The question thus arises: what of the future? Those upon whom the direction of the future falls must all give much consideration to historical forces, for we are all creatures of history. The teacher, who must remain tomorrow what he has been in the past, an architect and a builder of minds, ought to be aware of the rôle his profession has played in the making of the modern world, and ought to possess the knowledge necessary for a critical evaluation of the rôle which his profession plays in the present world scene. We are creatures of history, but we are more than that. We are creators of history, and we ought to create intelligently.

The present volume is designed for undergraduate students of education. Because of the limited time allowed in our teacher-training programs for a study of the historical aspects of education (an unwise limitation as it seems to the author), much less space has been given to primitive and Oriental societies and cultures than to Western society and Western culture. We are not in sympathy with the warped vision that has brought our preoccupation with the Western world and our Western cultural heritage. We merely recognize it as a fact. Apart entirely from the cultural indebtedness of the West

to the East, the Orient deserves to be studied for an understanding of the modern world, the "One World" in which we must all live tomorrow.

The story of Western social and educational developments since the Renaissance occupies the greater part of the volume, because Destiny seems to have established her abode here, and Western influence, for good or evil, tends to increase, even where it is most unwelcome. We bring the book to an end with the termination of World War II, which has again challenged us to evaluate wisely the civilization that we have been building and the education that has been so intimately interwoven with it. Where, throughout the volume, we have indicated or suggested interpretations of events and evaluations of ideals and institutions we have not done so in a spirit of finality. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*. Although causes and meanings in history are not easy to discover, the student will find it both interesting and profitable to seek them. Our interpretations and evaluations are presented to students to impress upon them the importance of seeking not only facts but also meanings and values, and to challenge their own thinking rather than to determine it.

What is true of all textbooks in the history of education is true of the present volume: the account is incomplete, as it must necessarily be. For that reason, the student who will acquire a broad knowledge of the field must resort to wide reading of the literature dealing with the subject. There is no substitute for such reading.

The writer is under obligation to many authors and publishers for permission to quote passages from their publications, and his indebtedness to them is acknowledged in appropriate places throughout the book.

While the author is responsible for all the defects of the volume, he is indebted to Professor Thomas Woody for many valuable suggestions regarding some details in the treatment of the subject. Dr. Sadie Bell and Miss Jeannette Weiss have given valuable help in preparing the material for the press, and Maud Mulhern, in the reading of the manuscript and proofs. To these and others who have contributed to the preparation of this book, the author is deeply grateful.

JAMES MULHERN

December 3, 1945.

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PART I

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN THE  
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## Chapter 1

### THE POINT OF VIEW

History is the story of man's achievements since he first began to keep written records, a period of about seven thousand years. With the millennia which preceded the period of recorded events, the historian, as such, does not deal. The events of the prehistoric period fall within the scope of archaeology, anthropology, and their allied fields. The historian, however, borrows material from the findings of these scientists.

It has been customary for historians to divide the whole historical period in the West into ancient, mediaeval, and modern. Such a division, while convenient, has no adequate basis in the facts of history. There is no exact date which marks the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the so-called mediaeval period; nor is there any exact date which marks the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. No "law" of history is so well established as the law of unbroken continuity.

### Education and Social Change

The present volume deals with the relation of education to evolving society from primitive to modern times. Ignoring the customary divisions, however useful they may be for purposes of general history, the present volume will deal with society and education upon the three levels of what has been called civilization—the primitive, Oriental, and Western levels. Each one of these has its own distinctive social and educational characteristics, and each later one, at its best, represents an onward step in the progress of mankind toward a goal which men, struggling forward, have only dimly comprehended at any time. The full significance of any period in history, the Roman period, for instance, is more clearly understood by modern historians than it was by the Romans themselves. Men are too close to the happenings of their own time to be able to see clearly the changes that are taking place around them. Looking backwards, we can say that this story of man, which we call history, has been the story of an everlasting struggle, a struggle of man against the world



and against men. At any stage in the struggle the final outcome has never been certain, sometimes probably not even foreseen. The world, as it is today, in its intellectual, moral, religious, economic, social, political, and educational aspects, is the result of that struggle. But the struggle itself goes on. From time to time the nature of the struggle changed: once, for instance, it was a struggle of man for life and security against the blind forces of nature and the beasts of the jungle; at another time, a struggle to establish the City of God and destroy the City of Satan; at still another time, a struggle of science against theology; and at times, if not always, a struggle of men for power. This conflict has assumed a wide variety of forms, and not one but many struggles have gone on at one and the same time. In all of them education has played its part; by all of them it has been affected.

At all times, and in every society, education has been the preserver of social institutions. When fundamental changes of an economic, political, social, or religious nature occurred in society, formal education, because of the long tradition back of it, tended to lag behind and to retain old practices which, because of social change, had lost their earlier meaning and value. Thus, eighteenth-century political revolutions brought fundamental changes of a democratic nature into some of our Western societies, but our education retains to this day many elements of the autocratic régime of the earlier centuries. And the Industrial Revolution, which had transformed our mode of economic life by 1850, left the academic character of our schools largely unchanged until after that date, and the reform of education demanded by the change met with strong opposition and came slowly.

### Origin and Nature of Institutions

All institutions are essentially the embodiment of ideas. Underlying every institution there is a philosophy, an attitude toward some aspect of life, an ideology, or a spiritual element. Whether an institution be a form of government, a system of laws, a constitution, a church, a school, a battleship, or a machine gun, there is embodied in it a spiritual thing, an idea. And ideas have sprung from man's environment, for men are not born with them. In different environments men's ideas, philosophies, attitudes, and sense of values differ. Thus, one born into primitive society comes to accept the ideas of his tribe; one born in China, the ideas of the Chinese; one born in India, the ideas of the Hindus. Often, however, men's ideology has sprung not from the present and immediate environment but from a past, the memory of which has been lost in the mists of a hoary an-

tiquity. The past is not dead. In each one of us our ancestral past lives on and, for good or evil, a racial and social past lives still in the races and societies of today. Some years ago James Harvey Robinson, in his *Mind in the Making*, offered a defense of the thesis that the mind of the modern world is only partly modern, many aspects of it having carried over from our primitive and barbarian past. In man's environment, then, both immediate and remote, originated his ideas. When the child is born it brings to its environment no mental "clouds of glory," for spiritually and mentally, as physically, it enters its world without adornment. The society into which it is born will adorn its mind after the traditional pattern, and in keeping with real or supposed needs.

### Factors Influencing Education

In the immediate environment there have been operating since primitive times certain basic factors, or forces, which have shaped man's ideas and his institutions. Of these factors, the most important have been: (a) the economic, (b) the religious, (c) the social, and (d) the political. The weight of the influence of each of these has varied from time to time, but economic conditions have been generally the most potent of all in determining thought. The significance of the economic force can be established by an appeal to the experience of men. Our primary needs are physical. While, for instance, it is true, regarding the spiritual and intellectual life, that man does not live by bread alone, it is just as true that he cannot live either physically or spiritually without it. In certain climates it may be possible to survive without clothing or shelter, but nowhere on this side of the "bourn" can man in his "mortal coil" survive without food. Unless and until man's basic physical wants are supplied, there can be no living of the better and fuller life, for death is the arch-destroyer of would-be creators of art, poetry, religion, and philosophy.

It would seem that in far-off primitive times the religious force, which has had a profound influence on our thought-life and institutions, originated in man's economic needs. Without knowledge of the natural causes of most of the ordinary phenomena of nature, and fearful of forces which he did not understand and which he wished to control, primitive man adopted animism as, first of all, an explanation of these forces, to him mysterious and, at times, dangerous, and, secondly, as a means of controlling them. While, at times, religious thought may have transcended the material and physical world, evidence of the close relationship between man's re-

ligious beliefs and his physical wants exists abundantly even in more advanced religious systems. The Egyptian heaven, for instance, was described by Egyptian priests as a field of beans where the corn grew many cubits high, and in the Christian Scriptures heaven is described as a place where man never suffers the pangs of hunger and thirst. The Persians, a warlike people, made their heaven a scene of a great military conflict between the god of good and the god of evil. It is difficult for men to think except in terms of their environment. This religious force, however we may choose to explain its origin, developed, as time went on, into an independent force and had, from primitive times until today, a pronounced influence upon education.

In its widest connotation the word "social" may be used to designate all aspects of life in any society. It may be used so broadly that it will include the economic, political, and religious aspects of communal life. In the more restricted sense in which we shall generally use it, the word shall be understood to refer to the organization or structure of society, and the interrelationship of the various parts of the structure. That is, in using the word "social," we shall have in mind the relation of the individual, as individual, to his whole social group, as group, and of the relation of sub-groups within the whole structure to one another as well as to the social whole. There is, moreover, a bond of unification within the structure of society which has its roots in the gregarious urge in man, whether that urge be native or acquired, and this bond is in its nature "social" as distinguished from such bonds as the economic, religious, or political. Just as many religious practices had their origin in the economic needs of man, so, too, many forms of social organization and custom had, doubtless, a similar beginning. Yet regardless of origin, the social force has operated, at times, as an independent force. Many ancient and, indeed, many quite recent social systems were erected upon a foundation of slavery. Class differentiation within societies has, to a greater or less degree, been an almost universal characteristic of social systems, and the present Russian attempt to establish a classless society does not seem to be approaching the earlier expectations of Communist social engineers. Each sex, also, usually held a position of its own in the social edifice. The condition of women varied in different societies, but generally throughout the historic period they held a social position inferior to that of men. Social tradition almost universally assigned to women, as it did to slaves and other classes, a definite status and sphere of activity. All such plans of social organization and forms of social structure were reflected in the educational practices of the past.



Forms of government have existed in society since primitive times. With their rise there emerged that influence or force which we call political. When primitive groups passed from the nomadic to the agricultural mode of life and settled in a territory to which they established their right of ownership, tribal government began to assume more definite form, and chieftains, who wielded considerable power, ruled over the territory, the right to rule often becoming hereditary. There is a close connection between the territorial fixity of a primitive tribe and the emergence of a strong central tribal government. Governments have been, indeed, significantly territorial in character. In primitive agricultural tribes there existed a territorial bond of tribal unity, which strengthened, if it did not sometimes replace, the bond of blood kinship, which must have been, at an earlier period, the basis of group solidarity. The political force gathered momentum as smaller tribes became welded together into greater and greater group unities, this process of unification culminating in the rise of great political states in Oriental and Western civilizations. These great states have been ruled by governments differing widely in form, some of them absolute despotisms, others democratic in varying degrees. But whether autocratic or democratic, established governments tend to perpetuate themselves. The nature of governmental systems has exerted a most significant influence upon education since the rise of Oriental despotisms. Of all the forces, indeed, determining the character of education in the modern world none is more important than the political.

Out of these forces grew the thoughts, ideas, attitudes, and philosophies of men, and to preserve and perpetuate these spiritual possessions men established institutions. Among these institutions we find the school. In some form or another, the school has existed among all peoples and on every social level. More than any other institution, it has reflected the conditions of life and the attitudes of the people who established it, for in the school all social forces converge. In a very real sense the school has been the embodiment of those spiritual realities which we generally call ideals. To understand any institution, one must understand the ideals embodied in it, and this calls for a study of the forces out of which ideals spring.

### Education and Culture

The word "culture" is very frequently used to designate the polished manners, refinement, and artistic skill of individuals. In the past, and today, the idea of culture has been associated in popular thought with the formal education and the intellectual and artistic



attainments of individuals who usually belonged to the privileged class or classes in society. But the word "culture" has another meaning. Many anthropologists and sociologists use the word to designate all the spiritual, as distinct from material, possessions of a people. Thus interpreted, a civilization, in its material aspects, is dead. A sphinx, a pyramid, a parthenon, a skyscraper, or a battleship may mark the character of a civilization, but these are in the category of the dead. A civilization, however, has in it a living principle, a soul, a culture, a something which of its nature is indestructible. A civilization in its material aspects may perish, but the animating principle of that civilization, its culture, lives on, usually with some modifications, in the civilization that succeeds it. Men may destroy their pyramids, their temples, or their battleships, but they cannot destroy the ideas embodied in them. An idea cannot be destroyed by any instrument of destruction which man has created. Cultures, not civilizations, are transmitted and inherited. When we speak of our cultural inheritance we have in mind, or ought to have in mind, all those spiritual things which have been transmitted to us as the fruit of the spiritual experiences of mankind, or of that part of mankind with which we are linked by the living bond of cultural relationship. It is true that culture, as we have described it, has its roots in the material environment. It is true that many of our beliefs and feelings center around material things such as tools, domesticated animals, or the Nordic race, but these feelings themselves are distinct from the material objects in which they have come to be embodied. While some modern writers disagree regarding the emphasis that ought to be placed upon the spiritual or material elements, the following statement of Wissler on the meaning of culture may be accepted as authoritative:

"As we shall see over and over again, it is a core of ideas and beliefs, actuating a people and in a large measure controlling their career, that forms the backbone, or at least the unifying element, in the culture-complex: but our experience with the peoples of the world indicates that whenever we find sharp contrasts in such homely and outward affairs as housing and feeding, we are certain to find equal, if not even sharper contrasts in beliefs, social ways, ideals, ethics, and in fact all mental attitudes toward things of whatever sort. Without pausing then to consider the significance of this simple fact . . . we may take it for granted that wherever there are sharp differences in peoples as to such fundamental necessities as housing, clothing, and feeding, there will likewise exist differences in belief and ideals, so great and having so much originality of form, that the

whole life complexes of these peoples must be taken as distinct cultures." <sup>1</sup>

Culture is, therefore, not an individual attainment, but the sum-total of the spiritual life of a whole society or an entire people. Each primitive tribe, for instance, had its culture, which acted as a unifying force within the tribe and as a divisive force with regard to all other tribes. Each individual tribesman bore the marks of that culture. Just as tribes put their physical marks on the bodies of their members so they marked their souls as well. Outside of his tribe there was no refuge, no life, for the savage. Expulsion from his tribe usually meant death. Ideas, feelings, and beliefs have been more effective in establishing and maintaining divisions among men than the wide expanse of oceans and the most impregnable military fortifications. Men fight as bitterly for ideas as they do for material considerations. Looking back to the cultural beginnings of the race, it appears that cultures have always been significantly racial, group, particular, or national in character. Enlightened men there have been who have dreamt happy dreams of a universal culture, and some notable attempts have been made to make these dreams realities. Krishna, Lao-tze, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Mohammed, Akhnaton, and Asoka were among those who caught a glimpse, in one degree or another, of a universal, world-embracing culture. From the East, the idea of a universal culture passed into the thought-streams of the West. We find the idea of universalism embodied in the Macedonian and Roman empires. We find it in the religious empire of Christendom. This Eastern dream, however, made some headway, for a time, against the force of particular cultures in the West, but modern nationalism is a negation of that dream.

The force of culture is the most conservative and persistent of all forces. By education, formal and informal, conscious and unconscious, the culture of the group is imposed upon the growing child. Accepted by the group and transmitted by education, culture becomes a most effective barrier against new ideas and against progress. With regard to this conservative aspect of culture, Wissler remarks:

"For one thing, new ideas that fail are said to be untimely. What is meant is that the idea in question does not readily fit into the culture-complex of the group and, in consequence, does not become a part of culture. It seems to matter not at all as to the merit of the new idea; it may be one of the basic conceptions of the next great advance in culture, and yet unless the tribal setting is favorable,

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<sup>1</sup> Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, New York: Crowell, 1923, 3.

humanity must wait. It seems strange indeed that there should be so much waste in the making of culture and the tribe be blind to the potentialities of its own best minds, or that man with all his power of thought should proceed by a kind of trial and error method in the working out of his own salvation. No doubt many times in the life history of each tribal culture comes a grand opportunity, which if seized upon with enthusiasm would make it the leader of the world. So it is that the tragedy of tragedies is the birth of a genius before his time."<sup>2</sup>

Of all the means by which culture has been preserved and transmitted, the language and literature of peoples have been the most significant. Language and literature have thus played an important rôle in the culture-life of peoples. Through the native speech, a people maintains its continuity with the past and, for a conquered people, the last, and greatest tragedy comes when the conqueror robs them of this vital spiritual link with the past. Through language and literature, have been preserved and transmitted the best, as well as the worst, ideals of mankind. Humanity suffers whenever we destroy any treasure-house of ideas, for some of the noblest spiritual conceptions of men may thus pass from remembrance. Music, various forms of art, and symbolism, in its many aspects, have supplemented oral and written expression in the preservation and transmission of culture.

This phenomenon of culture finds its practical expression in the customs, behavior, or in what is generally known as the folkways of people. And education has been the means whereby these behavior patterns, these folkways, have been impressed upon rising generations since the beginning of organized society.

### The Folkways and Progress

**On the Primitive Level.**—Progress is the adaptation of man to his changing environment. There are implied in the concept, therefore, two essential elements: (1) that of environmental change, which is something external to man himself, and (2) that of a spiritual or non-material change which takes place internally in man and is forced upon him by a changing economic, social, political, or religious world. Just as our thoughts and ideas spring from that soil which we call the environment, so radical changes in our thought-life have generally, if not always, been preceded by changes in our external world. Our spiritual life is dependent upon many external

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-184.



circumstances, and this outer world is very largely material in character. But material changes take place much more rapidly than spiritual changes. There has been something in the culture-life of groups since primitive times which has acted as a most conservative force and has constantly struggled against change, particularly against change in our beliefs, attitudes, and organized social life. As a result of this spiritual conservatism of men, there has always appeared, as a group phenomenon during periods of changing material conditions, what anthropologists call a culture-lag. As a result of this lag, serious social maladjustments develop. The machine, for instance, has brought a fundamental, revolutionary change into the external environment of Western peoples in the past hundred and fifty years, but no corresponding revolutionary change has occurred in our social, ethical, or political conceptions. There is much truth in the charge that while we now travel at a speed of three hundred miles an hour, our thoughts and philosophy of life are still essentially the same as they were in the horse-and-buggy days.

Men, as a rule, have always been fearful of change, for change has been a threat to the material security, the power, or the privileges of some, as well as a threat to the spiritual tranquillity of many. Primitive peoples, living in a natural environment, whose operations they did not understand, and in an imaginary environment which they themselves created, and fearful of these real and imaginary enemies, opposed all material and spiritual changes. In their folkways, customs, and rules and practices of everyday action, which were supported by the powerful sanction of the group, primitive peoples found repose from all doubts and uncertainties. Man, because he fears the unknown, the uncharted seas, has, ever since his primitive beginnings, and probably because he still inherits many primitive experiences, struggled against the forces that demanded changes in his intellectual, spiritual, and social mode of life. The generality of men today, as always, want certainties. In established customs, folkways, dogmas, intellectual and spiritual acceptances, men have found those certainties which, during periods of time, allayed their fears. But few, if any, of these certainties, these Rocks of Ages, have stood the test of time, and idol after idol has been cast aside to be replaced by newer ones. The history of man's quest for certainty reveals that what men have sought most ardently they have never found. For strictly speaking there is nothing certain except change; nothing certain except uncertainty. And what this visible world could not supply, men, since primitive times, have found in an invisible world which they themselves created. Beyond the boundaries of space and



time, in the world of theologians and metaphysicians, men have sought and have thought they found those absolute, final, unchanging certainties which this visible world could not supply. And this physical world became, to many philosophers, a world of mere appearances, of change, of unrealities; a world of "becoming" as opposed to the fixed, unchanging, certain world of "being." Rocked in the cradle of an ever-changing deep, where the demon of fear breathes terror into restless souls, man has sought for himself a spiritual tranquillity and has found it in the imaginary realm of the absolute. And that absolute, which is discernible only to the "mind's eye," men have tried, but always in vain, to embody in their earthly institutions, their monarchies, their empires, or their churches. This struggle to bring the absolute to earth appeared, theoretically at least, in such modern political experiments as the recent Italian Fascist state. But the absolute is today where it has always been, in the realm of dreams, in the world of ideals unrealized.

Primitive peoples found in their folkways, their culture, their traditional modes of life those certainties which they desired. Social and individual habits of life grew, through long periods of time, out of primitive modes of action. A way of right living and conduct had been found. Thus developed fixity of social custom and action. Digression on the part of individuals from the beaten path of conduct was opposed and thwarted by group custom and the group mind. Then, as now, the "genius before his time," who caught a glimpse of a newer and better way of life and action, lived in vain. We might describe him, as Matthew Arnold described Shelley, as "a beautiful but ineffectual angel beating in the void its luminous wings in vain." But, into primitive life and society change came, usually, it seems, after long periods of fixity. Had that change not come, all of us, who today call ourselves civilized, would still be savages. Change came in social life with every great crisis. Earthquakes, plagues, destructive wars, floods, exhaustion of the food supply, and all such catastrophic occurrences so changed the primitive environment that the savage was forced to abandon many of the old folkways and adapt himself to new conditions. It was at such times as these that the demon of necessity destroyed the tranquillity which the old folkways created, and forced an unwelcome change upon men. Peaceful trade relations between tribes must, also, have played some part in progress among primitives, in much the same way that intertribal or international commerce has always produced change in the cultural life and folkways of all trading peoples, a phenomenon readily apparent in our own day.

**On the Oriental Level.**—Thus, driven upward by a changing environment, men found, eventually, a new mode of social life, new certainties and new security, in the larger social unities of Oriental nations. Over long ages, the process of the blending of cultures had gone on, and with this blending went the growth of larger societies. Whole tribes and their culture became parts of larger wholes by the process of assimilation, the sword, no doubt, playing a part in the process. A settled agricultural existence contributed to the softening of cultural barriers. The change from primitive to Oriental social forms must have required untold millennia of time. The blending of tribes of fifty or five hundred families into an empire of 400,000,000 souls, such as the Chinese Empire, was not accomplished in a few centuries. Whenever or however the change to the Oriental social level first occurred, the dawn of history finds that man has definitely passed far beyond his primitive social beginnings. But on the Oriental plane of society men are still held together by their folkways, their culture, but these are now strongly supplemented by despotic political and ecclesiastical machines of social control. Still further, we find on this level that man has discovered a new means of communicating his thoughts, his ideas, to his fellows. Now man has a written literature. Primitive peoples used a variety of methods, other than the voice, of communicating their thoughts to others, but the voice was by far the most important. A primitive hunter knew how to indicate, by marks on trees, in what particular direction he had gone; carved sticks and other objects on which signs were engraved were often used to transmit the messages of chiefs within the tribal territory and beyond it. But while writing may be said to have originated in these tribal practices, long ages passed before man learned to preserve for all times the thoughts, ideas, and experiences of the past through the agency of literature.

Not until Oriental times do we find man in possession of this storehouse of past experiences, this cultural fortification, literature. Its invention not only made it possible for men to rise above the level of savagery, but its possession placed the Oriental in a position far more favorable to his effective control of the present and future environment than was his primitive forebear. And this advantage was due to his more complete knowledge of the past than the primitive possessed. The past has always been, and it continues to be today, a living, active, dynamic force. Indeed we might say that it, more than anything else, is the "divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." Every present has been, and every present will be, a culmination of its past. Man's dependence upon the past

is complete. In our language, our laws, our morals, our folkways, our knowledge, and our several institutions, we live not in the present but in the past. We cannot think or act rationally except upon the basis of our memory of the past. The individual man is so completely dependent upon his recall of experience by memory that, without such recall, he is as helpless in solving the most ordinary problems of his everyday life as the baby in its cradle. A man whose memory has been destroyed knows not whence he came nor in which direction his destination lies. Without an ability to recall the past, life would be a veritable chaos. The more fully we know and understand the past, the more certain we become of correct procedures in the present and the future. A complete and perfect knowledge of the past would place man on the pedestal of God and give him complete control over the present and the future. All of our failures to solve the problems of today, and tomorrow, are due, in large measure, to our lack of knowledge of the past. The more distant that past, the more uncertain, as a rule, is our knowledge of it; and many of our modern attitudes, ideas, and institutions are not of recent but of very remote origin. The great universe of nature and man that lies behind us is still almost entirely unexplored. Our heritage from that past is both good and bad. In its bad aspects, it is a reactionary force which all too frequently and effectively impedes the march of progress. And thus it is that all the beliefs, practices, and commonplaces that we just take for granted as indispensably valuable, are the very acceptances that need most to be questioned, and these are usually those of longest duration—those whose roots run farthest back into the life and thoughts of mankind. Some of these reactionary beliefs and practices are educational or pedagogical in character, and all of them, no matter what their form, have been transmitted and perpetuated by education in its formal or informal, conscious or unconscious, aspects. Tradition is one of the strongest of social forces.

It is because of the importance of this past for today and tomorrow that literature, the chief repository of culture and the strongest link between the past and the present, has been such a vital factor in the evolution of society. Small primitive societies, and they were all small, their population running from a few hundred to a few thousand, were easily held together by a feeling of blood relationship or a strong territorial attachment, but simple bonds like these are inadequate for the unification of the people of great empires. But a literature, largely religious in character, was invented by the priests and prophets of the Orient. This literature established that cultural bond of unity which was indispensable for the social stability and unifica-



tion of groups now scattered over a wide expanse of territory. It was indispensable there, for these men could no longer feel the primitive urge of family devotion, because the individual in that greater society came into contact with only a few human beings out of the many millions that composed an empire. On the Bibles of the Chinese, Hindus, Persians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Hebrew-Christians, and Mohammedans great civilizations were built. To a greater or less degree, all of this ancient religious literature claimed to be divine in origin. The best wisdom of the wisest men of a distant past was preserved in that literature. In it men found the answer to all baffling questions regarding the mysterious unknown as well as regarding the modes of conduct which will guarantee one's individual well-being in this and in an after-life. And it bore the seal of the great ones of a distant past whose wisdom came, in time, and under the influence of priestly indoctrination, to be looked upon as divine and authoritative. The authority of these books, within the various civilizations, became final. While only a few, as a rule, outside of the circle of an hereditary priestly caste could read this literature, the basic dogmas, ideas, and philosophy of life embodied in it were effectively imposed upon the masses of the people. The masses of the people in any great society can be held together, over a long period of time, by the method of keeping them in fear and ignorance as well as by the modern method of enlightenment, or what passes in much of our present-day world for enlightenment.

It was through this literature, through this culture, that the living hand of an ancient ancestral past weighed heavily upon Oriental civilizations. And we still, perhaps, worship our social and our educational ancestors, at times, not wisely but too well.

Again, on the Oriental level, as on the primitive, social habits became fixed, thought became uniform, and men believing. This fixity was attained through the influence of religious and political despots who made literature their chief tool. Men now, again, have another culture, other folkways, other certainties. Here men lived by that philosophy which teaches that "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end." They lived by the philosophy of "whatever is, is best." They lived by the philosophy that that is true which has been clearly and indubitably transmitted by the past. By the wisdom of ages these Orientals lived, never suspecting that much of that wisdom was deplorably unwise and an almost impassable barrier across the highway of human progress. As in primitive, so again in Oriental times, the folkways were passed on from generation to generation by education in one form or an-



other, but on this latter level the process, in its formal aspects at least, was, unlike that of primitives, a clearly conscious one, directed generally by a privileged priestly class, which was the strong right arm of a political despot who was regarded and worshipped as a god. But again crises arose to destroy the folkways and the certainties of men.

Oriental habits, customs, folkways, culture had to be changed. There could be no further progress until men had emancipated themselves from political and ecclesiastical tyranny; from mental, moral, political, and religious servitude. Another culture, other folkways, had to be found, for on the Oriental level men had not yet invented that way of life the core of which is individual freedom, political liberty, democracy, and fearless spiritual and intellectual independence.

No doubt many factors contributed to the development of the new crises, but commercial and military contacts, first between one Oriental nation and another and then between the Oriental and Hellenic, or Greek, peoples, were the chief causes of that spiritual disturbance which preceded the rise of a new social order in Greece and the West. Peoples exchange their ideas with their merchandise, and war has always been one of the transformers of material and cultural idols. The victory of one Oriental nation over another was considered to be a victory of the god and culture of the victors over the god and culture of the vanquished. And the victory was usually that of one deified despot over another. In these conflicts the ideals, the culture, of the warring peoples were involved, and victory was deemed a sufficient proof of the superiority of the gods and culture of the victors over those of the vanquished.

There came, then, to the nations of the Near East a period of contact and conflict, a period in which the process of culture blending went on apace, a period of crisis for the souls of men, a period of new uncertainties, when men were forced to learn the rules of the game of life anew. But those who learned the new rules best, and who profited most by them, were not the Orientals themselves but their spiritual progeny, the Greeks. All the peoples of the Near Orient—Cretans, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hittites, Aramaeans, Persians, Chaldeans, Medes, and Hebrews—are the spiritual forefathers of the Greeks, and in many ways of all modern peoples of the West. That much generally is known about our indebtedness to the Orient, but archaeological and historical research has not yet revealed the exact place where Western civilization originated. It has been established, however, beyond all reason-

able doubt, that our civilization originated in the valley of the Nile or in that between the Tigris and Euphrates. But, wherever it originated, the West added a new and important element to its Oriental inheritance, the element of liberty.

Oriental peoples accepted despotisms of the most tyrannical sort, whose forms became static, and unchanging; their intellectual life was devoid of that curiosity which is essential to discovery, their religious interest in the stars producing, however, some rudimentary knowledge of astronomy and mathematics; their tyrannical religious systems forced upon their submissive minds the acceptance of the most inconceivable superstitions and traditions; their art, lacking entirely the spirit of moderation characteristic of Greek art, took delight in temples, tombs, palaces, and other creations impressive not by their beauty but by their colossal size and strength; and their mythology was extravagant and unreal, like the stories of ancestors who turned night into day, or who lived for many hundreds of years before their hair turned gray. Here every aspect of life was marked by uniformity, a uniformity imposed upon men, and accepted by them submissively. The very opposite of this way of social life was discovered by the Greeks.

**On the Western Level.**—The Greeks, and in a very special way the Athenians—for Athens is the cradle of European liberty in most, if not all, of its aspects—invented a new way of life, characterized by variety, originality, freedom, and faith in the capacity of human reason and intelligence to solve the problems of a changing society. Of all the gifts of Mediterranean culture to Europe, the greatest by far are liberty and faith in intelligence. Before Greece, the world knew no liberty, except the liberty of despots to destroy liberty. Then, tradition, custom, and the folkways took the place of intelligence in the solution of social problems and the direction of human destinies. The new age of liberty, reason, and intelligence reached its height in Athens in the Periclean Age, 461–429 B.C. This was an age when the old Athenian folkways had completely broken down beyond any hope of their restoration. There were many reasons for the break-down of the old principles and habits of social life. First of all, the Greeks never had a religious literature, a holy book, whose teachings all men were required to accept, nor had they an hereditary priesthood which spoke with final authority on questions pertaining to truth and man's beliefs and conduct. The Greek mind was thus from the beginning a much freer mind than was the Oriental mind. This freedom made possible that free inquiry into the nature of the

physical universe and social problems which characterized Greek intellectual and social developments.

Since the seventh century B.C., when the Ionian physicists were exploring, in a very free and critical way, the mysteries of the physical universe, Greek knowledge of nature and of natural causes increased very rapidly. By the dawn of the Periclean Age, the old myths regarding creation and the nature of the universe had been definitely abandoned not only by the intelligentsia but by a rapidly increasing number of the populace, especially in Athens. Soon men who had learned to look at the universe with critical minds were to turn that same critical faculty upon the structure of society. And social myths, the old folkways, fell as did the ancient cosmic myths. To this final disillusionment, in which a critical philosophy of the universe and an increasing knowledge of natural forces played an important part, a great increase in wealth and power in Athens, in the years following the wars with Persia, and the success of a long struggle for political democracy in Athens itself, made a most significant contribution. The final outcome, which some social conservatives tried vainly to check, was the disruption of the old standards of social life. The Periclean Age was an age of almost universal disregard for traditions, an age of social unrest and disbelief, an age of moral laxity. It is significant that the greatest period of human intellectual and artistic achievement, the Periclean Age in Athens, was an age of the greatest moral revolt and disregard of traditional forms of behavior, and an age when the individual enjoyed greater freedom from social control than during any other period in history, with the possible exception of the Augustan Age in Rome, which is as notorious for its disregard of traditional morals as it is famous for its achievements in literature and thought. The Romans, however, were largely imitators of the Greeks, while the Athenians were creators. Francis Galton, in his famous book *Hereditary Genius*, in which he expounded the theory that genius is hereditary, called attention to the fact that, between 530 and 430 B.C., Athens produced fourteen illustrious men whose achievements have seldom, if ever, been equaled and never surpassed. Galton, however, ignored the influence of environment upon the development of genius. Whatever may be the importance of the individual's native endowments, it is a well-established fact that genius can come to the fulness of blossom only in a favorable environment.

Primitive and Oriental environments, over many thousands of years, produced few notable geniuses, and indeed the greatest geniuses of Athens were the products of slightly more than half a cen-



ture. During this short period, the racial stock of Athens remained essentially unchanged, the environment in its economic, political, social, and intellectual aspects being the changing factor. Professor W. W. Hyde, in an article which appeared in the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle of the University of Pennsylvania* (No. 1, 1935), has this to say about the greatness of Athenian achievement in the period 461-429 B.C.: "But in the short period Athens, never having over 250,000 inhabitants including slaves, literally produced more men of genius than all the world together has produced since in any similar lapse of time, and masterpieces rarely equalled and in some cases never excelled." This age of greatness continued, but with diminishing vigor, until Athenian and Greek liberty was destroyed by the Macedonians in 338 B.C. It is, indeed, more than probable that the new social crisis which resulted in the break-down of the restrictions imposed by the old folkways on individual liberty produced that thoughtful and intelligent approach to the problem of social reconstruction which appears, for the first time in history, in such social and political theories as those of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Back of that crisis lay an increase in power, wealth, freedom, and knowledge, which had been accumulating over a period of two centuries and which, in the fifth century B.C., produced a veritable social explosion. In the explosion, the individual broke loose from his old social moorings, from the old habits of individual and social conduct, from the old folkways, and set out to find a better or a best way of life. Particularly was "flaming youth" ambitious to explore the uncharted seas beyond which lay the ideal society, a society of unbounded liberty and unrestricted opportunity for the individual. And thus a free quest for Utopia began.

On the wings of a new instrument, that of *theory*, Greek social philosophers, wrestling with the problem of social reconstruction, turned away from the social system of the past, with its fixity and uniformity, and of the present, with its chaos and perplexities, and attempted to create the ideal society which would be permanent and enduring, and in which the individual would enjoy that freedom of thought and action without which progress is well-nigh impossible. Thus began in the social world of the West the reign of intelligence in the ordering of society; thus began the spirit of hankering after the ideal society which is still a characteristic of Western culture; thus began among men an age of enlightenment characterized by a critical attitude toward the past, by doubt, inquiry, and remarkable discovery, and by a struggle for freedom which, in spite of lapses into various forms of servitude, has brought remarkable advances



in many phases of life, and which still continues, although here and there among our Western nations the spirit of despotism recently raised its monstrous head. But the blessings of liberty, having been discovered, men will not readily relinquish. Byron, in *The Giaour*, gave eloquent expression to that faith of man in the value of liberty:

For Freedom's battle once begun,  
Bequeath'd by bleeding Sire to Son,  
Though baffled oft is ever won.  
Bear witness, Greece, thy living page,  
Attest it many a deathless age!  
While kings in dusty darkness hid,  
Have left a nameless pyramid.

The education which will prepare men for life in a society of ever-changing folkways, prepare them for life in a society established on the principle of liberty, must be different from that in the societies of fixed folkways on the primitive and Oriental levels. But, while Athenian society had undergone a revolutionary change, and democracy had succeeded autocracy, the old educational practices of the autocratic régime of earlier days continued, for the force of institutionalized educational tradition is strong. But youth demanded, and eventually teachers provided, a new education, designed to free the human mind, and to develop that critical attitude toward life and social practices which is essential to the preservation and improvement of liberal, democratic institutions. This new education has been called liberal, for it was designed to meet the needs of men who were politically free as well as to liberate the human mind from those forces which in the past had enslaved it. Many centuries of struggle, however, had still to elapse in the West before women and slaves were accorded that freedom which is implied in the idea of democracy, as we interpret it today. Thus, as our idea and our practice of democracy have expanded since the days of the Athenian struggle, so our conception of a liberal education has also changed, and today our progressive educational philosophers interpret a liberal education not only in terms of the political and spiritual freedom of the individual but also in terms of his interests, vocational needs, and aptitudes.

Thus men have been emancipated, but not yet completely, from the tyranny of fixed social custom and habit. Thus men have turned, but not yet completely, from the way of uncritical acceptance of the folkways, to the way of intelligent, critical, thoughtful questioning

of tradition and of deliberate striving for better things. And faith in the new way of life finds unquestionable justification in the fact that, in a few centuries (about six in all) of critical outlook and of comparative freedom, Western peoples have accomplished more than was accomplished in all the other centuries, both historic and prehistoric, during which the spirit of man was enslaved by social custom and the deadening reactionary hand of unreasonable and arbitrary authority.

### The Individual, Society, and Progress

It follows from what has already been said that the freedom of the individual is essential to progress, and indispensable to the well-being of democratic societies. The greatness of any society will depend, in the long run, upon the greatness of the individuals who compose it. As John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty* remarked: "A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished." In most primitive societies, only an occasional individual, usually one whose warlike exploits were of the most extraordinary character, enjoyed a measure of personal liberty. Often such a one became a tribal chief. In Oriental societies, only the political and religious aristocracy—and these were but a small fraction of the entire population—enjoyed a form of liberty, but even these were not spiritually free, for traditional beliefs and fears of the supernatural and unknown, as well as the force of age-old custom, set definite and narrow limits to the circle within which they might enjoy freedom. The minds even of the priests of the ancient Orient were uncritical and submissive. The West discovered the value of individual liberty, individual intelligence, and individual initiative, and on these foundations our modern democracies have been established. They will continue only so long as they provide for the fulness of growth of the individuals who compose them; only so long as they continue to provide an education which will develop in their citizens a critical, forward-looking, vigilant attitude. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and in thoughtful, intelligent planning for the future lies the promise of a better world tomorrow. In this building of the better world, the teachers of the future will take a prominent part. While thinking forward, they must constantly look back to the course of social and educational evolution in the past, so that they may not lose that sense of direction, without which no one can say

whether or not the next step is a step forward or a step backward. What the direction has been, history reveals. What it will be tomorrow, the historian ought to be able to predict.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

The topics for further study appended to the chapters of this book are but a few of the many which might be listed. They will, it is hoped, stimulate thought about the meanings of things, and suggest other topics for study and discussion.

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. It can be proved by an appeal to history and to personal experience that not all ideas spring from the environment in which men live, or with which they come into contact.

2. Since education comes from life and experience rather than from books, book learning could be dispensed with without detriment to individual or social well-being.

3. Progress and individual freedom are myths, because culture, which is an enemy of both, is opposed to all change and to all attempts of individuals to introduce changes into the traditional ways of social life.

4. As each individual is largely a product of his ancestral past, so each society is a product of its social past. Psychology and history are very inexact sciences because of the necessarily limited knowledge of the past which scientists in these fields possess, or can acquire.

5. The history of education is of doubtful value in the education of future teachers because it throws no light upon the practical problems with which they will have to deal.

6. Since history and philosophy deal with two separate and unrelated fields of knowledge, the history and philosophy of education are likewise separate and unrelated fields, and the latter does not depend in any sense upon the former.

7. The doctrines of "change" and "struggle," which have profoundly influenced men's thinking about life, especially since Darwin's time, find but little confirmation in the facts of history. The view that we ought to educate youth for "a changing civilization" is likely to lead to a neglect of the "eternal verities" and to social chaos. Education can be too progressive even in a democracy.

8. The future is determined by the past, and therefore men cannot control it.

9. Since the individual is not merely a creature of his environment but a moulder of it as well, he ought to be given prominent consideration in the story of social evolution.

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## Chapter 2

### THE EDUCATION OF PRE-LITERATE PEOPLES

**Who Are the Pre-literate Peoples?**—It has been asserted that the invention of the phonetic alphabet was man's first step from savagery to civilization. Such an assertion is based upon a very narrow concept of civilization, which indeed ought to involve all forms of human activity and achievement. Nevertheless, the alphabet and literature are a very important aspect of the boundary between primitive and Oriental societies. Pre-literate peoples, usually referred to as primitives or savages, have their own peculiar social and educational institutions. From primitive civilization our modern civilization has evolved, and the steps in that evolution have been traced very clearly by the scientist and the historian. The word "primitive" must not be interpreted literally, for we know nothing about society in its first and completely primitive stage. The inference, however, that societies have evolved from a gregarious ancestry is indisputable. Anthropologists apply the term primitive to those people, clearly human in every basic respect, who live today in a pre-literate, arrested stage of civilization. These people, still found in many parts of the world, are the primitives with whose social and educational practices we are here concerned.

#### The Primitive Environment

**Economic Aspects.**—Men have always lived not in one but in three environments: (a) that of the physical and animal world—the physical environment, (b) that of social relationships—the social environment, and (c) that of ghosts or mysterious forces—the "imaginary environment." Underlying these three environments, or these aspects of the general environment, and related to them all, have been certain basic forces, the most influential being the economic force. Man's primary needs, those for food, clothing, and shelter, had a profound influence upon his mode of physical and cultural life. The mode of satisfying physical wants differed under different geographical and cultural conditions, but the wants of the body had, everywhere, to be supplied. Anthropologists generally agree that hunger and sex are the basic forces motivating society,

and that of these the food urge is the most compelling motive in the life of an individual and a community. While the food quest is the most important activity both of individuals and of communities on the primitive social level, many aspects of primitive life cannot be explained in terms of economic needs. There are many primitive practices that do not harmonize with the doctrine of economic determinism, proposed by some anthropologists and historians as explanatory of all human activities. A primitive may, for instance, grow more yams than he can possibly eat, his motive being to attract attention to his wealth and to enhance his prestige in the community. And history supplies many examples of men who have submitted to martyrdom for political, social, or religious ideals, the economic motive for accepting death being difficult, if not impossible, to establish in many such cases.

In primitive society the food quest is the chief activity of every individual, and the most important institutions and practices have to do with the acquisition, 'ownership, and distribution of food. Indeed, one of the strongest bonds of social unification among primitives is the nutritive bond. Commensalism is often a custom of savages and it seems to create a feeling of good fellowship. Sex is largely a disruptive force which primitives have to check by such devices as taboos, but the food quest calls for coöperation which is encouraged in many ways by tribal custom. The primitive family is essentially economic in character, the need for food being the chief bond of attachment between the child and its parents, the primitive child being indeed sometimes inhumanly treated and often put to death when food is scarce.<sup>1</sup> The supply of food is meager, and primitive man does not live far from the starvation level. Successful food-getters, therefore, stand high in social esteem, and their personal qualities and skills are greatly admired. Primitives, too, believe that success in the food quest is impossible without the help of supernatural agencies, and a whole system of magic surrounds the various economic activities of the tribe, special magicians often performing the crude and weird rites thought to be necessary if success in the economic struggle is to be assured. Food prohibitions are numerous as, for example, among Australian aborigines where pre-adolescent boys are forbidden to eat a variety of food, and younger women may not eat any of a long list of delicacies such as kangaroo tail or parrots. Many of the restrictions are connected with the wor-

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<sup>1</sup> A. J. Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, New York: Putnam, 1913; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Law*, London: Methuen, 1924, 73-74.

ship of totems and applied to all members of the tribe, although food conservation and respect for the authority and palates of the tribal elders, who often eat the delicacies forbidden to the younger generation, are evidently important purposes of many prohibitions.<sup>2</sup> These tribal food regulations are an important part of the education of tribal youth. Indeed, plans of social organization, through which youths receive much of their unconscious and informal education, are frequently of economic significance.

Economic activities are everywhere divided between males and females, and in certain tribes there is another division of labor on the basis of age, males, in this case, being organized into "age-grades" each having its own economic duties to perform. The usual duties of men are fighting, hunting, and protection of their families, while those of women are housekeeping, the care of the children, gardening, and carrying burdens, for primitive women are the beasts of burden, as many women in societies on higher social levels continued to be until modern times. The successful exploitation of the environment makes necessary the coöperation of all members of the tribe. To this end labor was divided and, by the most stringent tribal and totemic sanctions and taboos, the traditional division of labor was continued through the long ages of tribal existence, apparently with little, if any, modification, for the primitive did not change his way of life unless some grave crisis arose which compelled him to change his ancient habits. Some of the food procured by this labor is recognized as the property of the individual or his family, but much of it belongs to a wider kinship group. Tribal custom frequently compels the hunter to apportion the flesh of the animal he captures among a wide circle of kinsmen, while it permits him to keep a mere morsel of the worst meat for himself.

The social aspect of food is, then, apparent among many primitive tribes. Yet communism in property is exceptional on the primitive level, although tribal over-right to tribal territory and the hunting-grounds is usually recognized and, in the case of hunting, established in practice. Family exclusiveness and well-defined family rights in regard to children, personal belongings, and portions of tribal lands in agricultural tribes, are the tradition and practice among most primitive peoples.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> S. Porteus, *The Psychology of a Primitive People*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1931, 255-269.

<sup>3</sup> B. Malinowski, *The Family among Australian Aborigines*, University of London Press, 1913, 149-165; E. S. Hartland, *op. cit.*, 85 ff.; N. Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society*, New York: Brentano, 1928, 220-240; Robert Lowie, *Primitive Society*, New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920, 205-256.



In addition to the problem of food-getting, primitive peoples are also concerned with the economic problems of securing clothing and shelter. Methods of clothing the body differ with different tribes and are determined by climatic conditions and the folkways. The Australian aborigines cover the body with animal fats which they mix with red clay. In addition to this, they wear animal skins in winter. They use animal skins also as bed covering in colder weather. Very little clothing, however, is worn by either sex. The women erect temporary dwellings built of tree limbs and covered with earth. In addition to these temporary dwellings, there are permanent dwellings, sometimes of stone, which the men help to erect.

Connected with the economic activities of primitives, a variety of industries, arts, and crafts developed. The hunter, the fisherman, the gardener, the artisan, or the warrior needed his tools or his weapons, and many technical skills were essential to the satisfaction of basic economic needs. All the arts and crafts and technical abilities of primitives are relative to their environment, but everywhere the excellence with which they perform the activities necessary to supply their economic wants is remarkable. Snares, traps, bows, arrows, spears, and nets, for instance, are needed by hunters and fishermen; gardening implements are needed by gardeners; many household utensils are needed by the women. Primitives are adept in making these tools, but specialization in the arts and crafts is decidedly rare, although a few men and women, in an occasional tribe, specialize in a few crafts, and their children pursue the same occupations as their parents.<sup>4</sup> Changes or improvements of these tools, weapons, and utensils were rarely introduced, for the primitive became spiritually attached, by the bond of culture, to the implements of his economic life. While the forms of legends or myths of primitives show evidence of more frequent change, the shapes of the material objects which primitives used did not change for thousands of years, for primitives accept these as a product of nature itself.<sup>5</sup>

The ways in which primitives use these implements and the methods they employ in their various economic activities are also of considerable interest and significance. The primitive hunter, for instance, baits, allures, stalks, and snares his prey with remarkable skill. The primitive fisherman and the primitive agriculturist follow the traditional methods of the tribe which, while they are crude, are on the whole remarkably successful and always skillfully used. With

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, Oxford University Press, 1932, 33-72; N. Miller, *op. cit.*, 241-248.

<sup>5</sup> R. Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, 41 ff.



all of these methods some form of magic came to be associated, and thus they became traditional and fixed. As the implements of primitive economic life almost never changed, so the methods of using them likewise remained unaltered over long periods of time.

All of these skills in the arts and crafts and all of these methods of economic activity are transmitted from generation to generation by apprenticing, as it were, the boys and girls of the tribe to their parents and elders, whose activities they learn to imitate, and to imitate exactly. By exact imitation the traditional experiences, customs, and methods are transmitted unchanged. Much of the education of the primitive youth has to do with the economic aspect of his life, but this particular phase of his education is informal and sometimes unconscious, being determined by the basic physical wants of the tribal group and its individual members and taking the form of spontaneous reaction to environmental conditions.

**Social Aspects.** (a) **GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.**—Economic needs and conditions underlie many primitive social practices. While generalizations about tribal institutions are dangerous, few exceptions will be found to the assertion that the family is the most universal and persistent of primitive social institutions. While it has a variety of forms, it appears everywhere as a group which comprises a married couple and their children. The reasons for it are economic and biological rather than sociological, but nevertheless it is but a part of a larger social group, the clan, or tribe.<sup>6</sup>

Above the family comes the clan, which is essentially an extended family and which is based generally on actual blood relationship of the individuals who compose it. It is an aggregation of families leading an orderly and stabilized social life. Very definite laws, customs, and rules, hoary with antiquity, govern the relationships of individuals within a clan, and of one clan and its members to another clan and its members. Thus, for instance, by inflexible and rigorous custom, an individual may be required to marry a member of his own or of another clan, and no one is ever exempted from such a rule. Rules such as these frequently arise out of considerations having to do with property rights which are zealously guarded by the clansfolk.

Above the clan stands the tribe, which is a group of clans speaking a similar language, having similar institutions, and using similar

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<sup>6</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *History of Human Society*, New York: Scribner, 1926, 109-120; R. Lowie, *op. cit.*, 63-74; Edward Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage*, New York: Macmillan, 1926, 23-24.

weapons, tools, and techniques. The tribe is essentially a cultural unit, other aspects of its organization being of secondary importance. Its existence, however, provides a cultural basis of unity in its territory, and makes the exchange of goods, commerce, between the clans freer and more effective.<sup>7</sup> An important characteristic of the primitive social group, which we shall call the tribe, is its very limited size or population. The membership seldom exceeds a few thousand. Another important characteristic of this group is its solidarity and like-mindedness. There are many ties that bind the tribal members together. The necessity for food, clothing, and shelter demands a common struggle and creates a food or nutritive bond of great cohesive force. The actual or imaginary bond of blood-kinship, and the territorial bond which results from long-continued life on the ancestral lands of the tribe are unifying forces of great importance. The good earth to which tribes have been long attached takes on a sacred significance, and profound emotions grow out of that attachment. Tribes fight to death for their territory. Removal from that territory results sooner or later in the disintegration of the tribe. When some tribes are forced to wander they take earth from the old territory with them, for with that earth have long been linked the spirits of their ancestors, and earth spirits. Related to this territorial bond of unity is that cohesive force which grows out of long-continued propinquity or contiguity.

(b) PRIMITIVE SOCIAL EQUALITY.—Within the tribe social distinctions and inequalities are generally unobtrusive. Where these exist they are usually distinctions of rank, which come with meritorious achievements of individuals, rather than with birth. While it is dangerous to generalize, it can be safely stated that primitive youths generally begin life on a basis of equality, an equality which is seldom seriously disturbed. Whatever differences in rank or prestige develop in the course of time, they are the result of psychological differences which exist at birth, or of wealth, wisdom, or unusual prowess of individuals. Even when distinctions based on wealth arise, the poor man usually enjoys the privilege of entering the home, or sitting at the table, of his wealthy neighbor as an equal. Here and there among primitives an hereditary caste system has developed. While students of primitive society stress, as a rule, the apparent practice of the subordination of the individual by his group, there is a degree of individualism possible for the primitive man

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<sup>7</sup> R. Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, vii-ix; F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 109-112; R. Lowie, *op. cit.*, 17-38, 40-74.

which makes him something better than a mere cog in the social wheel.<sup>8</sup> A form of social distinction or prestige usually attaches to the tribal elders, maturity of age being the only factor determining this distinction. Where centralized government, under the control of a powerful chief, has not developed, or developed only in an imperfect way, much authority is vested in the elders of the tribe, and they enjoy many privileges which are denied to the younger generation. In societies in which the males are graded into groups according to age, the old men enjoy a great prestige. Women never appear to be graded in this way in any primitive society.<sup>9</sup>

In some primitive groups, secret societies exist, and those admitted to them have a social standing of exceptional character, but membership in such societies is not hereditary. These supplement the family and the tribe as a force making for tribal cohesion, their secret character inspiring outsiders with awe and curiosity. They act as further agencies of social control in tribes which have no strong chiefs, and their members are carefully selected and enjoy special privileges.<sup>10</sup>

Among primitives, medicine men, or shamans, occupy a somewhat unique social position. They rose to prominence chiefly because of their reputed success in dealing with the ghosts of the imaginary environment, and their position became hereditary in many tribes. Primitives believe that the medicine man is able to control all forces of evil, and he is thus revered with awe and respect. He is physician, clairvoyant, spiritualist, diviner, prophet, necromancer, and a variety of other weird things, at one and the same time. He is the intermediary between man and the supposed mysterious powers with which unenlightened men populate their world. The institution of shamanism acts as a conservative social force which aids the tribal government in preserving unchanged the beliefs and usages of the group. The medicine man is exempted from the hard labor of the ordinary tribesman, a fact which gives rise to the question as to how much the desire to escape from irksome duties had to do with the rise of many of our professions. The shaman is thought to possess special knowledge considered to be indispensably useful to the people of the tribe, and this supposed knowledge is a basis of social distinction for those who possess it.

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<sup>8</sup> R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, New York: Boni & Liveright, 1924, 3, 76-81; R. Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, 79-83.

<sup>9</sup> S. Porteus, *op. cit.*, 255-269; Roland Dixon, *The Building of Cultures*, New York: Scribner, 1928, 210.

<sup>10</sup> W. J. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, University of Chicago Press, 1909, 792 ff.



In addition to medicine men, many tribes have their story-tellers or tribal historians whose duty it is to learn and transmit the lore of the tribe. These experts in the folklore of the tribe are not priests, an office in society first held by the shamans. To this special group of story-tellers ought to be added also the professional dancers and musicians of the tribe. Medicine men, the primitive priests, contributed little, if anything, to the origin of music and dancing, although they indulge in a religious dance which is peculiarly their own. There is little evidence of a conclusive character to support the claim that history and art, in its many forms, had a priestly origin.<sup>11</sup>

(c) SEX AS THE CHIEF BASIS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION—THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.—It has been noted that labor in primitive society is divided mainly on the basis of sex, although the medicine man, among all primitive peoples, and an occasional individual possessed of some special knowledge or skill, in scattered tribes, represent the beginnings of vocational specialization. These practices are, however, exceptional, and it is the lack of specialization that is the conspicuous characteristic of primitive economic ways of life. Males and females, however, always occupy distinctly separate spheres in the tribal social and economic organization. The status of women and social customs regulating their place and duties in primitive societies differ widely as we pass from one tribe to another. There are groups in which descent is traced from the mother, and groups in which it is traced from the father, these latter being the more numerous. In matrilineal groups the mother's brother exercises considerable authority over his sister's property and children, and in patrilineal groups husbands are not infrequently "hen-pecked." Spinsters and widows are rare among primitives, for social custom frowns upon the single status of either male or female adults. Marriage, too, brings economic advantages to men and women alike, the men generally having the greater advantage.

The primitive woman is valued mainly as an economic asset. Her chief duties are cooking, providing shelter, gardening, and bearing children. Frequently she is purchased by her husband from her parents and, should she be childless, her parents are often required to provide another daughter to take her place. While in exceptional tribes the position of women is not one of marked inferiority, primitive women generally hold a position decidedly less favorable than

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 281-303; J. L. Maddox, *The Medicine Man*, New York: Macmillan, 1923, 1, 7, 91 ff., 132, 150, 240, 289; R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 3.



that of their male counterparts. A woman is prized generally as a laborer and a bearer of children, and children in turn are sought and prized chiefly for the economic contribution they can make to the family and the tribe. It has been computed that the percentage of tribes in which women hold a decidedly inferior position is 73 in the case of agricultural, and 87.5 in the case of pastoral, groups.<sup>12</sup>

Tribal custom assigns to men and women separate and exclusive duties, and this separation is preserved by a variety of sanctions sometimes so sacred in character that a violation of the traditional practices results in very serious penalties for the transgressor. Women, for instance, have, by the cultural tradition and the folkways of some tribes, become so jealous of their rights as gardeners that a group of them will seize and torture, in the most unspeakable way, any man who dares to look at them while they cultivate their vegetables, even though the furtive glance should be cast from a point far away from the garden in which they work. To have the labors imposed on her by tribal custom lessened, the women in many tribes encourage polygamy, because in this way they can have many helpers.

Women and men, then, in primitive society are clearly differentiated both as members of society and as laborers. Among some groups the sexes are so segregated that both are required to speak different languages on certain special occasions. Women are the household drudges, and men are the warriors and the hunters. And each sex is educated for its own exclusive duties. Girls learn the duties of women by assisting their mothers; and boys, the duties of men by assisting their fathers. And this is an education acquired by active participation in the real, actual activities of the home and society. In this field of informal primitive education there operated, in a very real sense, that activity school of which our modern educators speak so frequently and enthusiastically, but about which so little is done in modern educational practice.

(d) SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE GROUP MIND.—Since primitive times each separate social, racial, religious, and political group has been characterized by a mind, or an ideology, peculiar to itself. One can say that there is a Chinese mind and a Hindu mind; a Christian mind and a pagan mind; a Fascist mind and a democratic mind. This phenomenon of mind is a result of the formal and informal educational influences of each separate environment. Every child who is not an idiot has a capacity for acquiring the culture, the

<sup>12</sup> R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 193.

ideas and feelings, of his group. The primitive child, as it grows, assimilates the traditional ideology peculiar to his tribe. Each tribe has its own peculiar ideas and attitudes regarding such things as food, clothing, shelter, marriage and sex relationships, the economic activities of men and women, respect for elders, and the relationship of tribal members to totems and the world of spirits, etc. The sum-total of these tribal ideas is the culture of the tribe. The tribal modes of activity, or the customary methods of doing things which embody these ideas, are the folkways. Each tribe has its own culture and folkways which are uniquely its own and which mark an individual as a member of his particular tribe. Marriage laws and prohibitions, for instance, have been adopted by many groups in the course of human history to preserve and solidify such groups. Food laws and prohibitions have similarly been adopted for the purpose of marking off one group from another. And such practices have been so emotionalized by a variety of devices that the mere mention of forbidden food, for instance, is sometimes enough to produce violent gastro-economic disturbance in the devotee of a culture which forbids the use of that food. Economic necessity, no doubt, gave rise originally to all such practices and feelings connected with food, but the feelings and the practices continued long after the necessity that produced them had disappeared. They continued because a social, and often a religious, motive had been used to enforce the economic regulation, such motives becoming in time a part of the group culture, and culture, as we have seen, is a very conservative and persistent force.

While the individual in some tribes enjoys a certain degree of freedom in respect to a few aspects of his behavior, primitive man is not the unfettered being that Rousseau thought him to be. Unlike us, he has little privacy in his life, and anything unusual in his conduct is reproved by his fellows. The beliefs and customs of his people restrict his liberty on every side and he becomes a veritable slave to social tradition and religious terrorism. In every aspect of his life—economic, social, religious, and artistic—his freedom is destroyed by the immemorial customs of his people, customs which he has no desire to depart from, because from his very infancy he has been made to feel that these are the natural and proper way of life and action for the members of his tribe. There is scarcely an action which he performs with which is not associated some religious or other form of belief. He may believe, for instance, that sickness or death will result from eating forbidden food. He may believe that some supernatural power commands him, under pain of death, to perform certain rites on the occasion of a relative's death, or that

such a power forbids him, under grave penalty, to marry into prohibited classes. Social rules are thus almost universally enforced and perpetuated by supernatural sanctions. Some customs are so sacred that they are enforced by what is known as taboos. Any violation of such customs, which are sanctioned by taboos, stirs up the wrath of the whole community against the offender, and primitives make no distinction between voluntary and involuntary violations. So fearful are the consequences of such violations that the shock resulting even from involuntary infringements has been known to cause the instant death of the offender. Brutal floggings, mutilation, and execution are often inflicted upon the transgressor of tribal custom. In a society founded on kinship, no punishment is worse than exile, because among savages the alien is despised and permitted to starve, if he is not actually killed. And banishment from the tribe is sometimes inflicted for a violation of tribal custom. In tribes in which slavery has developed, offenders, for certain crimes, are reduced to servitude. Primitives, too, use the weapon of scorn and ridicule to punish a criminal, and this publicly voiced contempt is very effective because it is universal, and wherever the offender turns jeers and invectives are hurled at him.<sup>13</sup>

The control of the savage by his tribe is thus nearly complete. This is particularly true of the actions of the individual. While each tribe has its own *Denkart*, or way of thinking, to which the individual usually conforms, an occasional skeptic, or heretic, does arise, for restraints are placed not so much on thought as on conduct. And this freedom of thought is possible because the primitive, says Professor Radin, believes that thought is concerned only with the validity of his own inner experience and can have no effect upon the realities of the natural and social environments which he accepts as fixed and unchangeable. Indeed, the primitive probably enjoyed greater freedom of thought and verbal expression than Orientals for whom the written word and thought became themselves ultimate realities and the cause of visible things. By Orientals, the visible word was conceived as an expression of a creator's thought. The primitive "word" confirmed the existence of realities, but the Oriental "word" was something existing "in the beginning" and was itself the first and most enduring reality. In Oriental societies human thought was shackled by "words," and lost a freedom which it enjoyed on the primitive level. This freedom of primitive thought

<sup>13</sup> G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London: Macmillan, 1910, 451-461; B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*, 372-458; E. S. Hartland, *op. cit.*, 6-8, 138-141.



must not, however, be taken to mean that the primitive's conceptions regarding the fixity and unchangeability of the social and natural order are not themselves the fixed and uniform traditional conceptions of his group. The primitive, let us repeat, enjoys freedom of thought only in regard to his own inner subjective experiences.<sup>14</sup>

All of the social ways of life and conduct, the folkways, and all of the beliefs of the group regarding the social, religious, and physical world become by education, both formal and informal, conscious and unconscious, the ways of life and beliefs of each individual. From the acquisition of these ways of thought and life the primitive child cannot escape, because by the very fact of living in his group he acquires these thoughts and these ways.

**Religious Aspects.** (a) ANIMISM.—The word "religion" means that which binds. Viewed from a sociological and historical standpoint, religion has been a force binding individuals together and giving their group stability. It has played a prominent rôle in the moulding of the minds of people, and in the regulation of behavior, by producing the customary emotional reactions to the demands of different environments. The question has often been asked as to whether or not religion has existed at all times and among all peoples. The answer to that question will depend upon our definition of religion. Should we define it in terms of monotheism and an organized priesthood, its universality must be denied. If we say it is "a belief in Spiritual Beings," as E. B. Tylor defined it in his *Primitive Culture* (1871), then its universality must be admitted. This latter definition, almost universally accepted by ethnologists and anthropologists, will include all primitive groups among the religious peoples of the past.<sup>15</sup>

While some writers have denied the evolutionary character of religion and have argued for the existence of primitive monotheism, the preponderating opinion of students of the question is opposed to such a view.<sup>16</sup> The most elementary and universal conception in primitive religious thought is *animism*, or the belief that animate forces determine and control the actions of all things in the world, whether of men and living things or of inanimate things, such as rocks or water. The primitive then believes in the presence in every-

<sup>14</sup> Paul Radin, *Primitive Man as a Philosopher*, New York: Appleton, 1927, 41-61.

<sup>15</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Men*, New York: Scribner, 1912, 214; W. J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 698.

<sup>16</sup> P. Radin, *op. cit.*, 342-374; J. A. Montgomery, *Religions of the Past and Present*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1918; R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 99-134.



thing of an *anima*, or a "double" of itself, and that this "double" is the cause of nearly all the activities of man and natural things. To the savage everything is, like himself, a living thing. Some writers distinguish between *naturism* as a form of thought which addresses itself to the phenomena of nature, as apart from man and animated beings, and a co-existing *animism* which is concerned with all conscious and living beings. Other writers hold that *naturism* was the earliest form of thought and prevailed when man did not distinguish between himself and the objective, external world. *Animism*, according to this latter view, replaced *naturism* when man became conscious of his own subjective existence as distinct from the external world.<sup>17</sup> Levy-Bruhl questions the validity of certain aspects of the long and almost universally accepted animistic theory, but in this, as in some of his other views, he stands practically alone.<sup>18</sup> G. Elliot Smith holds that animism was an Egyptian product and was transmitted to primitive peoples in the period following 2600 B.C., a view with which few scholars, if any, are in accord.<sup>19</sup> Thus we shall accept the traditional view, which has not yet been seriously challenged, that *animism* is the religion of all primitive peoples at a particular stage of their development, and that, with accidental variations, it is common to all primitives today who have not been in close touch with civilization and Christian missionaries for any length of time.

In the midst of a world filled with strange forces and strange phenomena, some of them of dangerous and fearful import, primitive man was forced, by fear of physical want and destruction and by fear of strange forces which he did not understand, to inquire into the causes of things in order to control his environment. He feared the falling trees and rocks, lightning, earthquakes, and storms because of their capacity for evil, and to such happenings as these he gave an animistic explanation. The causes of many of the most ordinary natural occurrences he did not know. This ignorance made him dread particularly all those invisible agencies, or forces, which operated everywhere throughout his environment. Thomas Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*,<sup>20</sup> says that the fear of the invisible was the seed of religion. Every unknown thing or force was a source of dread to the savage. His religion, animism, which was the direct result of that fear, was the first religion, the first philosophy. Fear was then, indeed, the

<sup>17</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 16-18; Edward Clodd, *Animism the Seed of Religion*, London: Constable, 1905, 26.

<sup>18</sup> L. Levy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, New York: Knopf, n.d., 15-31, 38-68.

<sup>19</sup> R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 99 ff.

<sup>20</sup> II, 1.

beginning of wisdom. Animism endows everything, whether natural or made by the hands of the savage himself, with a spirit or "double" that lives in it and controls it. This philosophy doubtless arose out of his reflection upon himself, and found support from many experiences. His dreams, for instance, convince him of the existence within himself of a more subtle being, a "double," which temporarily separates itself from his body and, of itself, engages in all the activities of the wakeful man. Death, he believes, occurs when the double leaves the body and loses its way or forgets to return. Thus reasons the savage. His experience with shadows, reflections, and echoes strengthened his convictions. It is considered, among some primitives, to be a great offense to step on another man's shadow. Echoes are thought to be the voices of the "doubles" of men and animals. The creaking of trees is thought to be the sounds emitted by the "doubles" of trees. Night, indeed, for the savage is caused by the "doubles" of all things, which during the hours of darkness take control of the world; and primitives feared the night and its ghostly sounds and apparitions. Electric light has practically ended the reign of ghosts in the modern world, just as science has destroyed many other forms of supernatural terrorism.

Unable to grasp the idea of natural causes, primitives attribute most occurrences to the operation of supernatural agencies. The number of spirits in the savage world is infinite. To the primitive, this supernatural or imaginary world exists side by side with the natural world and is equally real. Nay more, some supernatural agency is looked upon as the cause of disease, death, fortune or misfortune, etc. Dogs, cattle, crops, fish, arrows, spears, human beings, and the whole infinite variety of things have their "doubles," their genii, their guardian angels toward which men must know how to act properly if they will live correctly and successfully. Some spirits or "doubles" are considered benevolent, and others, malevolent, and man must know how to act toward all of them. In societies far more advanced than that of savages, animism continues under many forms. The veneration of trees, holy wells and water, stones, bells, and many other objects is a survival from primitive days. Savages use bells to drive away evil spirits. The "doubles" of the dead returned to savages in their dreams, and thus animism led to ancestor worship, the grave becoming our first altar and our first temple; and many churches and altars have been erected over the graves or relics of saints. In the Far East ancestor worship has been almost universal. Egyptian civilization was built upon the tomb, and the deification of holy men in India and their canonization in

Christendom have been a common practice. The survival of primitive ideas and culture in later societies, and even to the present day, is attested by an evidence so convincing in quality and quantity that its significance cannot reasonably be questioned. Just as our bodies retain vestiges of our descent from lower forms of animal life, so our minds to this day bear unmistakable and, in this case, still active vestiges of our primitive origin.<sup>21</sup>

(b) TOTEMISM.—Totemism is the cult of some animal, bird, plant, or, much more rarely, some man-made object because of its supposed kinship with the group. While totemism has a very wide distribution among primitives in Australia, America, Africa, Melanesia, and parts of Asia, it is not universal, as animism is. Frequently the totem group believes that it is descended from the totem. Among some groups the totem is thought of as a most sacred thing. Totemic groups have developed a strong sense of blood relationship, and frequently bear the names of their totems. The forms of totemism differ widely from tribe to tribe. Among some tribes, for instance, the totem animal may not be eaten, while among others no such restriction exists; and exogamy may or may not be coupled with totemism. Certain characteristics, however, belong to totemism wherever it exists: first, the magical bond which unites the human group with the animal group, or other form of totem group, and, second, the strong feeling of friendship produced by the totem cult within the human group itself. Totemism has a marked influence upon the social character of every member of the group. Being frequently associated with tribal origin and descent, it links the present with the past and creates a feeling of religious brotherhood which is probably stronger than that of blood relationship. Its significance, therefore, for group unification is very great. Some of the most powerful taboos are connected with the cult of the totem. The savage's dread of, and reverence for, the totem is an outgrowth of his belief that the totem is related to the ancestral spirits of the tribe. Indeed, some primitives, ignorant of the biological relationship of father and child, believe that the spirit of some totem is the father of each child born into the group, just as Satan was thought by many a few centuries ago, and by some even today, to be the parent of many children born to witches in Europe.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> E. Clodd, *op. cit.*; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 10 ff.; J. Deniker, *op. cit.*, 214-222; R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, xiv-xvi, 99 ff.; G. Brown, *op. cit.*, 190-195, 218-224; W. J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 150, 308, 698, 715 ff.; J. L. Maddox, *op. cit.*, 5-6, 20.

<sup>22</sup> Montague Summers, *History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, New York: Knopf, 1926; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 19-20; N. Miller, *op. cit.*, 15-16; R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 137-145; R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 158-159.



(c) MAGIC.—Magic is the pretended power and art of controlling events and of producing extraordinary results by compelling spiritual agencies to bring into operation some hidden powers of nature. Among primitives, religion and magic co-exist, magic, indeed, being a religious practice. As embodying an attempt to control the forces of nature, magic is the forerunner of science, although magic is false and science is valid. Magic, however, cannot be called primitive science because primitives have much definite knowledge which they discovered by the scientific methods of experiment and observation. The primitive turns to magic when he enters the realm of the unknown. Some phases of his economic activities, for instance, of hunting and planting, are to him mysterious, and here he turns to magic. He knows, let us say, how to build a strong boat and how to sow grain, but strange forces destroy his boat and his crops sometimes fail, and so he launches his boat with magical rites, as we still do, and he sows his crops and cultivates them, supplementing his labors by the performance of magical ceremonies, and by praying occasionally for rain or drought, as we ourselves sometimes do still. Since the savage's knowledge of the natural world is, unlike ours, very rudimentary and limited, he turns to magic in connection with nearly every event of his everyday life. For him, there operates some mysterious power in connection with every single happening, and in every activity in which he engages. Birth, sickness, death, marriage, agriculture, commerce, and an infinite variety of events are linked to the operation of good or evil unseen agencies which he does not understand but which he knows he must control.

To control primitive man's unknown world, particularly the impersonal forces of the "Absolute," the savage turns for aid to the magician, the medicine man, the sorcerer. To these, however, he turns only when he himself is unable to direct his ends. There are certain common forms of magic which each individual performs, but there are other forms which only the expert magician can use successfully. In all cases the exact practices and the exact words must be used. Magic, too, may be either black, which is illegal and anti-social, or white, which is legal, social, and publicly approved. Witches, or users of black magic, are feared and often killed. To the magicians the tribesmen go for the medicine or charm necessary to produce the desired results. A wizard can sell a thief medicine which is supposed to put a whole village to sleep, and honest people will go to white magicians for drugs which are supposed to counteract the spell of the black magician's medicine. This dread of black magic creates a respect for good social forces and, thus, indirectly black magic con-



tributes to group solidarity. Some magical rites can be performed only by men and others only by women, these special prerogatives being derived from the special activities of each sex. Men may have charge, for instance, of magical rites connected with hunting, boat-building, rain-making, war, and wood-carving; women may perform the rites connected with pregnancy, dressmaking, and toothache; and both may be permitted to practise beauty- and love-magic. There are magicians who specialize in weather control, or in thunder control, or in control of the prices of merchandise. In connection with magic, fetishism flourishes, and primitives have always with them a variety of objects which are supposed to exert an influence on the good or evil powers that affect men's lives. Primitive fetishism has survived in the belief of some moderns in the efficacy of rabbits' feet, medallions, lucky stones, and a variety of other similar objects.<sup>23</sup>

There is a very intimate connection between the savage's religious and magical beliefs and practices and his economic life. Primitives put themselves into the proper religious relationships with all those animals, plants, and objects which have a bearing upon the satisfaction of their physical wants. The tribal spirits are worshipped and placated during crises in the economic life of the tribe and of individuals. Gratitude is publicly expressed to the spirits for victory in war, for rain, for abundance of crops and herds, for freedom from disease and the ravishes of wild animals. A definite ritual has grown up around the use of food; and sacrifice, as a rite binding men together and uniting them with the spirit world, is almost universal among primitives. Cannibalism, which no doubt had an economic origin, continued as a religious function even after the original cause for it had disappeared, and its relation to the practice of sacrifice and the social function of the common meal, which have survived in many cultures, is very close.

(d) RELIGION AND FORMAL EDUCATION.—It was chiefly out of these religious beliefs and practices that the *formal* education of primitive peoples arose. The instruction of primitive youths in the practical skills necessary to acquire food, clothing, and shelter was *informal* in character, as we have noted. But in regard to one's relation to the imaginary environment and its spirits, education of an extremely *formal* character developed, an education which stressed the purely *formal* aspects of behavior, the *forms* that an individual

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<sup>23</sup> S. Porteus, *op. cit.*, 49-234; R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 33, 54, 136-146; J. L. Maddox, *op. cit.*; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 20-21; G. Brown, *op. cit.*, 176, 236-244.

must observe particularly in his dealings with mysterious forces and the entire spiritual world of which, indeed, his group is considered to be a part. The savage's practical education was acquired informally; his formal, cultural education was acquired through the most formal rites of tribal initiation which, as we shall see, began at the age of puberty, and were the door to tribal membership.

**Political Aspects.**—Among savages, the political organization is at best poorly developed, although there are no groups in which one cannot discern the exercise of legislative, judicial, and executive functions by some form of authority. Australian public life, for instance, is dominated by the older men, and women are rigidly excluded from the exercise of anything approaching political activity. Among some Australian tribes an assembly of elders functions as a secret agency of government, whose proceedings are never divulged. These assemblies dispatch armed warriors to kill sorcerers, and take action in regard to other matters of general concern. The Arunta peoples of Australia have no such assemblies, nor is there among them anyone who can be called a tribal chief. The Aruntas, however, have a headman of each totem group whose position is hereditary, and a group of such headmen form a tribal governing board, which concerns itself chiefly with the regulation of ceremonials. Elsewhere in the primitive world one finds a variety of practices. Indeed, one sometimes finds a chief who rules by divine right and who is thought to be an incarnation of the greatest spirit of the tribe, a belief that survived through Oriental into modern times. Such chiefs wield great authority. From the standpoint of government among primitives, it is not the kinship group but the group as attached to a given territory that is important, for this territorial tie unites men whose lineage is not considered the same.

A variety of forms of government exists among savages, so much so, indeed, that one cannot say that any particular form of government is peculiar to men closest to nature. Government in some tribes is democratic; in others, autocratic. As has been noted, there are inequalities in primitive society which sometimes express themselves in a form of caste system, and government depends upon the character of the social organization and the economic arrangement back of it.

### Primitive Culture

In the sense in which we are using the term "culture," all primitive peoples have a culture. It is the sum-total of their ideas and

beliefs regarding the physical, social, religious, and political world in which they live. And these beliefs have to do with such things as food, clothing, shelter, tools, arts, industries, marriage, social groupings, government, customs, the spirit world, and totems. These ideas find outward expression in a variety of activities, practices, customs, and traditional modes of behavior which we call the folkways. Born into this cultural environment, the child acquires, as he grows up, the traditional ideas of his people, by a process of education that is in the main unconscious. During the formal initiatory rites by which adolescent boys and girls are admitted to tribal membership, the great secrets of tribal history and of tribal duties to the spirit world are communicated to the young by a process which is, in some of its aspects at least, the embodiment of a conscious purpose. And the folkways, which embody these ideas and beliefs, the growing youth acquires by imitating the activities and customs of his people and, with this group way of life, custom and powerful tribal sanctions force the individual to conform. Primitive education is then, in a very important sense, cultural in character.<sup>24</sup>

So conservative is this force of primitive culture and these folkways (and culture and folkways are highly conservative still) that primitive peoples are blind to the potentialities of their often very rich environments. Their culture renders them unable to seize upon better ways of exploiting their environment and of satisfying their wants. Travelers tell us that savages are unable to grasp the superiority of, for instance, the civilized man's more useful tools, unless the superiority is demonstrated to them in the most laborious and painstaking fashion, and that even then they may reject them in favor of their own crude implements. This attitude of aversion to the new, even though it is decidedly better than the old, is not due to any inferior mentality in savages but to the nature of their cultural heritage. Primitives adhere to their tools and customs for the same reason that religious groups in our own civilizations adhere to their dietary and matrimonial traditions. While a present-day anthropologist, Levy-Bruhl, holds that primitive mentality differs essentially from ours and that savages are not a logical but a "pre-logical" people, he stands practically alone in this view and the great weight of evidence and of opinion is opposed to such an interpretation.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> R. Dixon, *op. cit.*, 3-31, 33-71; E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, London: Murray, 1878, 121-123, 182-191; J. Deniker, *op. cit.*, 201-213; N. Miller, *op. cit.*, 3 ff.; W. J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 20-26, 593-664; F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 129-137.

<sup>25</sup> L. Levy-Bruhl, *op. cit.*, 361-386; P. Radin, *op. cit.*, 15-38.



Their cultural heritage offers by far the most plausible explanation of their ways of life which to us seem sometimes so strange.

### Primitive Educational Practices

**Informal Education.** (a) PRACTICAL.—To illustrate the educational practices of primitives generally, we shall examine those peculiar to the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, basing our account upon the studies of Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899) and *Across Australia* (1912). Some parts of the former study have been reprinted in Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*.

This tribe occupies a territory of considerable extent, and is divided into small clans. The number of individuals in a clan runs from about twenty-five to a hundred. Each clan occupies its own division of the tribal territory, has its own dialect and its own totems. Exogamy is the rule of these people; that is, the individual must marry one who belongs to another clan. The Arunta people have not yet reached the agricultural stage, and live on wild berries, wild vegetables, and various species of animals and living things.

Arunta mothers kill their newborn children when food is scarce or when they are already burdened with too many children. They believe, however, that the child's spirit will return again in some other child, for it is thought to be an ancestral or totem spirit which never dies. The parents are kind to the children whom they permit to live. In camp, the children laugh and play through the greater part of the day.

*Practical Education and Its Method.* Boys and girls under the age of twelve or thirteen live in the women's part of the camp and accompany their mothers into the scrub where, with their toy digging sticks, they mimic the operations of the women as they dig for roots and small animals. The children help the women to carry back to camp a collection of lizards, rats, frogs, etc., as well as grass-seed which the women bake into flat cakes. Thus, while civilized children are in school getting their experiences from books, the savage child is reading the book of nature and learning by actually doing in play the things which will later become a serious life activity. He soon learns, by this informal and playful method, where and how to find tasty bulbs and nuts. He is taught to note the tracks of animals, large and small, and the habits of all animal life in his region. The Arunta people can distinguish with the greatest accuracy the tracks of all living things, even the footprints of every individual known to them.



At about the age of twelve, boys pass into the charge of the men, whom henceforth they live with and accompany on hunting expeditions. The boy now makes and carries his mimic weapons as, indeed, he did even while he was still in charge of the women. With these mimic weapons he performs all the actions of the hunter, but as yet only by way of play. By this method of playful imitation of the activities of their elders, Arunta boys and girls acquire those skills upon the perfection of which their physical life depends. Not until boys have passed through some of the ceremonies of tribal initiation, at about the age of fifteen, are they permitted to carry and use real spears, boomerangs, and shields, for the possession and use of these are privileges of men. While Spencer and Gillen do not give a detailed description of the games of Arunta children, one can always infer from their remarks that the games are intimately related to life needs and that the children take an intense delight in playing them. Primitive boys become skilled marksmen with spears and arrows by participating in these games.

(b) PHYSICAL EDUCATION.—The body of the primitive child is thus developed by a variety of physical activities which in youth assume the character of play, but which in later life become the serious work of every man and woman. The physique of the Arunta man is excellent and his carriage is remarkably graceful. The same is true of women under the age of twenty-five. Probably because she is a beast of burden who pursues her work with a child on her back while she carries other heavier burdens at the same time, all of which deprives her body of that freedom of motion which men enjoy, the Arunta woman ages rapidly after she has passed her twenty-fifth year, loses soon all her grace of body, and seldom lives beyond the age of fifty. Dancing, which holds a prominent place in many social and religious functions, must be considered an important aspect of physical education.

(c) SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND ITS METHOD.—Just as the Arunta child is educated by living and acting in his physical environment, so is he educated socially and religiously in the same informal and unconscious way by actual participation in the social and religious life of his people. He acquires the language of his people, a language which embodies the various ideas or culture of his group. In that language there are no terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, husband, or wife, but there are group names by which all members of certain groups or sub-groups are known. The child will soon observe that with these terms, or names, certain inter-group

or extra-group relationships are associated, and that all his elders observe certain rules of behavior in regard to these relationships; the behavior differing with the relationship. A particular form of conduct comes to be associated with the group name, and thus the name takes on a deep significance for the child, which becomes even deeper as the relationship and behavior which it suggests is emotionalized for him by the invariable and uniform practice of his people as well as by the habits of action which he has acquired by imitating the actions of his elders. The Arunta child, for instance, learns by living with his people that those bearing a particular group name always and invariably marry those who bear the name of a different and special group, and he comes to feel, as his elders do, that any other scheme of marriage is unthinkable. Such feelings are developed by rules that, for instance, forbid males and females of certain groups to address each other except at a distance of from 40 to 100 yards as the case may be. By living with their people, the children learn that boys of twelve years of age must separate from their mothers and women-folk, and ever after associate with men; and this practice has been so emotionalized within the group that its violation is as unthinkable for the Aruntas as the wearing of petticoats by boys would be for us. Thus, unconsciously and informally the Arunta youth learns the modes of tribal relationships and of the behavior proper to his group. When his clan pays a visit to a neighboring clan, as it often does, the youth learns how to behave toward his neighboring tribesfolk, for, on all such occasions, there are the traditional usages which all observe.

By listening to his people and observing and imitating their conduct, he comes into possession, also, of the religious experiences of his group. The Aruntas live in a world of spirits which demands from them many forms of ceremonial conduct. Every newborn child is considered a reincarnation of one of the old ancestors and it is given, at birth, the proper totem name and becomes henceforth a member of its ancestral totemic group. The very name a boy or girl bears is a constant reminder of his or her relationship to the ancestral and totemic spirits and of the behavior proper to all members of the totem group in their relationships to the physical, social, and religious worlds. Children of the Aruntas come to know, too, that there are certain religious objects in the possession of the elders that are most sacred, and that these *Churinga*, as they are called, may not even be looked at by women or uninitiated boys. So sacred is the tradition that forbids women and children to see the *Churinga* that those who gaze on them even accidentally have their eyes burned

out with a fire-stick. Women live in horrible and constant dread of the *Churinga*.

Life, too, in the group is one of almost constant religious ceremonials from many of which women and children are barred, a fact which makes their mysterious nature all the more impressive for those excluded. These ceremonies which have to do with the totem animals and plants impress upon members of the totem groups their obligations. The youths belonging to the kangaroo totem learn that kangaroo people are responsible for the supply of kangaroos; those of the witchetty grub totem learn that their group is responsible for the supply of witchetty grub; and so on for all of the other totems, an economic duty being thus emotionalized for all members of a totem group by elaborate religious ceremonial.

A significant practice of the Aruntas, which is social rather than religious in character, is the corroboree. This is a sort of festival characterized by singing, dancing, and the most unrestrained hilarity. A corroboree lasts usually for about two weeks, and recurs frequently. All members of the group, including women and children, attend the celebration, although the men are the performers, the women and children being the audience. The men who perform paint and decorate their bodies in a most elaborate fashion, and during the dance gesticulate wildly. Their shouts, in which the women join, can be heard for miles. This whole ceremonial is extravagant in conception and in execution. At certain points of the ceremonies the performers assume a mien so terrifying that the women and children flee in dread from the scene. In certain corroborees the performers imitate the actions of birds and animals. This imitation of wild life is marvelously accurate and shows how keen is the native's power of observation. The corroboree is by far the most popular social function of the Aruntas, and relieves for a time at least the dreadful monotony of savage life. Whatever may be its purposes, it serves to enhance the prestige of the men in the minds of women and children, and it brings a measure of joy into the usually drab lives of the people. The weird colors and shapes in which the dancers appear and the even more weird yelling and singing of the performers must leave a deep impression on the souls of the children who witness the event. For the participants, the corroboree provides a form of physical education which, no doubt, contributes to the development of that graceful and sturdy physique which Spencer and Gillen have noted in regard to Arunta men.

Thus, by informal association with his mother, his kinsfolk, and his childhood companions, the primitive child learns the ways of life



of his people. By actual participation in the various activities of men and women, boys and girls become proficient in the performance of their own life duties. The whole atmosphere, too, in which the people live is one of almost continuous ceremonial. There are such elaborate ceremonials as those of marriage, of rain-making, of *Churinga* worship, and of totem worship, the most impressive of these being the *Intichuma* ceremonies which have to do with the increase of animal and plant life, each totem group having its own *Intichuma* ceremony. While women and children are excluded from many parts of these ceremonies, men during their entire lives engage in them, and thus the rites provide a form of life-long education for those who take part in them as well as for those who are forbidden for religious reasons to witness the sacred performances.

The Arunta youth, too, comes to accept by living with his people a variety of native customs such as the knocking out of a front tooth of every boy and girl and the boring of their noses, the letting and the giving of blood, the giving of locks of hair to certain relatives, the abstaining of individuals and groups from certain foods, and a variety of customs having to do with such events as childbirth. These customs, invariably observed, every youth acquires and follows. Nor can the savage, as a rule, assign any reason for these customs. For him strict conformity is justified by the fact that these are the traditions of his tribe. They are a part of his cultural heritage which is the fountain from which flows the spiritual life of his people, and from them he has no desire to depart.

**Formal Education.** (a) INITIATION CEREMONIES FOR BOYS.—Every Arunta boy must pass through certain formal ceremonies before he is admitted to full tribal membership. There are four major ceremonies, the first of which is performed when the boy is about twelve years of age and the last when he reaches the age of twenty-five or thirty. These ceremonies are:

1. Painting and *Alkirakizuma*, or hurling the boy into the air.
2. *Lartna*—circumcision.
3. *Arlitha*—subincision.
4. *Engwura*—fire ordeal.

They are performed by men who stand in some special relationship to the boy. Women witness the first ceremony and dance while it is being performed. The painting of the boy embodies some form of totemic symbolism. While it is being done, the boy is told that this first ceremony will hasten his growth to manhood, and that hence-



forth he must not play with women or girls but must live in the company of men. His nose is now bored and he begins to wear the nose bone. When this ceremony is over, the boy, who previously was known by the term *Ambaquerka*, a name applied to all pre-initiates, is given a new name. He is now called *Ulpmerka*, a name which he retains until after the ceremony of *Lartna*.

When the boy has reached the stage of puberty, he is subjected to the second ceremony, that of circumcision. His elders make elaborate ceremonial preparations for this rite without letting the boy know anything about what is going to happen. At the proper time, the boy is seized by three young men who shout wildly and, while he struggles to escape, is carried away bodily to the initiation grounds which have been prepared in the customary way for the ceremony. On the grounds he finds himself surrounded by men and women, the latter performing a shield dance. The women use shields on this occasion because of the belief that the ancestral women of the group did so, but women may not carry shields at any other time. Indeed, it ought to be noted here, and in connection with all the remaining ceremonies, that the chief events in the supposed history of the group are re-enacted and dramatized during the process of initiation, and the most solemn occasions in tribal history and the most sacred secrets of the group are communicated to the initiates at the proper time and in a most impressive ceremonial way. Around the boy men sing and women dance, while he is being painted and decorated according to a traditional ritual. The ceremonial grounds, also, have been arranged in accordance with the prescriptions of that same venerated ritual. Nothing has been left undone which would add to the impressiveness of the setting.

The preliminary rites having been enacted, the boy is placed alone behind a specially built brake from which he is occasionally taken to witness certain performances and to submit to certain ceremonies. A council of elders directs the proceedings. In the course of the ceremony he is told that he is no longer *Ulpmerka* but has a new name, *Wurtja*, and that he must obey, without question, every command of his elders who have charge of his initiation. Above all, he is admonished that he must never reveal any of the proceedings to women or children under pain of death to himself and his nearest relatives. Complete silence is enjoined on him except when he is spoken to, nor must he attempt to look through the brake into the ceremonial grounds under pain of some great calamity which, he is told, the great spirit will inflict upon him. From the surrounding bush the weird sounds produced by the bull-roarers

break occasionally on his ears. He has never heard them before, and he is told that they are the voice of the great spirit. In the meantime singing, dancing, the lighting of ceremonial fires, and other rites continue, the women being removed during many of them to a spot concealed behind the women's brake. The boy himself is occasionally called upon to perform an act or guard a certain object given to him, under pain of destruction by some spirit. For nearly four days he must live in partial seclusion to remind him that he is about to join the ranks of men and to enter a new form of life, as well as to impress upon him the necessity of compliance with tribal rules and of respecting the dignity and authority of his elders. On the night of the fourth day, the men sing the song of the totem ancestor who first introduced the stone knife at circumcision, and then yell aloud the words and notes of the *Lartna* song. The boy is now blindfolded, and when the bandage is removed he sees before him men dressed in the appearance of the totem animals and performing rites emblematic of these totems, all of which is intended to convey certain lessons of totemic history, while the boy is warned that some of the objects worn by the performers are sacred and must never be mentioned at any time or place where women or children may hear their names.

These totemic ceremonies continue for a few additional days. Never before had the boy heard the totemic and ancestral secrets of his people, secrets descending from a supposed great historic past, and now impressed upon him by a weird and elaborate dramatization of the events in the lives of the tribal ancestors of an ancient mythical antiquity. Again and again the *Lartna* song is repeated fiercely and loudly, while those who are going to participate in the actual ceremony of circumcision perform a variety of actions such as crawling along on their knees and covering themselves with dirt and mud, after which other totem rites are performed, during which some men mimic the actions of certain animals and others cut deep gashes in their arms, allowing blood to flow profusely. At various intervals the women enter the initiation grounds and dance, while some of them perform other minor parts in the ceremonial; and from the bush comes the steady sound of the bull-roarers.

On about the tenth day from the beginning of the ceremony, the youth is circumcised with elaborate rites, and thereafter he bears a new name, *Arakurta*, a name which he retains until the rite of *Arlitha* is performed some six weeks later. The ceremony of *Lartna* has been painful but the boy had to bear it courageously, and that of *Arlitha* is even more painful.

From the rite of *Arlitha* all women are excluded. The preparation for this third step in the boy's initiation is just as elaborate as that for *Lartna*, and the ceremonies are in the main similar, the time required for the preliminary rites being, however, much briefer. When the operation of *Arlitha* has been performed, the boy is given another name, that of *Ertwa-kurta*. It sometimes happens that, after the *Arlitha* operation, some young men who had been operated upon years before submit voluntarily to a second *Arlitha* operation, the supposition being that the first one had not been perfectly performed.

In connection with the rites of *Lartna* and *Arlitha* the new initiate is permitted to see and handle for the first time the most sacred *Churinga*, and to learn the great secrets regarding their origin and nature. By this time many of the great tribal mysteries have been revealed to him. At the close of the ceremonies he is elaborately decorated and is led into the presence of the women who greet him with dancing and singing, in which some of the men join, and which are continued all through the night. For three days, however, the new man is not permitted to speak to anyone. After his period of silence is ended he is invited to join the men in their camp and henceforth is one with them.

The last and greatest ceremony of initiation is that of *Engwura*, after which the initiate is called *Urliara*. The natives believe it gives strength to all who have been subjected to it. It is not a clan ceremony, but one in which men and women from all sections of the Arunta tribe take a part. Only members of the immediate clan, and probably a few invited neighbors, participate in the *Lartna* and *Arlitha* rites, but the *Engwura* is an occasion for a general assembling of all the tribal elders, and its relation to the culture of the entire Arunta people and the solidarity of the whole tribal organization is apparent. Through it, young men are made to feel their subordination to the elders; through it, the virtues of courage and self-restraint are taught them; and, through it, the last of the great secrets of the group are revealed to them. The ceremonies have a totemic significance and a council of elders, drawn from the whole tribe, has complete charge of the proceedings. A veritable multitude of ceremonies follow one another—corrobborees, preparing the ceremonial grounds on which one sacred drama after another is enacted, the complete separation of the sexes for a period of six weeks, and the final elevation of the young men to the rank of *Urliara*, many young men from the whole tribe being now initiated at one time. During the whole period a rigorous silence must be observed between people who stand to one another in certain relationships, the removal



of the ban of silence being accompanied by a corroboree and hilarious rejoicing, in which women take part and which marks the end of the great event, an event indeed so great that men and women and children will come 200 miles to have a part in it.

In the actual ceremonies, the sacred *Churinga* are given elaborate ritualistic veneration, as are also the totems of the various local groups. The elders call upon the owners of the various ceremonials to perform them, and only that is done which the elders decree. On this occasion one might say that the history not only of a clan but of the whole tribe is re-enacted in a dramatic way by those best versed in tribal lore. All present are most serious and grave in their deliberations and performances, the deportment of the elders being such as to ensure the profound respect of the younger men. Multitudinous formalities in dress, decoration, and ceremonial performance are observed with the most scrupulous exactness. All the world has now, indeed, become a stage and every man an actor, each one gravely performing many parts. Every night during the six weeks the men indulge in wild, boisterous singing which resounds through the hills. As among all primitives, dancing has a prominent place in the entire *Engwura* ceremonial. Most noteworthy is the reverent silence of all present when they are in the presence of the *Churinga*, and the respectful attention which the young men pay to the old man who has been chosen, because of the accuracy of his knowledge, to instruct them in regard to these objects and the customs and traditions of the tribe. This old man, revered for his learning, is known as an *Oknirabata*, or great teacher, and his rôle in the ceremonials is very prominent. Throughout the entire ceremony, which continues for many days and nights, the greatest emphasis is placed upon the tribal history, which is elaborately and effectively dramatized, upon the duties of men to their totems, and upon proprieties of behavior with regard to social relationships, a behavior originating in totemic worship and approved by social tradition which, too, finds many of its roots in totemic belief. The young men who are being initiated are painted and decorated in a variety of ways at different parts of the ceremony, each of these decorations symbolizing some event, belief, or custom sacred to the tribe. At no point is the interest of the initiate allowed to weaken. The performers pass quickly from one ceremony to another, great attention being paid to the most minute ritualistic detail.

The whole ceremonial, which continues night and day for a period of more than two weeks, ends with the ordeal of the fire test to which all initiates are required to submit. A great fire is built for



the purpose and, when it is burning bright, it is covered with green bushes and leaves. On the top of this burning pile, and protected only by a thin covering of green wood and leaves, each initiate is required to lie for about five minutes. The temperature at the time when Spencer and Gillen witnessed the ceremony was 110.5° F. in the shade and 156° F. in the sun. On top of the burning pile on such a day the heat is stifling and the smoke from the burning timber and leaves is suffocating. Moreover, the boys are required to undergo this fire ordeal twice on the same day. The *Engwura* rites end with a fire ceremony in the women's camp to which the men now return with much ritualistic display. At times during the preceding weeks groups of performers approached the women's camp for ceremonial reasons, but now the sexes are again reunited. Women and children, however, are forbidden under pain of dread penalties, to visit the *Engwura* grounds for many months.

To the young men who pass through this greatest of Arunta ceremonies a new name is given, that of *Urliara*. They are now full-fledged members of the tribe to whom all the sacred traditions and secrets of their people have been revealed. And those secrets have been revealed to them in a most impressive way. The secrets, indeed, are few and might have been communicated to them orally in a few hours. But primitives use a more effective method of teaching. The whole performance, from the *Alkirakiwuma* to the *Engwura*, is marked by a ceremonialism so elaborately formal and awe-inspiring and so surrounded by solemnity and secrecy that an indelible impression is made upon the souls of the youths who pass through its mysteries and trials. These youths have thus been made heirs of tribal culture, obligated to transmit to posterity the wisdom, ideas, and beliefs of their people. Throughout, the emphasis is placed not upon the things that are taught but upon the form of the instruction.

(b) FORMAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS.—Girls who have arrived at the age of puberty are, among the Aruntas, subjected to the operation of *Atna-arlitha-kuma*, which corresponds to the *Arlitha* ceremony for boys. The operation is performed by men. There is no elaborate ceremonial connected with it. The girl is, however, painted and decorated after it has been performed, and she becomes immediately the wife of a man to whom she has been betrothed since her birth. In the case of a girl, then, formal instruction with regard to the world of spirits is conspicuously lacking. Her duties to that world she learns by informal association with her people, particularly with the older women with whom she was permitted to witness

certain parts of totemic ceremonies which men perform. She has learned to share, for instance, the fear of the *Churinga* and a variety of practices connected with tribal spirits which for her are tabooed. But to her all this mysterious information is communicated informally rather than formally, and the most solemn secrets of the tribe are never revealed to her, for these are the privilege of men who are, in a very special way, the guardians of culture.

### Further Consideration of Arunta Practices

**Purpose.**—It is not certain that the Arunta people, or indeed other primitives, have a conscious purpose in such education as has been described here. Indeed, all of their educational practices may be but an unconscious reaction to the physical, social, and imaginary environments in which they live. It is hunger that drives the women and children into the scrub, and men and boys into the hunting grounds, in quest of food. It is fear of the ghosts in the imaginary environment, the traditions of which are transmitted orally from generation to generation, that forces them to perform all of the ceremonies appropriate to that environment, which is for them just as real as the physical and social environments. The Arunta men do not know why they perform on young men the operations of *Lartna* and *Arlitha*, nor do they know the reason for the hundreds of ceremonies which are part of their totemic worship and of their initiatory rites. But they do know that their spirit world demands them; that their fathers have transmitted them in their present form; and that they, in turn, must transmit them to their children. Through such forms the primitive reacts to the mysterious forces that he cannot see, to the unknown, and these reactions have become so traditional and habitual that they are taken for granted. No more does the Arunta savage seek a reason for them than he does for his own existence or for that of the sun, moon, and stars. Indeed, the Arunta tribesmen teach their youth, and the youth learn, largely without the use of reason, and in this same irrational fashion culture has been, in the main, transmitted even to our own day. But while many post-primitive educational systems and practices have embodied a conscious purpose, primitive processes seem to be devoid of deliberate and conscious planning. Dominated, as they are, by tribal custom and tradition, the Arunta elders educate their boys in the traditional way because that way is traditional. And they do not seek the reason for such procedures; nor do they question their value. But, whether conscious or unconscious, Arunta education meets the

practical and cultural needs of the tribe, and its goal can thus be called practical, in respect to those aspects which have to do with the satisfaction of physical wants, and cultural, in respect to those other aspects which are concerned with social relationships and man's dealings with the spirit world. To preserve the tribe and its culture unchanged may be said to be the basic purpose. Not a thought is given to the need for change or improvement.

**Curriculum.**—The subject matter of Arunta instruction, as indeed of that of all primitives, is the experiences of the tribe. This material of instruction grows out of the immediate environment, real or imaginary. All the knowledge, habits, and skills necessary for the satisfaction of one's physical wants form a prominent part of the curriculum, and are acquired by youth informally through participation in the daily economic activities of the older men and women of the tribe. Differentiation on the basis of sex characterizes this and other aspects of the curriculum, because labor has been divided on that basis, and the sexes have different social and religious activities to perform. In addition to practical experiences, the Arunta curriculum comprises a wide variety of social experiences, which have to do with all the traditional modes of behavior governing all social relationships. Proprieties with regard to such relationships as those of the sexes, of one totem group to another, of children to parents and parents to children, and of youth to its elders are learned either through informal association of the rising generation with the older one, or sometimes through formal instruction during the ceremonies of initiation. Then, there are those experiences, in a wide variety, which have to do with the relation of men and women to their totems and to the whole spirit world, some of which are communicated by the informal associations of tribal life, but most of which are provided for in the very formal ceremonies of initiation and of totem worship. The physical education of the primitive grows out of these activities and takes the form of play, dancing, and work in its many aspects.

The Aruntas are neither a trading nor a warfaring people. Living in complete economic and cultural isolation, nothing finds its way into their curriculum which is unrelated to their own immediate environment. Their curriculum comprises those folkways and that culture which is peculiarly their own. It is a curriculum which, in its social and cultural aspects, is loaded with symbolism, for primitives, like ourselves, control the individual by symbols rather than by force. Feelings are aroused, attitudes are developed, ideas are conveyed,



and actions are determined by symbols. National and religious groups have such symbols as a flag or a cross, which stand for something groups consider valuable. The Arunta people, and all primitives, have their gestures, their sounds, their dancing, their music, their ritual, their language, and a variety of material objects, all of which are, for them, symbols of spiritual treasures. From his cradle to his grave the primitive is instructed consciously or unconsciously, formally or informally, in the significance and use of these symbols. The value of symbols in education is apparent. Language, for instance, comprises a variety of sound symbols, which make communication easy. Without language, teachers would have to carry pupils bodily to many classroom exercises. As it is, the teacher needs but mumble a few sounds and pupils proceed to their appointed tasks. Much of primitive culture, as of our own, is embodied in symbols, and the primitive, like us, is almost as unconscious of its operation as he is of the air he breathes. The experiences which spring from the immediate environment are, then, the subject matter, or curriculum, of Arunta education. The only differentiation that enters into it is that based upon the traditional differentiation of the duties and activities of the sexes. As yet, no obtrusive class distinctions exist; nor is there a caste system, which, on higher levels of civilization, introduced educational differences and inequalities.

**Method.**—To be effective, methods of instruction must conform with the character of particular social systems. In static, despotic, and authoritarian systems, the method used must be such as to produce submissive and uncritical minds, if despotism and authoritarianism are to endure. In free, democratic societies, the method to be used must be such as to free the human mind from all those forces and agencies that threaten its independence, and to develop in the individual that critical attitude which is essential to the preservation of democratic institutions. Viewed broadly, method is everything that is done, every step that is taken, to attain the purpose desired, but in the narrower sense, in which we shall use the term, it is the manner or form of the educational procedures rather than the procedures themselves.

The educational method of the Arunta people, as of all primitives, is essentially imitation. The tribal elders, in performing the initiatory and other ceremonies, imitate their dead fathers. Children imitate the activities of their elders. Girls learn to forage for food and cook by imitating the ways of their mothers, and boys learn to make



spear and hunt by imitating the ways of their fathers. In fact, in all their physical, social, and religious activities, each new generation learns by imitating the ways of the older generation. Perfection in these ways comes by repeated imitation. By repeated trials and effort, whether in play or work, youths become masters of those physical skills essential to the preservation of life; and by simply living with their people and imitating their social and religious ways they acquire their culture and habits. Thus are habits of life and action formed. Exact imitation fixes them, and youth thus falls under the sway of tribal tradition and custom. In this way the individual is robbed of the freedom, if not of the capacity, to depart from the folkways of his people. In connection with tribal lore, songs, and ritual, an element of memorization enters into primitive method, but since primitives have no literature the memoriter method is, with them, of minor importance.

From all that has been said thus far, it appears that savages actually realize, in their imitative educational procedures, the method of learning to do by actually doing those things demanded by the needs of life itself. This activity method was approved by Plato, among the Greeks, for vocational groups, and it has been enthusiastically advocated by educational theorists in the West for over three centuries. Primitive education is, indeed, life, and primitives learn by living. In the initiatory rites, however, boys are but passive witnesses of the various ceremonies and passive recipients of tribal secrets communicated to them in a soul-stirring way.

**Schools.**—The family and the tribe are the schools of savages. One might consider that the education received by boys and girls prior to tribal initiation is elementary. This stage of education is, in the main, organized within the family. In this school youths are, as it were, apprentices, who learn the rules of the game of life by actually doing the things that life itself demands. The clan and tribe, through their elders, provide the formal school of initiation, with which the family has practically nothing to do and which may be considered the secondary education of primitive youth, for all primitives, like the Aruntas, have such a school.

**Teachers.**—Among the Arunta people, there is no special teaching profession. Parents have particular oversight of the practical education of their children, and tribal elders are the teachers in the formal school of initiation. In the ceremony of *Engwura*, one man who is specially versed in tribal lore and who is regarded as the great teacher plays a prominent part, but he is but one of the many elders who

participate in the ceremony. All participants in the *Engwura* are chosen for their various parts by the council of elders.

**Pupils.**—All of the Arunta boys, without exception, receive the same education, informal and formal, and all girls are likewise educated alike. There are no distinctions except those based upon sex.

**Control.**—Control of education is vested in the family and in the tribe. All that formal education which is essential to an individual's promotion to tribal membership, or citizenship, is controlled by the tribal elders, members of a boy's immediate family having little or no part in the proceedings. So essential is this cultural education to tribal solidarity and the perpetuity of its customs that it is entirely a group function.

**Results.**—Arunta education does what it sets out to do, but does no more than that. Since its chief end is the preservation of the tribe, it attains that end and does it effectively, but it makes no provision for the improvement of tribal life, no provision for change or progress. Arunta women and girls continue to dig for worms and rats in the old traditional way and with the old traditional digging sticks, and men hunt with the same weapons and use the same hunting techniques that their forefathers are thought to have used since the origin of the tribe in the mythical happenings of a mythical long-ago. Nor do they desire to change these ways. Strangely enough the ways of civilization, when adopted, have led to disaster. Since their contact with the whites, the Aruntas have adopted some civilized modes of dress, with the result that pulmonary and other diseases have wreaked havoc among them, and the tribe seems to be slowly passing to its "happy hunting ground." Contact with civilization has brought a great crisis for the Arunta people. That crisis has its physical and social aspects. The physical crisis, some few will survive, but the Arunta social system, with its beliefs and customs, is doomed to disintegration. By that crisis they are being forced to progress beyond the stage of fixed, unalterable custom, and those who survive the crisis will do so by their individual capacity for adaptation to a changing environment both in its physical and cultural aspects. The culture of the survivors will be a blend of native and civilized cultures, the product being about 90 per cent native and 10 per cent civilized. When we engraft a new culture upon an old stem the product is always a blend of the old and the new. Thus, for instance, have many pagan elements survived in Christianity, many primitive African elements in the Christianity of American Negroes, and many

Confucian elements in the religion of those Chinese whom our missionaries have converted to Christianity in our own day.

### Educational Practices Among Other Primitives

While the practices of the Arunta tribe furnish a good example of primitive educational procedures, it must be noted that, among primitive peoples generally, a great variety of practices exists. Generalizations about such practices are as hazardous as those about their culture and folkways. There is now available an abundance of works upon the educational practices of most of our primitive groups, some of which ought to have a place in the library of every teacher-training institution. It is the author's opinion that the best work on the subject now in print is the *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples*, by W. D. Hambly and C. Hose. An older book, but one of considerable merit, is A. J. Todd's *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency* (New York: Putnam, 1913). Either of these accounts will be of great significance for the student in the field of education.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The theory of evolution as applied to social institutions is but an assumption unsupported by any evidence of a conclusive character.
2. It is presumptuous for the scientist to explain human behavior and social institutions in terms of natural causes alone.
3. Neither primitive institutions and behavior nor our own can be explained entirely by an appeal to the theory of economic determinism without doing violence to the records of history and other sciences.
4. Many vestiges of primitive culture survive in the culture of modern societies.
5. Since cultures grew out of environmental needs and have been relative to environments, we ought to eradicate from modern cultures those aspects which are not related to modern needs.
6. There are traces of primitive worship of race, blood, and soil in modern nationalism, and respect for a flag is but a weak substitute for the worship of blood and soil as a basis of national unity.
7. The freedom enjoyed by women in the modern world is proof that primitive attitudes toward them have disappeared.
8. An examination of all the facts would reveal that even in a modern liberal society the individual is no more free than he was in primitive society.

9. Because religion has been a most conservative social force, it ought not to be taught in the public schools of any liberal and progressive modern nation.

10. The purpose of modern national education, like that of primitives, ought to be the preservation of national culture.

11. The absence of formalism in modern education is the most striking difference between it and that of primitives.

12. Because primitive formal education was meaningless, students of education in modern times can learn nothing of value from it.

13. Modern education is as far removed from the realities of life as was that of primitives.

14. Academic degrees, commencement exercises, and some other modern educational practices are similar to, but less justifiable than, the initiatory rites of savages.

15. The demands of the immediate environment in modern, as in primitive, societies ought to be the sole guide in determining the curriculum.

16. The success of primitives, who were guided by traditions and feelings in solving their social and educational problems, suggests that we might profit by following traditions and feelings rather than science and reason in solving our problems.

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## Chapter 3

### EGYPTIAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

**The Meeting of the East and West.**—Of the ancient Oriental peoples who built great civilizations, the Chinese, Hindus, Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and Hebrews have been significantly great in their achievements. The student of social and educational problems will find it extremely profitable to study the social and educational systems of ancient China and India, for these are excellent examples of Oriental systems generally. Moreover, Western civilizations and culture are indebted, directly or indirectly, to the peoples of the Far East, our borrowings from India being particularly notable.<sup>1</sup> Our greater indebtedness, however, to the nations of the Near East is attested by an abundance of evidence which any interested person may find discussed in the works of archaeological specialists and of historians. Since all Oriental civilizations are essentially alike, we shall examine only two of them, that of Egypt and that of India. Both are typically Oriental. To both of them our Western culture is indebted in varying degrees. It is now certain that the cradle of Western civilization is either the valley of the Nile or that of the Tigris and Euphrates, but more probably that of the Nile.

**Rise and Fall of Egyptian Civilization.**—Egypt is smaller than Belgium, being but 12,500 square miles in area. A long narrow valley, fertilized by the annual inundations of the Nile, it extends from the Delta in the north to the mountains of Ethiopia in the south, a distance of about 700 miles. The first human occupation of the Nile region dates, according to Breasted, from about 18,000 B.C.<sup>2</sup> From eighty feet below the modern surface, the remains of successive civilizations have been discovered in the alluvial deposit. From these remains, archaeologists have built up the story of the prehistoric civilization of the Nile Valley. The historical period, or the period of written records, dates from approximately 5000 B.C. With the

<sup>1</sup> James A. Montgomery, *Religions of the Past and Present*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1918, 114 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History (C.A.H.)*, (12 vols.), New York: Macmillan, 1923-1939, I, 86.

original inhabitants, who were of the Hamitic race, other races mingled as time went on. A conquering people from Syria, of a different race, established, about 8000 B.C., the northern kingdom. From their coming dates the great development of Egyptian culture. But, while foreign races came and conquered, there is no doubt that the original inhabitants were the base of the population far into historical times and that their descendants are to be found in more isolated communities even to the present day.<sup>3</sup> In spite, however, of this occasional infiltration of strange races, Egypt was peculiarly free from invasion because she was protected by desert on one side, and by sea and desert on the other. Such happy circumstances permitted this great Eastern civilization to develop in comparative peace and, for a long period, in apparently comparative isolation. In the historical period, however, she came into closer and closer contact with her Eastern and Western neighbors.

The political unification of Egypt was the work of the Syrian invaders, already referred to. They set up two separate kingdoms on the Nile, one in the north, another in the south. It seems probable that these two separate civilized communities were in existence as early as 4300 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and their unification dates from about 3500 B.C. The Nile civilization was so advanced in 4241 B.C., that, in that year, the calendar was instituted<sup>5</sup> and the length of the solar year was determined with almost perfect accuracy. By the will of the king, this calendar was henceforth established and accepted throughout the state. Without a directing state organization and authority, this establishment would have been impossible. Until about 1650 B.C., Egypt was free from the rule of foreigners. About that year, however, sovereignty passed into the hands of the Hyksos kings, of the Semitic race and akin to the Hebrews.<sup>6</sup> Another thousand years elapsed before foreigners again invaded Egypt, laid waste her land and treasures and desecrated her shrines. In the eighth century B.C., an Ethiopian ruled Egypt. Then came the Assyrian invasion (675–663 B.C.), a second Hyksos conquest. This event marks the end of Egyptian independence, except for a brief period in the sixth century B.C. In 525 B.C., Egypt fell under the sway of Persia. Then, in 332 B.C., Alexander the Great, of Macedonia, made Egypt a part of his great Greek Empire of the Near East. After the Greeks there came in turn, as her masters, the Romans, Arabs, Turks, and British.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 33–34, 244, 264–266.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 173, 248–249.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

**Economic Life.** (a) AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES.—It was the extraordinary fertility of the Nile valley which made Egypt so important. That fertility was the gift of the Nile, which annually overflowed its banks and, on receding, left behind it, over the whole length of the country, a loam which made the valley one of the richest agricultural sections of the world. Here prehistoric man soon passed from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of civilization, and here he learned to store away, in canals and reservoirs, a supply of water sufficient for irrigation purposes during the long yearly drought. These irrigation systems probably had much to do with the unification of river communities, all of which had to contend with the same economic problems. The success of the Egyptians in solving this problem of irrigation made it possible to feed a great population and to build probably the greatest civilization of the ancient world. There are those scientists who attach greatest importance to the factor of race in human progress. Whatever may be the importance of this racial element, and much doubt will probably always exist regarding it, it is certain that favorable location is a condition *sine qua non* of progress. Only those races in the past that occupied favorable locations have made great progress. In the progress of peoples, geographic and climatic conditions have played an important part. The physical environment must be favorable. Yet, conditions that are conducive to rapid development at one stage of civilization may hamper its growth at another stage. Indeed, the natural protection, which Egypt enjoyed by her isolation in her own fertile habitat, led in earlier times to a precocious growth but actually cramped the further progress of civilization in later days.<sup>7</sup>

The Nile made the Egyptians an industrious people. They had to keep its water within its banks, divert it into canals, distribute it over the land by irrigating devices before a single morsel of vegetable food could be secured. This demanded ceaseless labor on dykes and canals, and in ploughing and planting and watering crops. It was probably because the demands of this life were always practical that the Egyptian showed little capacity for abstract thought but a great attachment to symbols, for it was apparently necessary for him to see before he could grasp or believe anything.

Agriculture was the basic "business" of the Egyptians. Very early, we find them using the ox-drawn hoe, forerunner of the

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<sup>7</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *History of Human Society*, New York: Scribner, 1926, 142-149; Richard Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, Oxford University Press, 1932, 93-98; *C.A.H.*, I, 206; Jerome Davis, *Readings in Sociology*, New York: Heath, 1927, 68-69.



plough, instead of the primitive digging-stick, a change which represents a great advance in man's way of life. Cattle-breeding and agriculture became closely connected when men harnessed oxen to their ploughs, as was the practice in Egypt. Goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys, geese, and ducks were raised from prehistoric times on. From the same ancient times large houseboats were used to navigate the river. The Nile as a channel of trade thus laid a basis of early social unification.

(b) ARTS AND INDUSTRY.—As a result of the demands of economic life, Egypt bristled with activity. Arts and crafts flourished and multiplied from early prehistoric times. Even the primitive Egyptian was a skilful artisan who has left behind him many examples of his arts, particularly vases of great beauty. This prehistoric man invented a drill capable of cutting the hardest stone. Brick, pottery, glass, leather, and wood industries developed and flourished from very early times.<sup>8</sup> By the beginning of the first dynasty (c. 3500 B.C.) artists in ivory, wood, metal, stone, jewelry, beads, and textiles were numerous and were encouraged by the wealthy court of the Pharaohs. Many arts and crafts developed also in connection with the temples, and with the religious and funeral rites of the people. Indeed, the mummification and burying of the bodies of the dead became a flourishing business, and gave employment to hosts of laborers and increased the wealth of the priests and the temples. The need for storing away the water of the Nile led to great activity in the field of engineering. A veritable network of dykes, reservoirs, and canals extended along the river from the mountains to the sea. The Pharaohs, the political despots of Egypt, have left a record of their glory and their shame in art, painting, sculpture, architecture, obelisks, sphinxes, and lastly in the pyramids which are the tombs of the kings and the most stupendous buildings of the ancient world. In the construction of these pyramids millions of laborers spent their lives. The largest pyramid is 480 feet in height, and its base covers thirteen acres. Herodotus says that 120,000 men were employed for twenty years in constructing this colossal structure. Sixty-seven such architectural monstrosities were erected along the edge of the desert. They furnish mute but still eloquent testimony to the despotism, the shame, as well as the wealth, the glory, and the culture of Egypt at the height of her greatness. The monstrous grandeur of the pyramids was rivaled by the extravagant palaces of the Pharaohs and the temples of the gods, in the construction of which other millions of

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<sup>8</sup> *C.A.H.*, I, 242-243.



artisans, laborers, and slaves were employed from age to age and from century to century. And the bountiful valley of the Nile supplied the superabundant food which fed these miserable millions who were the physical and spiritual slaves of political and ecclesiastical despots and of a luxurious feudal nobility.

(c) COMMERCE.—In addition to all such internal economic activities, the Egyptians carried on a profitable trade with their Oriental neighbors, with Crete and the Aegean, and later with the Greeks. Cretan and Phoenician traders were frequent visitors to the ports of the Nile, and from the Delta to the cataracts were gathered ships bearing freight from all the world. Trade was conducted over land routes through the Isthmus of Suez as well as over the shipping routes of the Mediterranean. Egyptian products were in use in the palaces of the sea-kings of the Aegean and throughout the Near East, and with this merchandise of Egypt went the culture of Egypt. The early Cretans learned the glazing of pottery from the Egyptians, and pottery made by the Minoans of Crete from about 2500 B.C. has been found in abundance in Egypt. Egyptian cities were filled with traders from Eastern and Western lands, traders who imported the wonders and culture of other peoples to Egypt and carried back to their own countries the products, the culture, and the stories of the wonders of the people of the Nile.

Agriculture, industries, and foreign trade brought great wealth to the land of the Pharaohs, but it was a wealth that became concentrated in the hands of rulers, priests, and an official or feudal nobility. Side by side with great wealth developed great poverty, and a graded society based upon wealth and power arose and perpetuated itself through the long centuries of social evolution along the Nile. The great material conquest of the Egyptians was followed by an impressive growth of social, political, and religious institutions.<sup>9</sup>

**Social Conditions.** (a) SOCIAL CLASSES.—There was no hereditary caste system in Egypt as there was, and is, in India, but in practice a system of social stratification grew up and hardened. At the top of the social edifice stood the deified Pharaoh, the members of his immediate family, and the great officials of the royal court. The priests and a few nobles occupied the second place in the system and were the social and intellectual aristocracy of the land. The feudal

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<sup>9</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 159-164, 171-181; Jerome Davis, *op. cit.*, 68-69; Richard Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, 93-98; A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. Edinburgh: Clark, 1913, 30-36; *C.A.H.*, II, 40 *passim*.

nobility of older days merged with the army as the imperialistic ambitions of succeeding Pharaohs raised the military men to a position of greater and greater importance. An exclusive class of warriors thus arose and stood just below the priesthood in social rank. With the development of a great political and administrative machine, a new official class, whose lower ranks were recruited from the old middle class of merchants and craftsmen grew up from about 1600 B.C. Local districts were administered by a whole army of these functionaries of the crown, political administration thus opening up numerous political careers for members of the middle class. The most lucrative official positions in local and central administration passed into the hands of the earlier feudal nobility who, deprived of great landed estates which they once possessed, became the royal favorites and either held high official positions at home or acted as generals of the Pharaoh's armies during military expeditions abroad. These greater officials and army generals became the nobles of the Empire. Below these privileged groups came artisans, shepherds, farmers, and slaves.

The underprivileged portion of the population was so large that casual visitors sometimes refer only to this group and the priests. These unfortunate masses have passed into the "field of beans" without leaving much direct trace of their sojourn, but the privileged official class has left us, in their tombs especially, and in sculpture, relief-work, and paintings, the evidence by which it has been possible to reconstruct the life and customs of their day. Egyptian society thus rose from the broad base of serfdom through farmers, shepherds, merchants, artisans, lower and higher political and military officials, and a very numerous priestly class to the great officials of the Pharaoh's court, the royal family and the divine king himself, who was worshipped and feared by his people as a despot and a god. In time the priests became very numerous, and were organized into one great national organization. The priests formed a perfect hierarchy running from high priest through scribes, sculptors and embalmers to attendants at temple services. Indeed, one-fourth of those buried in the great cemetery of Abydos during this period were priests.<sup>10</sup> The degradation of the laboring classes was appalling. During periods of famine—for Egypt had such periods—the poor were forced to sell themselves into slavery in return for food from the king. In the thirteenth century B.C., the temples possessed 107,000 slaves, or about one person in every sixty to seventy of the popula-

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<sup>10</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 49.

tion of the country. The total population at this time was probably between 6,500,000 and 7,500,000.<sup>11</sup>

A wide gap, then, separated the serf from the nobility. The standard of living was very low. The cost of rearing a child to the age of twenty-one years was not more than two dollars. The rich lived sumptuously and luxuriously, but the poor lived in great want and poverty. The nobility and fine ladies dressed elaborately, but the poor were as raggedly clad as they were inadequately fed. The rich, enjoying leisure, found an outlet for their physical energies in a variety of sports; the poor, in slavish and laborious toil. The rich feasted, and enjoyed music and dancing, while servants waited upon them at every turn, and doctors and dentists looked after their health.<sup>12</sup>

Egyptian society was thus a society composed of well-defined classes, each one clearly separated and distinguishable from the others. The whole social system was linked up with professional and vocational specialization, for Oriental society was highly complex and labor was now highly specialized. Over a long period of time, changes in social rank did occur. The old feudal nobility, for instance, passed over into the class of political officials. The fundamental character and inequalities, however, remained practically the same. While it was possible for youths of the lower classes to ascend in the social scale, in practice this seldom happened, for sons, as a general rule, followed the occupations of their parents. As far as the fellah, or common man, is concerned, Egypt was, and is, the most unchanging country in the world with the possible exception of India.<sup>13</sup>

(b) STATUS OF WOMEN.—Women held an important position in Egyptian society. The early society was matriarchal, and thus the practice of placing property in women's possession continued until the fall of Egypt. Women were even permitted to hold the position of the Pharaohs. Generally speaking, women stood in a position of equality with the men of the social class to which they belonged. Egypt had her district goddesses, as well as district gods. In civilizations dominated by men the gods have generally possessed only male attributes. The religious literature of Egypt contains many admonitions to husbands to be kind to their wives. Egyptian morals, however, were loose, and many women lived a life of degradation.

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<sup>11</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 157-159; *C.A.H.*, II, 40-104, 164-195.

<sup>12</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 175 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *C.A.H.*, I, 279, 280, 287, 323; III, 12; F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 157-164.



One of the Pharaohs even forced his own daughter into a life of prostitution. But, on the whole, women were held in high esteem. Their duties were, chiefly, those of housekeeping and marketing. Men frequently did the weaving.<sup>14</sup>

(c) MORALS.—From the theory found in Egyptian literature, one might too readily conclude that moral standards were high and were observed. This literature is filled with moral admonitions and advice. Whether practice conformed with theory is difficult to determine. Of the advices and maxims, this can be said: utilitarianism and convenience, rather than any pure ideals of right and wrong, were made the basis of one's dealings with relatives, equals, inferiors, and superiors, while one's relation to the gods was put on the purely business basis of "give and take." The moral wisdom of the Egyptians was a canny, worldly wisdom, devoid of sentiment or idealism, for the Egyptian lived by facts and realities, not by principles and ideals.<sup>15</sup>

**Religious Systems.** (a) GODS AND BELIEFS.—Egyptian religion is another step beyond the primitive in the evolution of religious thought and practice. Traces of animism, totemism and nature worship abound here. Flinders Petrie finds 438 gods, spirits, and other sacred creatures in the Egyptian system.<sup>16</sup> As the centuries passed, there is some evidence in priestly thought, of a drift toward a monotheistic conception, but the religion of the masses was influenced but little by the thought of priests of the temples, and the popular religion always remained animistic and polytheistic. A cultural cleavage thus separated the masses from the intellectual aristocracy, as it has continued to do in most societies ever since. The religion of the priests and the temples was the cultural inheritance of a powerful social élite. The gods of the rich were not the gods of the poor, though the poor probably shared in some aristocratic beliefs.<sup>17</sup>

Of the gods in the Egyptian pantheon only a few can be referred to here. Nine-tenths of the Egyptian gods were cosmic. Re (or Ra) was the sun-god; Géb, the earth-god; Nun, the ocean-god; and Hapi, the Nile-god. In addition to cosmic gods, there were animal and human gods worshipped in Egypt. The sacred bull held a promi-

<sup>14</sup> C.A.H., I, 289; Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London: Macmillan, 1894, 115 ff.; A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 143; Flinders Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London: Methuen, 1898, 131-135; Adolf Heilborn, *The Opposite Sexes*, London: Methuen, 1927, 99-106.

<sup>15</sup> F. Petrie, *op. cit.*, 86-93, 110-130, 139-156, 160-162.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-71; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 37-38; G. Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, New York: Holt, 1897, 91-126.

<sup>17</sup> A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 204-228; F. Petrie, *op. cit.*, 28-47.



ment place among the divinities, and came in time to be looked upon as an incarnation of Re or of Osiris. But the most prominent of all the gods was the human god Osiris, the dead king, who was the judge of the dead. Many of the Egyptian gods were at first local, but became in time national in character, and the religion of the ruling family became, after 2375 B.C., the state religion. By a process of identification and amalgamation, greater gods evolved from the local and lesser ones, with the result that one or another god came to be considered the supreme god of the pantheon.

Osiris, the dead king and judge of the dead, evolved indubitably from primitive animism and ghost worship. During his lifetime, every Pharaoh was a god, and all men became gods after their death. Out of man's desire to find a resting-place for his *anima* or "double," the belief in immortality probably arose, and it was one of the most important of Egyptian beliefs. With it was linked the one indispensable dogma of the Egyptians, the judgment of the dead. A favorable judgment made the dead person one with Osiris. The nature of the punishment inflicted on sinners who did not pass the test of Osiris is not clear from Egyptian records. One of the requisites for a favorable judgment was the ability of the deceased to recite the lengthy *Negative Confession before Osiris*, which is the moral code of Egypt and remarkably like the Hebrew Decalogue, which it antedates. It was, indeed, the magic formula which forced Osiris to pass a favorable decree. But apparently only the priestly, intellectual, and official aristocracy had the opportunity to read and memorize that formula, which was an important part of Egyptian religious literature. For the poor, who could not read, there was no place in the heaven of Osiris, except probably as slaves of their old masters. Egyptian religious practice became, in the hands of the priests, magical, formulistic, and burdened with ceremonialism. A magical gesture with the hand, or the repetition of some meaningless formula, was sufficient to determine the decrees of the gods. Indeed, one who knew the magical procedure might, in purely religious matters, live and act without fear of heaven.

The idea of death became the central idea in the culture of Egypt, and the Nile valley became a veritable tomb. Mummification of bodies, the building of tombs, and the performance of funeral rites were matters of most serious import to rich and poor alike.

The entire religious system was mainly a reflection of primitive traditions and of economic needs. Thus the Nile and the sun were worshipped because of their relation to the fertility of the soil and to full stomachs; and the world of Osiris, as depicted in tombs, was

but an idealized Egyptian world in an idealized valley of the Nile, except that a strange gloom and uncertainty mingled with this idealism.

Out of this religion of death developed the doctrine of the *Ka* or spiritual "double" which every living individual was said to possess and which left him at death. In a peculiar sense, it was man's individuality. In its origin, this belief is related to primitive animism, but later this *Ka* became identified with one's inner mental states and with pure thought as distinct from purely material things and from the body. Yet the *Ka* of a dead man was provided with food offerings. The image of such an offering was thought to be as good as the thing itself. There is, indeed, little difference between the Egyptian concept of the *Ka* and that of the soul in Greek and Christian thought. Sayce says that Plato's doctrine of Ideas was a development from that of the *Ka*.<sup>18</sup> In painting, sculpture, drawings, etc., the *Ka* was depicted side by side with the body it occupied, for the Egyptians reduced all abstractions to concrete form. The *Ka* was thought to hover around the mummy but, should the mummy perish, the statue of the dead one would become the abode of the *Ka*. It was believed that the *Ka* would eventually return to the body and restore it to life, a doctrine akin to that of the Resurrection. All these beliefs regarding the *Ka* were connected with the cult of Osiris. Much of this thought of Egypt was systematized by Greek philosophers and, in its Hellenized form, it affected the thought of Alexandrian Christians and, through them, of later Europeans. We are, indeed, still under the influence of the thought of ancient Egypt, for culture does not die.<sup>19</sup>

(b) PRIESTHOOD AND LITERATURE.—The culture of Egypt was controlled by an all-powerful and wealthy priesthood. That priestly class, as already described, created and controlled nearly all of the literature of the country, a literature predominantly religious. Some of it is more ancient than the pyramids. As early as 3500 B.C. the priests were passing from the use of the hieroglyphic, or pictographic, script to a cursive script. The earliest writing was pictorial. At the next stage, the picture of an object became an ideograph, or symbol of an idea. Later a phonetic value was given to the picture or ideograph, and alphabetical signs were invented to describe it.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 49.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 ff., 82-99, 101-122, 127-151, 153-180; C.A.H., I, 284, 326-355; F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, 48-52, 69-71; F. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, London: Harper, 1909, 107-137; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 33-49.

<sup>20</sup> S. Rappoport, *History of Egypt* (The Grolier Society edition), III, 291 ff.

Thus, at an early date, the Egyptians actually had an alphabet, but they failed to profit by the discovery, for they continued to use the older picture-signs, and the consonantal group-signs, side by side with the alphabetical signs. Tradition and priestly conservatism hung heavily over this civilization. The period of greatest literary activity dates from about 2800 B.C., and much of the literature was produced in the centuries immediately following that date, and is prophetic or Messianic in character.<sup>21</sup> To this was added a group of writings of an ethical or didactic character, bearing such titles as "Teachings" or "Instructions." Connected with the Osiris cult, a moral literature, of which the *Negative Confession* is a part, grew up and was of much importance during the period of the Middle Kingdom (2375-1580 B.C.). The *Negative Confession* is Chapter CXXV. of the *Book of the Dead*, a collection of hymns, recitations, selections, spells, and incantations which comprise a great part of the religious literature of Egypt. The *Am Duat* or *Book of the Other World* was a rival of the *Book of the Dead*. It dealt with the god Re, while the *Book of the Dead* dealt chiefly with the god Osiris.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, by a process of slow growth, the Egyptian religious literature appeared, and became authoritative. The wisdom of Egypt was preserved in these books, and the priests held the key to this knowledge, for they were the learned class. Knowledge created a gulf between the laity and the priests, but especially between the lower and higher social classes. The poor were held in subservience by fear, superstition, ignorance, and ecclesiastical and political tyranny. The state was a theocratic state. The priests, the custodians of culture, were the bulwarks of the political system, who, by their control of education and the written word, established a tyranny over the minds of the people which ended only with the fall of their civilization, and then only in part. Some changes in the social system and in thought did occur but these were few; nor did they represent any fundamental change in the despotism which the court and the priests exercised over the minds and bodies of the people whom they ruled. Egyptian civilization and its culture were static to a very marked degree. Here individual liberty was rare or unknown. Indeed, the change to Christianity and later to Islam altered only the forms of prayers and beliefs on the Nile, and the tyranny of the ancient culture still casts an ominous shadow over the children of Re and Osiris.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> C.A.H., I, 345-347.

<sup>22</sup> A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 181-203.

<sup>23</sup> W. J. Perry, *Gods and Men*, London: Howe, 1927, 67-74; C.A.H., I, 189, 245, 272, 317, 326-355; II, 196-209; III, 417-425; A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 30-36, 181-203; S. Rappoport, *op. cit.*, II.



(c) **SPREAD OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE.**—The influence of Egyptian culture upon Hebrew and other Eastern thought systems and upon the thought of Greece and of Christendom was very marked and is supported by an abundance of reliable evidence.<sup>24</sup>

**Political Conditions.**—The Eastern conception of the state from ancient until modern times was the very antithesis of the conception which the Greeks and Romans gave to the world. The Oriental conception is based on the assumption that it is by the will of the monarch alone that the whole machinery of state is set and kept in motion. This was the Egyptian philosophy, and here everything was done for the glory of the Pharaoh. Wars were waged, great buildings erected, and slaves toiled for his honor and fame. The Pharaohs were great monarchs who succeeded one another in impressive array. They are represented as the benefactors of their subjects and of the gods. Gods, indeed, they themselves were, and as gods their subjects worshipped them. Thus they exercised their despotism not merely by the might of a military machine but by issuing commands which their people accepted as an expression of the will of heaven. Nowhere in the world was the idea of the theocratic state so firmly established as in Egypt, and nowhere else did the social structure resist change more effectively. An alliance between church and state, between religion and politics, resulted in one of the most complete despotisms in the history of human society. Here religion was national, and when Akhnaton (c. 1380–1362) attempted to create a world religion, embodying the idea of a universal culture based upon the cult of a one and only sun-god, he met, as do most reformers, with such violent opposition that his attempt failed completely. The Pharaohs built up a great administrative and military machine by which their will was effectively enforced throughout the whole country. By this political machine men were robbed of that political freedom which has been the greatest contribution of Greece and the West.<sup>25</sup>

### Egyptian Educational Practice

**Formal Education.**—Because of the complexity of Egyptian life and society, it became necessary for the Egyptians to advance beyond

<sup>24</sup> A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 82–99, 229–250; *C.A.H.*, II, 345–351; IV, 87–111; VI, 164–166; F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, 21; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 48–49; F. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, 107–137.

<sup>25</sup> *C.A.H.*, I, 213–214, 276–279, 285; II, 40–104, 109–130, 157–162; Adolf Erman, *op. cit.*, 53; A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 22. 37–45.



the simple, unorganized, or loosely organized, educational procedures of primitive society. It was no longer possible, because of this complexity, to acquire, by the imitation of elders, the necessary experiences to sustain society and prepare the individual for his rôle in life. Therefore the formal school and a special teaching profession appeared, and day by day, and year by year, youths attended these formal schools for the purpose of acquiring that cultural and technical knowledge necessary for the highly specialized pursuits of a highly developed and complex cultural and industrial civilization. The formal school of Egypt was essentially cultural; that is, its primary purpose was to teach the language, literature and ideas of the nation. Because of the essential relationship between this culture and the arts, crafts, sciences, and professional activities of the country, these technical subjects were under the influence of the priests even though they were not taught in the formal schools, for painting, sculpture, architecture, law, medicine, engineering, etc., are ways of expressing the culture of a people just as is the written word and literature. Vocational pursuits in ancient Egypt were thus, by custom and religious requirement, linked to the cultural framework of the entire nation, and their forms and techniques were controlled by the culture-custodians of the nation, the priests of the temples and the temple colleges. In every activity that touched the cultural life of the people, the idealism and the form had to conform closely to traditional thought or artistic pattern. To vary from these traditions would be highly revolutionary and irreligious. That is why Egyptian literature, thought, art, architecture, medicine, etc., are marked, even over extremely long periods of time, by an evident and persistent uniformity. There was some variation, some growth, but it was slight. That variety and diversity of thought and creation which are the result of individual freedom and initiative are impressively lacking in the life and achievements of Egypt. Here, after a period of early precocious growth, a tyrannous custom laid its heavy hand on the spirit of progress, and men settled down to the enjoyment of those supposed certainties which, indeed, they themselves had created. Thus enforced custom on the Oriental level brought the second great pause in the progress of mankind, for it was an enemy of change.

**1. Educational Purpose.**—The purpose of Egyptian education, as provided in the formal schools of the country, was (a) cultural and (b) vocational. There were many specialized arts and crafts, but they were mostly in the hands of those on the middle and lower levels

of the priestly class. In the building and decoration of pyramids, temples, tombs, and palaces artisans were in great demand. All of these buildings were filled with works of art. In time something like craft guilds arose, and various objects necessary for burials were made in factories and in quantities. Price lists were published.<sup>26</sup> With the development of trade there arose a great foreign demand for Egyptian manufactures. Out of this domestic and foreign demand grew vocational education. Skilled artisans stood at about the middle of the social scale. The great multitude below them engaged only in laborious and unskilled tasks. In Egypt, as has been noted, these vocations had a very important cultural significance. In addition to these artisan activities, there were also professional groups who ranked above the artisans. Priests, who performed religious rites, and who guarded, taught, and wrote commentaries on the scriptures, comprised one profession. Medical practice was largely in the hands of special priests, who formed a medical profession. Although there was no class of lawyers, every important official of high administrative rank was versed in the law and acted as judge. These high administrators of the Pharaoh formed the legal class.<sup>27</sup> The just administration of law was considered a duty to the gods. There was also a great multitude of scribes whose duty it was to keep the records of the state and the temples and carry on domestic and foreign correspondence. Educational purpose was, thus, in a marked degree practical or vocational, but the most fundamental purpose was that of preserving Egyptian civilization by preserving its traditional culture. And these purposes were conscious, deliberate purposes, for Oriental education was a planned education through which men were consciously working toward consciously determined goals.

**2. Curriculum.** (a) **READING AND WRITING.**—The curriculum was determined by the needs of the civilization and was in harmony with Egyptian educational purposes. It included the reading and writing of the scripts, the development of which we have noted earlier. Egyptians believed that their writing was invented by the god Thoth who taught it to the early people of the valley, a belief which had a very conservative influence. The development of the written language did not keep pace with that of the spoken or popular language. Egypt, thus, came to have two languages far apart in their forms: the lan-

<sup>26</sup> George A. Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1912, 14 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 46-47.

guage of books and of written records, and the spoken language. This condition is somewhat similar to that of mediaeval Europe where Latin was the language of written records, while vernaculars, or vulgar tongues, were the spoken languages. Egyptian schoolboys began their formal schooling with a study of the three scripts. While the later forms of script came, in time, to be commonly used for everyday affairs, the religious texts were always copied in the ancient hieroglyphs, though these were not reserved solely for religious records. This is an excellent example of political and religious conservatism. Partly, to prevent any change in ideology some modern religious groups still preserve their culture in dead languages. Tradition, no doubt, has had much to do with that practice. Writing was the only gateway to lucrative employment, to social privilege and a life of ease in Egypt. The scribe was exempted from manual labor, and was supplied with food gratis by the royal storekeepers. The profession of scribe was the first step to official positions. One father advising his son to become a scribe said: "I have never seen the smith as an ambassador nor the goldsmith as a messenger. But I have seen the smith at his work at the mouth of his furnace, his fingers like the crocodiles . . . and he stank more than eggs or fish."<sup>28</sup> It was because the rewards were so great that Egyptians revered learning and held learned men in high respect. Only the learned man enjoyed any degree of personal freedom.

As intercourse with the other countries of the East developed, the Egyptian scribe studied the Babylonian cuneiform script which was widely used throughout the Mesopotamian region. With the expansion of the Egyptian Empire, knowledge of foreign scripts became increasingly necessary for those scribes engaged in foreign service. Thus the curriculum prepared boys to read and write native and foreign languages and to keep records of the state, temples, cemeteries, and commerce. Letter-writing had a very prominent place in the education of the scribe. Some such letters, still preserved, show that some scribes were possessed of notable epistolary skill. Records were kept on papyrus, a paper made of reed, but occasionally a substitute for papyrus was used. Scribes wrote with reed pens. There is no evidence that the Egyptians studied grammar or used a dictionary.

(b) LITERATURE.—Many Egyptian schoolbooks have been discovered. In them are fairy tales, accounts of travelers, and wildly extravagant stories about the deeds of fabulous men of the past. More important than these, because more generally used, were books of

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<sup>28</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 222 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).



proverbs, moral instruction, admonition, and good manners. These were designed to point the way to a happy life. They warn boys to love their books so that they may escape the miseries of military and agricultural life. Famous among such books of "Instructions" were the sayings (2883–2855 B.C.) of Ptahhotep. This old seer bewailed old age as the greatest of all evils, but remarked that cleverness was the sole antidote against this evil. His wisdom was naïvely worldly. His philosophy recommended the doing of good lest worse befall. He admonished men to be kind to their wives because, he said, women are moved more effectively by persuasion than by violence. He recommended proper and polite behavior at table. Students copying such instructions learned the art of writing and the rules of behavior at the same time. In point of time, the "Teachings of Dwauf" and the "Maxims of Ani" succeeded those of Ptahhotep. In these later proverbs the profession of literature is exalted.<sup>29</sup> In addition to such reading material, schoolboys read and sang the ballads and songs of Egypt, and these, too, were moral or religious in purpose. Schoolboys sang to the accompaniment of the pipe, the lyre, and the harp and were probably taught to play these instruments.<sup>30</sup>

Above such literature as this was the purely religious literature which was the chief study of the priesthood, a study pursued in the temple colleges rather than in the schools of the scribes. On this literature the priests wrote commentaries and, in the temple colleges, students studied the meaning of the texts. While, in theory, these sacred books were to be touched only by the gods, scribes copied them and, thus, changes in the text were introduced. The priests were too busy explaining the books to guard them against the carelessness of scribes.

(c) SCIENCES.—In addition to such literary studies, the priests, and probably some privileged laymen, studied certain sciences. Some progress was made in astronomy. Time was divided according to the course of the sun and of the moon, these discoveries becoming the basis of our own calendar. The purpose of such studies was the practical one of computing the time of the recurrence of the Nile's overflow or of religious festivals. Superstition and magic, however, retarded the development of these sciences. In fact, every branch of intellectual activity, except mathematics, was checked in its growth by magic and superstition. In the fields of geometry and arithmetic something was accomplished, but nothing of much significance be-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 223–225.

<sup>30</sup> A. Erman, *op. cit.*, 256, 384 ff.



cause there was no practical need for advanced mathematical knowledge, the Egyptians being concerned here only with the problems of everyday life. Apparently, they could multiply numbers only by 2; they seem to have had no method of division; and their knowledge and use of fractions was very elementary.<sup>31</sup> Their arithmetical results were accurate, but their methods were cumbersome. They used geometry in measuring land and other surfaces, in mensuration, but they fell into many errors here. Some mysteries exist, however, regarding Egyptian scientific knowledge, which the reader may find described by Abbé Th. Moreux in his *La Science Mystérieuse des Pharaons*. If we draw a straight line through the apex of the Great Pyramid from the north to the south of the globe, we have the actual meridian of today. This and many other mathematical enigmas are revealed by a study of this pyramid which dates back to about 3000 B.C. Later monuments reveal no such mysteries as these, and on the whole the Egyptians must be considered good practical mechanics and geometricians rather than scientists in the Greek sense. They contributed, however, to the growth of that experience and practical skill out of which the Greeks later rose to the realm of science, to the formulation of principles and laws.<sup>32</sup>

To these practical sciences ought to be added those of architecture and engineering in which the Egyptians displayed great practical skill. While their work in these fields was based on a knowledge that was purely empirical, the results fill even modern engineers with astonishment. That these sciences formed a part of the systematic work of the priestly colleges is not quite clear, but that their study and application was in the hands chiefly of the priestly class may reasonably be inferred from the dominance of the priests in Egyptian life, their greater leisure, and the importance for religious and official purposes of such sciences and skills.

One other science, medicine, remains to be mentioned. There was a chief physician attached to the court apparently as early as 3000 B.C.<sup>33</sup> Medicine was designated the "difficult science" at that early date. Medical science, however, was permeated by superstition and magic. Its origin was attributed to the gods. Because of the practice of opening bodies for mummification, the Egyptians knew something about the location of the larger organs, but, on the whole, their opportunities for anatomical knowledge did not result in any significant discovery. The blood vessels were well known to them, but not the

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<sup>31</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 215-218.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-218.

<sup>33</sup> *C.A.H.*, I, 173; II, 219.

circulation of the blood. In treating common ills the physicians prescribed some remedies of value. Castor-oil, vinegar, ointment, honey, and such like, were used in prescriptions. Poultices were applied to external sores. Some medicines were considered panaceas, but usually specific remedies for specific ills were used. The drugs were often crude, as the excreta of dogs, the blood of bats, or dung of crocodiles. In European pharmacopoeias of the seventeenth century some of these medicines were still listed, and others as crude had been added to them during the intervening centuries.<sup>34</sup> Egyptian doctors were exterminators of lice, rats, and all vermin. They were asked to prevent and cure mosquito bites. They had remedies for baldness, and cosmetics for beautifying the skin.<sup>35</sup> There was a special medical profession in Egypt from very early times, but some of the most famous doctors were priests, and medical practice was probably controlled by the sacerdotal class.<sup>36</sup> Dentistry, too, had its practitioners, and the teeth of Egyptian nobles were filled with gold then as now.<sup>37</sup>

(d) PHYSICAL EDUCATION.—Gymnastic exercises and swimming had a place on the program of at least some of the formal schools.<sup>38</sup> Besides, games, sports, and a variety of physical amusements were popular with the populace. From their boats on the Nile men fought duels with long poles. Wrestling, and prize-fighting with clubs were common. Archery and dart throwing were popular. Dancing was another common outlet for physical energy. It is notable that women took part in many of these gymnastic activities.

3. Method and Discipline.—Throughout the whole educational process, the Egyptian pupil learned by imitation of traditional forms of writing and of thought. More advanced students in the writing schools learned by spending a part of the day doing the actual work of the profession for which they were preparing. This work was done in some government or other office. It was, indeed, the method of learning to do by doing. Literature was learned by the method of memorization, whole portions of the sacred books and many magical formulas being committed to memory in the exact form in which they were thought to have been originally written. Free discussion of the meaning of this literature was a privilege and a practice of the higher priests of the temples, but probably of these only. But, in

<sup>34</sup> Victor Robinson, *The Story of Medicine*, New York: Boni, 1931, 13-14.

<sup>35</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 219-221.

<sup>36</sup> A. Erman, *op. cit.*, 357.

<sup>37</sup> F. W. Blackmar, *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>38</sup> A. Erman, *op. cit.*, 163.

spite of this freedom which came to be embodied in written commentaries, the words and forms of the original literature were considered sacred. The exact words, for instance, of magical rituals and formulas by which men could determine the decrees of the gods was considered essential for the attainment of the ends which men sought. While the errors of scribes occasionally brought minor changes into this literature, the belief that it must be preserved in its original form was at least widespread, and in that supposed original form it was memorized. No better methods exist than those of Egyptian imitation and memorization for insuring the fixity and stagnation of human thought and society. The Egyptian mind was enslaved by its worship of words and by its fear of tampering with these words lest the wrath of the gods should be turned against men. Schoolboys wrote essays on many magical beliefs and superstitions, this practice serving the purpose of perpetuating them.

Discipline in the schools was severe. Flogging was a universal practice. For some violations of rules, or neglect of duty, boys were bound in shackles and sentenced to the temple or school prison for as long as three months, for the Egyptians believed, as did the Hebrews after them, that a boy must be trained and broken as are horses or donkeys, a belief that continued in Western thought until our own day. Friendly advice, however, was frequently substituted for torture by Egyptian teachers and seers.

**4. Organization.** (a) FORMAL SCHOOLS.—Mothers nursed their children for three years. In their early years, boys and girls went nude, and some boys remained naked even after their formal schooling had begun. The home was the school of childhood, where children learned the first rules of life by contact with their parents and playmates. Egyptian girls had their dolls, and boys had their toy crocodiles.

At the beginning of their fifth year boys entered school. Some were admitted as boarders but, apparently, most of them were day students.<sup>39</sup> This school was the writing school and was usually conducted by some government department. In this school boys remained until they reached the age of sixteen or seventeen. Here they studied for one or other of the professions, but changing from one professional course to another was apparently a common practice. When boys reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, they were employed for a part of each day in the department or office for which they were being trained.

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*



Should a boy desire to enter the priesthood, he went, at the age of seventeen, to the temple college to pursue a course of study the length of which depended upon the particular priestly office he chose as a life activity. We have noted that many professional or vocational activities had come into the hands of the priestly class.

(b) APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING. — Artisans and craftsmen learned by acting as apprentices to those skilled in the many trades that had developed. Practical training in these fields was provided for outside of the formal schools of the government departments and of the temples.

(c) MILITARY TRAINING SCHOOLS.—A high priest has written that before he entered the temple college at the age of sixteen he had been a "captain in the royal stable for education."<sup>40</sup> This was probably a military training school in which sons of the nobility learned writing and military science.<sup>41</sup> Little, however, is known regarding provisions made for military training.

5. Teachers.—In the writing schools attached to governmental departments, the head official of the department was the principal teacher.<sup>42</sup> These officials were evidently laymen, who taught writing and the copying of records as the needs of their departments required. All formal instruction higher than that in writing and copying seems to have been in the hands of the priests, who had charge of all instruction in religious literature of which they were the national custodians. The teaching of the sciences and mathematics, also, was probably in their hands exclusively. Their control of the higher education of the upper classes seems to have been complete. The enslaved masses, who were held in subjection by force and fear, had a culture of their own of which their masters did not rob them, for the higher gods of the Egyptian pantheon did not destroy the cruder gods of the unenlightened populace. Control of formal cultural learning gave the priests dominion over the minds of Egyptians. By priests and government, united for a common purpose, the culture of the nation was preserved unchanged, and perpetuated.

6. Students and Student Life.—Formal schooling in Egypt was a boy's prerogative. Probably 95 per cent of all boys were excluded from school because of social and economic inequalities. In the schools, instruction was either free or inexpensive, the length of the

<sup>40</sup> A. Eрман, *op. cit.*, 330 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.



course, however, creating an obstacle for poorer students. Those of the upper classes mingled in the same schools regardless of differences in rank. The masses were controlled by the method of keeping them in fear and ignorance, and in slavish subjection to their masters. Some students indulged in riotous living and immoderate beer and wine drinking,<sup>43</sup> to the regret and alarm of their teachers. Girls were excluded from these schools, but those of high social rank might apparently receive the same instruction as boys, but from private tutors.

**7. Control and Support.**—Political or ecclesiastical officials had control of all formal schooling of boys, for the right to instruct youth for official or professional life was, by custom if not by law, the privilege of these officials. The control of these over the apprenticeship training of artisans was exercised indirectly, since the forms of arts and crafts were determined by the demand which, in Egypt, was mostly political and religious in character.

The fees, if indeed any were charged, in the departmental schools of the government and in the temple colleges, must have been small. Instruction in writing in governmental schools was probably considered one of the ordinary duties of the departmental officials. Parents supplied their sons with food,<sup>44</sup> until the boys were admitted to the profession of scribes, when they received their food gratis from the royal store. The temple colleges, as parts of the temples, were extremely rich, and the privileged few who attended these colleges in preparation for the priestly profession were probably supported largely by the temple endowments.

**8. Results.**—The formal schools of Egypt accomplished what they set out to accomplish, but no more than that. They gave youths that vocational or professional instruction necessary for the discharge of the duties of the professions that had now emerged. Beyond this, they helped to preserve unchanged, over long periods of time, the civilization of which they were a part, by transmitting the traditional culture to the social élite. Here, indeed, the school was in a very significant way the watch-dog of national culture. The achievements of Egypt, notable in many respects, were connected with the emergence of a leisure class of officials and priests. Progress in the arts, sciences, and culture was a contribution of that class. Formal education was in their hands. That greater achievements did not result from the leisure and social privilege which they enjoyed was due to the tyranny

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

of a political system and of a thought system, both of which came to be accepted by all as divine. The human mind was thus enslaved by an official and a religious orthodoxy which had its roots in tradition, in very limited knowledge, in fear of the unknown and of change, in the selfishness of the ruling classes, or generally, we might say, in the culture of Egypt. Education was the instrument for the perpetuation of that orthodoxy. Men thought of their Egyptian society as the creation of the gods, and therefore the best possible society. That man should tamper with this creation was apparently inconceivable for them, for the attempt of the Pharaoh, Akhnaton, to introduce monotheism failed completely. The world had to wait for other men and other times to face the reality of the inevitability of change, and to recognize men's right and duty to discuss social and intellectual problems freely with a view to building a better society than the traditional one. Egyptians never reached that position of enlightenment, and so their education was concerned not with the building of a better and more enlightened world but with the preservation of the traditional one.

**Informal Education.**—Life on the Nile was itself educational. Men and women assimilated the culture of their nation or their social class here as elsewhere by informal association with their fellows and by participating in the activities of the home, the temple or other agency of worship, the political life of the nation, the commerce, arts, crafts, military activities, sports, music, and dancing, or, generally, in the folkways of the people. Society here, as everywhere, was itself a great school.

In regard to vocational education, as distinct from the cultural, the apprenticeship system of training was generally in use. Scribes, as we have noted, spent part of their time on the actual job, while they studied writing in school under a writing teacher. Physicians, engineers, artisans, boatmen, farmers, soldiers, etc., learned most of the tricks of their trade by the apprenticeship method.

**Summary.**—Egyptian civilization was built upon the written word, a book, which was the repository of national culture. That culture was guarded by priest and king, for its source was thought to be divine. To the written word Egyptians became slaves. It served, however, a vital purpose in that, without such a device, a great populous society could not have been established and held in unity. Its invention marks the transit from tribal to national culture and greater social unities. But the germ of universal culture, while it appeared, had but a short-lived existence. The idea of a universal

culture built upon the conception of the fatherhood of one God and the brotherhood of all men kept on appearing in Eastern thought, and, eventually, through Hebrew-Christian and Graeco-Roman channels, passed into the culture stream of Europe, where it has since been competing, now strongly and again feebly, with local, racial and national ideals.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. There are no significant differences between the culture and institutions of Egypt and the culture and institutions of primitive peoples.

2. There are no significant differences between the educational practices of Egypt and those of primitive peoples.

3. As societies become larger and richer, social inequalities of necessity increase, because the larger society provides more adequately for the various natural inequalities of men.

4. The story of Egypt provides little, if any, evidence that the continuity of culture is an historical fact.

5. The religious was the most influential factor affecting the educational practices of Egypt, a fact which stands as a refutation of the doctrine of economic determinism.

6. An examination of primitive and Oriental societies reveals the existence of a class system of social organization since the beginning of human society, and suggests the inevitability of the class system and the need for educational differentiation based upon class.

7. Church control of culture and education, as in Egypt and, indeed, throughout history, has been a serious obstacle to desirable, democratic social change, because the church has always been the most conservative of institutions.

8. The theocratic state, whether in Egypt, colonial New England or elsewhere, has been an instrument of cultural and social despotism, and an enemy of the freedom of the human spirit and of progress.

9. Vocational education was, in the past, and still is, cultural education.

10. Since the measure of the value of educational practices is their harmony with social conditions and needs, those of Egypt were of the highest value.

11. Egyptian education was liberal because it freed men from the fears of want and of an unfavorable judgment after death.

12. Teachers in a modern democratic society can learn nothing of practical value from a study of the social and educational institutions of ancient Egypt.

13. In Egypt, as in modern America, informal education was more significant for the preservation and transmission of culture than formal education.

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## Chapter 4

### ANCIENT INDIAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

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#### I. THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER OF INDIAN SOCIETY

**The Aryan Conquest.**—While the Aryans (cultivators of the soil?) may have been indigenous to India, it is more probable that they were outsiders who overran the country in the period *circa* 2000–1500 B.C. Their earliest literature, the *Rig-Veda*, shows them engaged in a bitter struggle with the Dasyus, presumably the aborigines of the country, and of whom little is yet known. It is certain that the Aryans belonged to the Indo-European cultural family which spread over much of Europe and parts of Asia in the third and second centuries B.C. By 500 B.C. their military and cultural conquest of India had been completed, though from the struggle their own ancient culture did not emerge unimpaired.

**Indo-European Culture.**—Nineteenth-century philologists discovered the Indo-European family of languages: the Aryan (including Indian and Iranian), Greek, Italic, Keltic, Teutonic, Balto-Slavic, Armenian, and Albanian. That discovery revealed these languages as variations of an original Indo-European language. Witness, for instance, the equivalents of the English “mother” in them: *mātár* (Sanskrit); *mātar* (Iranian); *mater* (Greek); *mater* (Latin); *mathir* (Irish); and *mair* (Armenian). Some time between 3000 and 2000 B.C. the people who spoke the Indo-European mother tongue separated and, in time, cultural differences appeared among the dispersed groups. Yet, they long retained in common much of their original culture. Among their many common ancient customs were the following: the patriarchal joint-family; destruction of female infants; early marriage of girls; the suicide of widows; ancestor worship; and the worship of nature forces as gods. The sky-god, Father Sky, was worshipped under the names *Dyāús-Pitár*, in India; *Zeus-Pater*, in Greece; and *Ju-piter*, in Rome. Christianity was one of the greater forces making for cultural change in the western branches of the Indo-European family.

**The Non-Aryans of India.** (a) **DRAVIDIANS.**—Because the conquered people of India, the Dasyus, most probably spoke Dravidian tongues, they are usually called Dravidians. They differed from the Aryans in color, speech, and culture. The *Rig-Veda* speaks of their dusky skin, flat noses, “fiendish” voices and godlessness. It is noteworthy that phallic worship, the most probable root of Aryan contempt for their religion, was, in time, given a prominent place in the religion of the conquerors themselves. For the rise of the caste system there is some significance in the fact that the Sanskrit word *varna*, which the Aryans used to designate large social classes, one of which was the Dasyu group, means color.

(b) **THE INDUS VALLEY PEOPLE.**—Before 3000 B.C. there lived along the Indus and Ravi rivers the “Indus Valley People” whose culture spread apparently as far east as the Ganges. Very recent excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro show that these people built elaborate brick cities, were far advanced in industries and arts, and traded with Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, and probably Greece, as well as with much of India. And beneath their cities lie the unexplored remains of earlier cities built by earlier unknown people. The skeletons found at Mohenjo-daro reveal the presence of four different races in the ancient city.

The Indus Valley People worshipped, among other objects, phallic symbols, and many animals, birds, and trees which are worshipped in India still. Shiva, later a leading Hindu deity, was apparently one of their gods, as was also, apparently, the great Mother Goddess widely worshipped in the ancient Near and Middle East, and, in modern India, by the lower classes, even to the present day. The swastika and the Greek cross, in widespread use in the very ancient world, appear on seal-amulets of Mohenjo-daro. The swastika, which Indians always regarded as a lucky sign, was of Eastern origin. Its use by American Indians, when added to other cultural similarities, suggests a contact at some time between them and Asiatic peoples.

The Indus Valley People probably borrowed many of their gods and symbols from the earlier primitive inhabitants, presumably the Dasyus. Many elements of more primitive cultures found a place in theirs, and the Brahmin priests of India are still trying to destroy this ancient cultural residue by identifying it with supposed Aryan religious traditions. As archaeological research progresses, new light will, no doubt, be thrown upon the still largely unknown history of earliest India.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ernest Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, London: Lovat Dickson & Thompson, 1935.

**Periods in the History of Ancient India.**—While Indian history falls into periods, each with its own rather definite characteristics, the limitations of space forbid here all but the most general reference to periodically labeled changes in the culture and institutions of the country. The student will find such a systematized handling of the subject in works dealing exclusively with Indian history.<sup>2</sup>

The periods, in the order of time, are usually designated the Vedic, Epic, Rationalistic, Buddhist, and Puranic, the names being derived from the literary and religious developments which mark the several epochs. The present brief account is concerned with the Indian scene only until the Mohammedan conquest in 1194, when the Puranic Period was well advanced. Wherever reference is made to the present-day scene, that is done chiefly to illuminate the past, though it also reveals the static character of Indian society since the Brahmins came to dominate it.

**What Is Hinduism?**—Hinduism, to which we shall at times refer, includes every kind of creed, and is a congeries of many cults, united in a common culture and directed toward a common ideal-goal. It is more than a faith. It is a way of life and a social system. Though it has the emotional marks of creeds, it is a culture rather than a cult. It has a place for every belief, including atheism, which can be reconciled with its social and ethical ideals. As a religion, it claims to be the only universal one, since it recognizes them all as true, and seekers of truth, though none may ever find it. A Hindu may be a Christian, Jew, Moslem, or anything else, if he accepts the social system, and observes the ritual of Indian culture. Modern Hinduism is the end-product of an age-old evolutionary process. Economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual factors have shaped its growth and character.

### The Environment

**Economic Aspects.** (a) **GENERAL.**—Indian geographical and climatic conditions were favorable for the growth of a great civilization. On the east, south and west, the land is bounded by the ocean; on the north, by the snow-covered Himalayas, in which great rivers, which flow down to the sea, have their rise. Generally, the land is fertile; the climate, torrid; and nature, bounteous in its gifts of food. Drought was, however, an enemy of the ancient Aryans, as it still is

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<sup>2</sup> For a fairly full and, on the whole, a good account, see R. C. Dutt, *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* (People's edition), Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1891.



of their descendants. There were famines, caused by drought alone, in ancient times, albeit far less frequent and destructive than the perennial ones of modern India, at times due to taxation and maladministration. In this land of rivers, frequently flooded in dry seasons by mountain rains, the ancient Aryans built reservoirs and irrigation systems, and were apparently successful in their struggle with nature, as they were in their struggle with men, in which they were aided by mountains as well as rivers. Ancient India was also a land of forests, great reservoirs of water, of which nature made the tiger custodian. Many of those forests have been laid bare by the axe of well-armed, thoughtless, and sometimes greedy men, with the result that once fertile areas, of great size, have become vast, parched wastes.

The phenomena of mountain, river, storm, drought, etc., furnished the Vedic singers of the once warlike and vigorous Aryans with imagery in describing the drama of the doings of both gods and men. Thus the great god Indra, of the *Rig-Veda*, is a war-god, a storm-god, and a god of fertility, who controls the waters of heaven and earth, and wages celestial wars against his celestial enemies. The *Rig-Veda* reveals the early Aryans as agricultural warriors, waging, as a united people without noticeable social inequalities, a struggle against nature and the Dasyus. A sense of security, resulting from their conquest of the Dasyus, and an enervation, due mainly to the climate, robbed in time this once vigorous people of the spirit which brought them victory over nature and men. Their later literature reveals them as an effete, ceremonious, lifeless people advanced in learning but decayed in vigor. The Aryan masses permitted their once-honored manual activities to become despised, and themselves reduced in time to the status of the Dasyus, by an indolent, parasitical priestly class, and by a military nobility, enervated by luxury and increasing inactivity, whom the gods of history were to hurl in time from their earlier position of preëminence in the social system. Shut away with the Dasyus in a peculiarly Indian environment, in centuries-old isolation from western Indo-Europeans, the Aryans built their own unique Arya-Dravidian civilization.

The rivers had a not insignificant influence upon the developing civilization. In addition to their military and agricultural uses, they became trade routes between river communities. Along them since ancient Vedic times many of the famed holy places and temples of India arose, to which many millions every year still make pilgrimages. Many rivers became holy and were believed to possess the power of washing away sins. As holy rivers and shrines increased,



the priests became more numerous, more wealthy, and more powerful until, about 500 B.C., they stood at the top of the social hierarchy. The temple of Jagannath had about 60,000 priests and servants. The rivers have been as important socially and religiously as they have been economically and militarily.

The economy of Aryan India was basically agricultural. The industries necessary in peace and war developed from the earliest times in the families and villages. Occupational specialization grew with the civilization. There were priests, soldiers, farmers, traders, etc., and a growing array of artisans. Work in wood, stone, and the various metals was done by men; weaving, by women. Many ornamental objects were made. The chief development in architecture and sculpture began with the Buddhist period. India is dotted with ancient temples, shrines and palaces which testify to the physical endurance, the patience in executing endless details in ornamentation, and the skill of the workers, always lower caste men, who created them. Indian temples are enormous. That at Srirangam is the largest in the world. Much of the art of India came to maturity as an expression of the religious ideals of priests and people, both Aryan and Dravidian, and it is largely native in design. The equipment of great armies of ancient kings called for skill in making weapons and armor. Farmers, shepherds and artisans, in time, were exempted from military service. War and sports gradually became the exclusive activities of the military nobility and of millions of professional soldiers, who in time of peace led a life of idleness. Government was in the hands of the military nobility.

While Phoenicians, Greeks, and others traded at times with India; while invaders frequently made attacks upon the country; and while inquiring travelers from China, Greece, and elsewhere came occasionally to see the country, the ancient Hindus, with their religious prejudices against travel, lived in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. They were not traders; nor did they desire commerce with other peoples.

(b) THE GILD SYSTEM.—Occupational guilds existed before 600 B.C. and reached their final form by 300 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Plowmen, merchants, artisans, etc., were thus organized, and their rules and customs were approved by priests and kings. The merchant guilds became very powerful. All the guilds trained apprentices, almost exactly as did mediaeval European guilds. The master was required to treat his apprentice as a son, and the apprentice to respect the person and

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<sup>3</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *India Old and New*, New York: Scribner, 1901, 169 ff.

knowledge of his master. Said an ancient document: "Science is like a river, ever advancing downward to a humbler level."<sup>4</sup> Until the close of the Buddhist period (c. 500 A.D.), caste did not strictly determine one's occupation, and youths had much freedom in choosing a vocation.

Though changed by centuries of growth, these old gilds still survive. They have become interwoven with caste, village, town, and city life into the strange and interesting fabric of modern Indian society. The gild apprenticeship system of education has now almost disappeared. The idea of an inherited trade still persists, but few take it seriously. Where occupation and caste are identical, caste members are, *ipso facto*, gild members. Membership, once acquired, becomes a family inheritance. Prices and wages are still often fixed by these gilds. Factory owners, however, reject such regulations. Everywhere in this ancient land, old ideas and practices struggle with the new. In earlier times, the gilds guarded the interests chiefly of the middle class against the encroachments of priests and kings. Within the past few years, some of their still powerful descendants have demanded independence for India.

(c) THE LAND SYSTEM.—The earliest Aryans gradually passed from a semi-nomadic and pastoral to an agricultural mode of life. In early Vedic times priests, warriors, and the Aryan masses engaged in agriculture, but had seemingly only use of the land for which they paid rent to the king, who had sole ownership of it. In time the priests abandoned agriculture lest they injure worms, and they later branded it, with other manual occupations, impure. Finally, only the Aryan masses, and perhaps a rare Dasyu, engaged in such work. Transfer of ownership of land from kings to people began with gifts of land to friends and priests. Similar gifts were made later to village communities, though here overright remained with the kings, described in literature as the "protectors" and "devourers" of their people. Only priests' land was exempted from royal overright. In Manu's time (c. 300 B.C.), the priests arrogated to themselves, in theory, the earlier royal prerogative of the supreme ownership of everything, though kings in practice retained ownership. By 500 A.D., the peasant had become absolute owner of his fields, but the king legally remained his preserver and devourer.

The peasant, however, lived in one of two types of village community, each with its own system of land ownership: (a) the severalty village, with its headman, in which the holdings, always

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 174-175.

apparently separate as regards use, were distributed periodically among individual villagers, each of whom paid his own taxes; and (b) the joint village, without a headman, in which individual holdings were inherited parts of a single estate, and for which the community paid the taxes. Strictly speaking, communism in land has not existed at any time in India, although the joint village plan has many elements of communism in it. Authorities differ regarding the origin of these very ancient village communities and even regarding many details in the system of ownership in the villages of the present day. These ancient villages are still there and seem to have been changed but little by the hand of time.

**Social Aspects.** (a) **FAMILY.**—The family has been the most closely knit unit in Indian society, and it has existed since very early times, as it still does, in two forms: (a) the joint-family, and (b) its outgrowth, the separate family. Members of the former live together and hold their property in common; those of the latter live separately and own their property separately. The joint-family has been the general type. The ancient Hindus believed, as do most modern ones, that hell awaits the man who leaves no son to perform religious rites for him and the family ancestors. Only male descendants of ancestral males belonged, strictly speaking, to the joint-family, for marriage breaks the family ties of girls, who must worship the ancestral idols of their husbands. Women and girls do not own family property. The family includes sometimes hundreds of individuals, all living in or around the ancestral home where the family idol is worshipped; and it includes all dead members back to the first prehistoric father of them all. After thousands of years of vigorous existence, the joint-family is now declining because of modern economic conditions. It was India's most important agency of informal education which, among other things, checked the growth of the feeling of independence and selfishness in children.

(b) **VILLAGE.**—India's social life has always appeared in a village setting. Today, nine-tenths of the total population live in some 700,000 small, largely self-supporting villages of great antiquity. There are: (1) joint villages which may be either joint-family communities, or clan communities composed of two or more supposedly related families, and (2) severalty villages, composed of unrelated families.

The village is the unit in Indian communal life. From it the peasant goes out to till his fields in the great open spaces which separate the villages. There are very few separate homesteads on



India's countryside. Each village was economically independent, and employed, and paid out of village funds its own craftsmen, personal servants, and lowly street sweepers. These last received as their only pay the skins of dead animals which they removed from village property. Like the family, the village provided informal education of great moral and practical significance.

(c) CASTE SYSTEM.—In the caste system there are, when we include the Outcastes, five major castes, which are subdivided into over two thousand sub-castes. These sub-castes are the real castes. The five major castes are: (1) Brahmins, (2) Kshatriyas, (3) Vaisyas, (4) Sudras, and (5) Panchamas (Outcastes). The first three are supposed to be pure-blooded Aryans, and are called the "twice-born" castes because they alone may wear the sacred thread and enjoy the privilege of formal cultural education. The Sudras are supposedly Dasyus who were received into the Hindu community. And the Panchamas, who are theoretically outside of society, are presumably the progeny of mixed marriages, or Dasyus who, for some now unknown reason, were branded "unclean." While there are marked differences between North and South India in the numerical standing of sub-Brahmin castes, the Brahmins everywhere dominate the system as they have done for nearly fifteen hundred years. The upper four major castes have had since ancient times their special occupational fields: for Brahmins, the priesthood; for Kshatriyas, government and soldiering; for Vaisyas, business and farming; and for Sudras, servant activities. The Panchamas were never assigned a field of occupation, and were forced to live in degraded, isolated groups. Stealing is the only activity permitted for some lowest Outcastes, whose chief commandment is "Thou shalt not be caught."

The caste system is very old and uniquely Indian. Lacking the experience in legal orderliness which centralized government and even cities provide, India grew under the rule of custom which, varying with localities, was always directed by the Brahmins who, favored by Indian conditions, were able to impose their will upon society. In its present form, it has existed since about 750 A.D., though that form had been slowly shaped during the preceding millennia.

Every Hindu belongs to some sub-caste, which hereafter we shall call a caste. Membership in one's caste is hereditary, and in it one remains until death. But death does not end the drama which for each one is eternally re-enacted according to the almost universal Hindu belief in metempsychosis, first proclaimed by India's God in



the *Upanishads*. It is thus believed that, by divine, inexorable, cosmic law, called Karma, the tragedy of life is unendingly repeated, and at each rebirth one is placed in that caste of men, animals, or insects, to which his deeds in earlier lives entitle him. A man reaps what he sows. His place in the caste system is an index of his moral worth as determined by the moral law of the universe. It is that law's decree that only by ever faithful observance of the rules of one's caste during a series of lifetimes can one rise in the caste system. Here, each man, by heaven's decree, has his duties eternally fixed for him. It is a most significant psychological fact that billions of Hindus have believed the myth of the divine institution of a system which has condemned most of them to a life of toil, and some of them to degradation and misery. Ability did not count here. Heredity fixed one's lot on earth and in heaven. A few general caste practices of ancient origin will suggest the broader picture.

One must not marry outside of his sub-caste. He may eat only specified food which must be cooked by specified people. He may never eat, drink, or smoke with a lower caste-man. He may not cross the ocean. To touch an Outcaste (an Untouchable) brings defilement from which he must be ceremonially purified. Even the shadow of an Outcaste defiles a Brahmin. Some Brahmin mothers have permitted their children to be devoured by animals rather than have them rescued by Outcastes. Some Untouchables are so low that they defile a Brahmin should they come within thirty yards of him. They may not live in the same village with Hindus. There are some 70,000,000 of these miserales in this alleged God-made society of India. Until recently slavery existed in India, but slave life seems to have been more desirable than that of Outcastes. A Hindu may be a moral vagabond or an atheist and retain his caste status, but he will lose it if he accepts a drink of water from a social inferior and remains unrepentant and unpurified. All other castes and even his own family join in the persecution of an impenitent rebel against caste rules.

The caste system has a most interesting history of which we can suggest but the most meager outline here. Among the Aryans of 2000 B.C. there were, as among nearly all ancients, three classes—nobles, priests, and common people—but these were not castes. The caste system was so firmly established during Buddha's lifetime (c. 560–477 B.C.) that he accepted it as a necessary social scheme, and attacked not it but Brahmin tyranny. The religious equality of all castes was, however, a Buddhist ideal. A further hardening of caste practices occurred after Buddha's time. When all available

facts have been collected and weighed, one is compelled to conclude that the caste system has been the product of many forces: In it survive some practices of the ancient Aryan tribal and family systems. Race, class and occupational prejudices, and sacerdotal power and ambition, all operating under favorable conditions of climate, geographical and cultural isolation, of governmental weakness, and of village and family corporate life, gradually moulded old tribal social traditions into the caste system of historical times. The system furnished a solid basis for the class hierarchy, which the Brahmins, the selfish makers of caste rules, came to dominate. It was they who moulded the religious scruples which permeate it. The Dasyus were eventually caught in the social net of their masters. Mixed breeds were condemned to a lowly place. Sub-castes were multiplied in accordance with a scheme of racial and occupational impurity. Thus was born gradually in ancient times the caste system. The rôle of the priests in the drama of its birth may be seen from a few extracts from the *Code of Manu* (c. 300 B.C.):

In order to protect his universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet.

To the Brahmanas he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

The Kshatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifice, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasure.

The Vaisya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifice, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

One occupation only the lord prescribed for the Sudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes. . . .

Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brahmanas. . . .

The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to fulfil sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman. . . .

Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is, indeed, entitled to it all.<sup>5</sup>

The *Code of Manu*, one of the sacred, inspired writings of India, is a lengthy justification of Brahmin tyranny. The Westerner sees

<sup>5</sup> George Buehler's translation, in O. J. Thatcher, Ed., *The Library of Original Sources*, I, 201-202, Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907.

it as a collection of "black" lies, but the Hindu was taught to accept it as a body of truths revealed by God. It confirmed the Brahmins' long-standing, exclusive custodianship of sacred literature, and made them its sole interpreters and teachers. The blind, priest-directed faith of Hindus in the myth of the divine origin of the caste system is but one of many examples of the viciousness of at least some forms of indoctrination. The *Code* pronounced the *Vedas* to be the depository of all knowledge:

The four castes, the three worlds, the four orders, the past, the present, and the future are all severally known by means of the Veda.

Sound, touch, color, taste, and filthy smell are known through the Veda alone. . . .

Even that which one Brahmana versed in the Veda declares to be law, must be considered (to have) supreme legal (force, but) not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men.<sup>6</sup>

The influence of such revealed pronouncements still predominates in India.

(d) STATUS OF WOMEN.—By eternal social and moral law, of which caste rules are an expression, women have been assigned their place and duties in Indian society. Down the centuries the sacred books echo and re-echo the old idea:

A woman is not independent, the males are her masters. . . .

Their fathers protect them in childhood, their husbands protect them in youth, and their sons protect them in age; a woman is never fit for independence.<sup>7</sup>

In Hindu thought and practice women are treated as men's inferiors. The inspired book, *Bhagavad Gita*, says that to be a woman is evidence of sin in a former life. Karma determines one's sex as it does everything else. Because only sons could perform the essential religious family rites, female infants were unwelcome and often destroyed. Religious disabilities, their exclusion from the study of the *Vedas*, God-required marriage of pre-adolescent girls, widows' religious duty not to remarry, the custom of *sati*, or widow-burning, polygamy (common only in the higher castes), and the purdah (curtain) system contributed, each its share, to the subjection of women. With the exception of the last, these practices are ancient,

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 215, 217.

<sup>7</sup> F. Max Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, XIV, Part II, 31, Oxford University Press, 1882.



and some of them have had a fluctuating history. The purdah system, borrowed from the Mohammedans, required women to seclude themselves in their own rooms while at home, and hide their faces behind veils or curtains while outside of their homes.

In the Vedic Period (c. 2000–1400 B.C.) women were nearly men's equals in dignity and status. For their social fall, the Brahmin priesthood seems to have been chiefly responsible. The supposedly God-written *Satapatha Brahmana*, as did all later law books, forbids a man to eat with his wife. Women were forbidden to hear the *Vedas* read even by their husbands in family rites. By 700 B.C. most of their ancient privileges had vanished. Marriage was now a required sacrament and almost the only career of women. Child marriage soon became a general practice. Mass marriages of boys of eight and girls of six years of age became common, and still continue in parts of India. The treatment of lower-caste widows was more humane than of those of the higher castes. High-caste widows, who did not commit *sati*, had to go into perpetual mourning and, generally, keep their hair cut off, avoid family festivities, eat but once a day, and abstain from all food and drink during two days each month—all this because their sins in a former life were believed to have caused their husbands' death. To these few of the many tragic practices ought to be added the exclusion of women from ownership of family property. Hindu husbands often forced them to surrender their personal property under threat of a second wife.

In spite of tyrannous rules and customs, and occasional manifestations of male inhumanity, India has been, in the large, a land of beautiful family life, of devoted fathers and husbands, of faithful wives, and of dutiful children. Man-made laws are often too weak to change human nature. In the variegated cultural scene of India it was possible for individual women to become saints, scholars, artists, teachers, and social servants, but only by renouncing the Brahmin decrees that marriage and parenthood are a universal duty and that widows should withdraw from the world. Unwarranted conclusions about practices seem to have been drawn from the priest-made ideals of the scriptures such as those for wives. Says the *Mahabharata* of the ideal wife:

She should be beautiful and gentle, considering her husband as her god and serving him as such in fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, obedient even if commanded to unrighteous deeds or acts that may lead to her own destruction. She should rise early, serving the gods, always keeping her house clean, . . . eating only after the



needs of gods and guests and servants have been satisfied, devoted to her father and mother and the father and mother of her husband.<sup>8</sup>

Says the *Code of Manu*:

Though destitute of virtue, . . . a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.<sup>9</sup>

With our Western cultural prejudices we are likely to err in evaluating Hindu ideals and practices, not only as they affect women but also as they affect every individual and the whole society of India. Indian and, indeed, all Eastern philosophers argue just as convincingly for their ideals and practices as our philosophers do for ours.<sup>10</sup>

(e) SOME MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM.—Theoretically, the caste system has much to recommend it. The Brahmins defended it upon the grounds that it provides for wide variations in ability, aptitude, and character among individuals; that one's place in society ought to be determined by his ability and moral worth; that the good society ought to be ruled by wise, intellectual, and spiritual aristocrats, having the economic security and leisure necessary for their work; that responsibility for one's acts, and punishments for offences should rise with the intelligence and social position of individuals; and that the lower one's social status is, the greater should be his personal liberty.

In its practices it has been defended on the grounds that (a) it is a coöperative, not a competitive, system; (b) it recognizes the identity of the basic interests of all men; (c) the castes, all of which are self-governing, are democratic, each one providing equality of opportunity for its members; and (d) each caste, while stressing collective responsibility, has promoted the growth of character and occupational proficiency in its individual members, and ensured orderliness and stability in society as a whole.

Some historical facts are noteworthy here: The caste policy of segregating the aborigines, now apparently the Indian middle class, and of Aryanizing them was better than that of destroying them. Aided by the Hindu family, the caste system protected the ancient culture against invaders, whom it eventually absorbed, as it still

<sup>8</sup> Cited by A. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*, New York: The Sunwise Turn, 1918, 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> K. Shridharani, *My India, My America*, New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941; A. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*

protects it against Western influences. It promoted learning and vocational skills by making them the special duties of groups. It developed in every man a strong feeling of belonging to a group and of pride in his ancestral and caste heritage. Its socially divisive tendencies have been softened by the widespread awe and respect for the Brahmins, which the priests imposed upon the credulous masses. Against such possible or probable merits, the system had, for Western eyes, glaring defects.

The Hindu has been perhaps the most changeless of social systems. Even the gods must have wondered at the occasional social rise of a lower-caste man. New castes have been created from time to time, but basically the system never changed. The Brahmin overlords have not always been the best and the wisest Indians, and the great natural talent of numerous lower-caste men for leadership was wasted while the priests ruled by divine right. To knowledge and spiritual progress some Brahmins have made very great contributions. Others of them have been morally-corrupt, religious impostors, who preyed upon a superstitious people, and commercialized holiness.<sup>11</sup> The subjection of women and the degradation of the Untouchables are defects which we have examined. Women in Western democracies, however, have emerged but recently from a form of social bondage, while they lost ground in their struggle for freedom in Nazi-Fascist states. And it is worth realizing that we have our own Untouchables in the West.

**Religious Aspects.** (a) RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.—The changing religious scene appears in a voluminous literature, of which only the basic books can be mentioned here. The *Rig-Veda*, put into writing probably about 300 B.C., after centuries of growth and oral transmission, is probably the earliest book. The three other *Vedas* have much in common with this religious textbook. The four *Vedas* were enlarged by priestly commentaries (*Brahmanas*), their philosophical appendices (*Upanishads*), and by legal instructions (*Sutras*), the whole constituting Vedic literature. This literature was regarded as the directly spoken word of God, who created thought, language, and speech, and, in earlier times, so holy that it might not be written. In time the lower castes and women were forbidden to read it, or hear it read.

Less sacred than these were the books composed, or written by men under divine inspiration: (a) the *Code of Manu*; (b) the Epics, called *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*; (c) the *Puranas*, the sectarian

<sup>11</sup> J. B. Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915, Ch. VIII.

scriptures of modern Hinduism; (d) the sectarian ritualistic manuals, frequently called *Tantras*; and (e) the *Bhagavad Gita*, the bible of Krishnaism. The last became the crown of Hindu religious-philosophical literature. Most of these post-Vedic books were written at various times between 500 B.C. and 700 A.D. It is probable that writing was not used for literary purposes until about 300 B.C. Until that time literature was mnemonic, and many compositions were probably lost.

(b) THE GODS OF INDIA.—The early Aryans worshipped friendly, personified nature gods, such as Heaven, Earth, Storm, and, above these, the seven highest gods, sons of the great mother goddess, Eternity, who were viewed as powers directing the acts of the lower gods. Of these the warrior god, Indra, came to be deemed the creator and preserver of all things. Most of these gods had economic roots; the Vedic heaven, physical delights. Besides holy gods, there were many malevolent demons against whom the gods warred. And there were female gods and female demons. The demons were evil-eyed and cloven-hoofed. Life in heaven and hell was a reflection of life in society, the gods, however, being immortal.

Out of the vaguely trinitarian conception of the Vedic god Agni (Fire), post-Vedic Brahmin priests created a trinity, with Brahma as the creator; Shiva as the destroyer; and Vishnu as the preserver. The new God, Brahma, is but the "word" or potent sacred formula of the *Rig-Veda* now identified by philosophical speculation with reality, or "the soul of the universe." In this post-Vedic, monotheistic pantheism the many Vedic gods were absorbed, chiefly by identification, by the new deities. Incarnation myths grew. Thus the men, Krishna, the Christ of India, and Rama were worshipped as incarnations of Vishnu, as they still are. In spite of absorption and identification of deities, the gods grew in number to at least a million, of which all except the great gods (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna, Rama, and Kali) are mere local godlings, such as spirits of trees, streams, etc.

Most Indian gods had wives who, except Kali, were modestly submissive to their husbands. The sometimes gentle, sometimes terrible Divine Universal Mother, Kali, the wife of Shiva, was worshipped as a symbol of female energy, regarded as nature's active force, which, among other doings, hid the Absolute from the eyes of men.

These partly personal, partly cosmic gods, growing dreamy like the climate of India, were indifferent to moral issues. While they

were bringers of good and evil, they were beyond good and evil. Moral law resides in the universe, but the gods are not subject to it.

Finally there appeared in the *Upanishads*, as the crown of religious thought, the theological-philosophical concept of Brahman—the one god, the single power back of all things and powers. Brahman is the essence, totality, and inner unity of all things, the Absolute of Absolutes, in which all things have their source. Brahman is a neuter, actionless, impersonal force with which, while it is not the universe, the universe is identified. Brahman is not merely the sum total of all laws and things. It is the purely spiritual essence of all things, and unknowable through material things, though the material world, made worthless by the concept, can be known only through “It.” This concept reduced all gods to one, with which the world was identified; “the one” and the world being, in turn, identified with “the Self” of the universe and the individual. As “the Self,” Brahman is an intelligent, conscious being, and the only being which is free, for, being actionless and without desires, he is not subject to Karma. Thus Hindu thinkers climbed from the “word” of the *Rig-Veda* to the zenith of philosophical idealism. Says the *Upanishads*:

He who dwells in all beings . . . whose body all beings are, and who pulls (rules) all beings within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within the immortal. . . .

He who dwells in the mind, . . . whom the mind does not know, whose body the mind is, and who pulls (rules) the mind within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within the immortal. . . .

That Self is to be described as No, No. He is, incomprehensible . . . ; he is imperishable.<sup>12</sup>

God is thus significantly defined as “Neti, neti, neti, neti—meaning not this, not that, not even that, and not that either.”<sup>13</sup> But the concept is not, as we have seen, merely negative.

The *Bhagavad Gita* presents a purely theistic conception of God, and identifies Brahman with Vishnu, whom it incarnates in Krishna. Similarly, Shiva is often conceived as a one, only, personal God, often represented as dancing to symbolize the joy he finds in his cosmic acts. Many Hindus for centuries have seen in such conceptions but different names for the one only God, whom they have preferred to see as a personal being.

<sup>12</sup> O. J. Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 135, 158-160.

<sup>13</sup> K. Shridharani, *op. cit.*, 251.



(c) SECTS IN INDIA.—There are as many sects as there are gods and godlings. The Brahmins, perhaps cleverly, did not attempt to rob the masses of their numerous caste, local, and ancestral primitive deities, which they still worship. To the learned Brahmin, all these are but the one God manifesting Himself in different forms to men of different mentality and moral worth. The Outcaste worshipper of some crude image is deemed mentally incapable of grasping a sublime, spiritual idea of the one God. The villager knows the gods of the temples, but he reduces them to the size and form of his local deity. The great sects comprise the devotees of the great gods. Buddha, once widely worshipped, was, after 500 A.D., hurled by a triumphant Hinduism from the Indian pantheon.

(d) SOME BASIC RELIGIOUS IDEAS.—Religion, ethics, and philosophy became in India almost inextricably intertwined. In the endless web of Hinduism, here are some important threads, largely religious: (1) There is one unknowable God who is the only reality; (2) there are numerous other gods which men ought to respect; (3) revealed literature, as interpreted by Brahmins, is the final religious authority; (4) divine moral law, Karma, operates through the caste system to reward and punish men; (5) men can stop the operation of Karma by avoiding action and by austere self-denial and world-renunciation; (6) the material world is an illusion; only the spiritual is real; and (7) the soul is the divine self, reality, residing in each person.

The idea of the immortal soul, the knowing, divine self within each individual is the center of Hindu belief, and the point of beginning and end of all inquiry. The goal of religion for each one is the knowledge of this God within him. Few Hindus question this doctrine of the soul, for their education has not led to doubting. Eventually, it has been believed, this soul will be freed from Karma and united with God eternally. Even the atheist has accepted the doctrine of Karma and its counterpart, the immortality of the soul. Hindus have always lived in eternity.

Linked to the doctrine of the soul is that of Karma and transmigration of souls. Karma explains all things and occurrences in the visible and invisible worlds. It explains, for instance, a man's character, wealth, conduct, etc. The god Brahman is, by essence, free from Karma and rebirth. On Karma rest all ethical doctrines. Many Hindu philosophies taught that men could escape from it by knowledge, intellectual and moral discipline, and monastic renunciation of the world. Buddhist monks and laymen saw escape from it

in the eradication of all desires. Under Hinduism proper, relief from it was promised to him who, without desire for reward, discharged his almost endless duties faithfully. The influence of the doctrine has been most apparent in the lives of monks, forest recluses, Yogin ascetics, etc., whose numbers have been legion.

(e) ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINATION.—Since the overthrow of Buddhism, the Brahmins have held social ascendancy. The increase of priestly power was largely due to the growth of an ecclesiastical monopoly in the fields of learning and religious culture. After Vedic times, a meaningless, highly ceremonious ritual, and an involved, philosophical theology grew up under the direction of “divinely appointed” custodians, the priests. Warrior intellectuals challenged for a time the priestly monopoly of learning and teaching. The *Upanishads* resulted from these lay activities. The Buddhist movement was an attempt of the warrior class to destroy Brahminism, but it failed, although nearly one-half of all Hindus once accepted that faith. The Brahmins, with their accumulation of privileges and wealth, and their traditional reputation for learning and holiness, had become firmly entrenched. Particularly because learning became, in the course of time, their monopoly, they came to be regarded by the masses as superior to ordinary men. Prior to 500 A.D., kings and their warrior nobles kept a check upon priestly power. During India’s Dark Ages (750–950 A.D.), the old royal houses fell, and the feudal barons, the Rajputs, who succeeded them, persecuted the Buddhists, upheld Hinduism, and permitted the priests to dominate the social and cultural system, as they still do. Though priestly functions have been exclusively theirs, many Brahmins have engaged in other activities, some of them more profitable. As a class they have been wealthy. Some of the priests proper are endowed, hereditary, temple office-holders; others engage in religious service outside of the temples, and live by the gifts of the faithful, whose sins they make white as snow—for a price.<sup>14</sup>

(f) BUDDHISM.—Though crushed in India, Buddhism became the religion of one-third of mankind. Buddha’s teachings were new in India not in their ideals but in their points of emphasis. Highest among the ideals which he called upon men to aim at were self-mastery and universal love. The destruction of suffering was the ultimate goal at which he aimed. The essence of his teaching appears in “The Four Noble Truths”:

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<sup>14</sup> See J. B. Pratt, *op. cit.*, 145.

1. Existence is suffering.
2. The desire to exist is the root of suffering.
3. To destroy this desire is to destroy suffering.
4. The destruction of suffering results from following "The Noble Eight-fold Path" which consists of Right Faith, Right Intention, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Conduct, Right Effort, Right Thought, and Right Meditation.

Holiness and a love of all feeling things, not the formal acceptance of dogmas, are the marks of the good life. While Buddha said that he came not to teach philosophy but to save the world, his teachings gave rise to a philosophy among his devotees. On all metaphysical questions he was himself an agnostic; in religion, an atheist. Yet he asked men to be guided in their lives by the doctrines of Karma and rebirth. The virtuous, as distinct from the learned man, by observing Buddhist precepts, could earn extinction (*nirvana*) of desire in life, and a high and happy rebirth. To the learned, who were also virtuous, Buddha offered escape from rebirth and a final *nirvana* (*parinirvana*), a complete extinction apparently of the individual by his absorption into the impersonal, actionless World Soul.

It was as a religion of social reform that Buddhism was most significant. Buddha taught that conduct, not birth, should determine one's caste. As did Christianity, Buddhism appealed to the lowly, who suffered from caste injustice. Caste distinction was abolished in its monasteries. Its greatest triumph came when the emperor Asoka (c. 250 B.C.) dedicated his life to the spread of its gospel throughout India and the world. That gospel reached Egypt, Syria, and Palestine and had, no doubt, some influence upon Christianity. In India, its monasteries became in time rich, and its monks another idle, parasitical priesthood who substituted ceremonials for social service. After 500 A.D. it was uprooted by a revitalized Hinduism.

(g) ETHICS OF INDIA.—The basic virtues enjoined upon Hindus by their moralists were honesty, truthfulness, piety, charity, and respect for the life of all feeling things. Ethics and religion in India have always been closely knit together, and religious observances have been moral duties. The worst of all sins has been that of injury to any living creature, even to a biting insect. Flowers and trees were also protected by this principle of non-injury. Killing birds and animals for sport, as Westerners sometimes do in India, has not increased Hindu respect for us. The Golden Rule, for which Hindus seem to have more respect than Westerners, appears in their *Mahabharata* as follows:



This is the sum of all true righteousness—  
Treat others as thou wouldst thyself be treated.  
Do nothing to thy neighbor which hereafter  
Thou wouldst not have thy neighbor do to thee.<sup>15</sup>

British officials have noted the scrupulous adherence of Hindus generally to their moral code. Perhaps the West has something to learn from them. Many of India's noble, ethical ideals cannot, however, be logically reconciled with caste injustices. Here, as with us, ideals and practices are often far apart. The good and the bad in India are rooted in the social heritage, whose survival has been one of the cultural and educational phenomena of the world.

**Political Aspects.**—Ancient Aryan India was divided into separate kingdoms, and was never firmly welded into a united nation. At times some of the kings, by successful military exploits, became divisional emperors, as did Asoka in the third century B.C. The nearest approach to national unity came under the Andhras emperors, and their successors, the Gupta and later dynasties in the period 26 B.C.—740 A.D. This was the period of India's greatest philosophical and scientific achievements, when learned men pursued their studies at imperial seats and under imperial protection. From the second century B.C. until the fifth century A.D., India was periodically invaded by foreigners beginning with the Bactrian Greeks and ending with the Huns. The invaders who remained in India adopted the Buddhist faith, and finally lost their identity in the cultural panorama of their new environment.

During India's Dark Ages (750–950 A.D.) a curtain fell over the nation's history. At their close, the Rajputs, of unknown origin, but probably foreigners converted to Hinduism, had risen to power as feudal overlords. These in turn fell before the might of the Mohammedans and, since 1194, have enjoyed a sort of independence in isolated strongholds. That date marks the end of Indian national independence. The spirit of Western nationalism has brought in India, China, and other Eastern lands, a demand for independence and for the right of each people to determine its own destiny. The Far East, under the leadership of China and India, promises to write the next great chapter in the history of mankind.

The caste, family, and village systems of social organization had a disintegrating effect upon the nation, which industrialization and urbanization have now begun to offset. With the fall from power

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.



of the kings and warrior class, the Brahmins became the unchallenged controllers of culture and formal education. Religious knowledge and formal education, once the right of all Aryans, were now made an exclusive Brahmin privilege. For a thousand years following this Brahmin triumph, approximately 97 per cent of the people lived and died illiterate. Theocracies have shown a capacity to thrive on the ignorance and superstition of the masses.

**Intellectual Aspects.** (a) PHILOSOPHY.—A strong claim could be made for ancient India's national preëminence in philosophy. Here, developing thought on such questions as the nature of being, reality, knowledge, man, etc., parallels very closely that of Greece and the Christian West.

There were six great orthodox, or Vedic, philosophies in India. The philosophy of the sects which rejected Brahmin and Vedic authority remained outside of these orthodox systems. The period 750 B.C.—750 A.D. was the chief era of philosophical speculation. The agnostic spirit, mother of wisdom, then wove out of questioned Vedic myths systematized philosophies. The six systems, though disagreeing on many questions, showed themselves to be reconcilable with the *Vedas*, and received Brahmin approval. Inquiring, among other things, into the what and how of knowledge, Hindu philosophers invented a system of logic, which has much in common with that of the Greeks, and a syllogistic method of reasoning startlingly similar to that of Aristotle. Out of their inquiry came also psychologies answering questions about the nature of the knowing organism, its various parts and their functions, and the various aspects of the psychological process involved in acquiring knowledge.

The orthodox philosophers professed to believe that the highest truths could be found only in the *Vedas*, and they regarded reason as subservient to faith in arriving at a knowledge of such truths. The function of reason was the discovery of real meanings through a reconciliation of apparently conflicting Vedic thoughts. It could discover no new truths. In addition to faith and reason, sense perception, human authority, and other means were recognized as subordinate sources of knowledge by some, and as primary sources of knowledge by others.

The orthodox schools were opposed by heretical philosophers who denied the infallibility of the *Vedas*. There were many of these heretics, particularly from Buddha's time onward. The agreement of all the schools on certain basic points is remarkable. The materialist Carvaka school stands alone in rejecting the following theories

which, except as indicated, are accepted even by the Buddhists and Jains :

1. The theory of Karma and rebirth.
2. The theory of Mukti, which teaches that, by acquiring true knowledge and eradicating desires, one will become eventually free from joys and sorrows, including rebirth, thus reaching by a short route the final goal of the cosmic moral process, whether we call it *nirvana* or give it another name.
3. The theory of a permanent soul, in nature pure, but tarnished by its surroundings, a theory rejected by the Buddhists alone.
4. The theory that life is sorrow ; that pleasure increases sorrow ; and that this sorrow can be ended only by ascetical moral discipline, and by true knowledge of the universe and the soul, and of its ultimate victory over Karma.
5. The theory that certain specified moral practices, which include non-injury to living things, are essential to salvation.

The doctrine of Mukti has a special educational significance. It proclaims that supreme happiness is attainable only through a life of asceticism, and of intellectual effort leading to a knowledge of the identity of one's own self and the Soul of the Universe. For the ignorant man transmigration can never cease. True knowledge of true realities makes man infinite, immortal and forever free. Indeed, such knowledge is emancipation, which is the realization of the true nature of man. True knowledge is always knowledge of one's Self. Such knowledge blots out feelings of joy and sorrow and ends all change, even death, because, with its attainment, man enters the Endless Sea of unchanging reality.

It is both socially and educationally significant that the only philosophies which survived in India were those, whether orthodox or heterodox, which denied the existence of the Absolute, a concept perhaps too abstract for the generality of men. Its abstractness does not tell the whole story of its fall. The warrior philosophers, who made Brahman, the Absolute, their central idea, regarded the traditional Hindu gods as inferior to learned men. This Brahman idea tended to spread among the masses and threatened Brahmin ascendancy by destroying respect for the old pantheon and the sacrificial religion of the *Vedas*. To tame the new thought, the Brahmins made it the last and highest study in their schools, and reconciled it with

the sacrificial Vedic system, the study of which continued to hold a large place in the curriculum. Since only boys of the three upper major castes were admitted to these schools, and since only Brahmins could teach, the new philosophy was brought under Brahmin control, as were the *Vedas* earlier, and the masses were denied access to it. Philosophy was thus removed from the streets and forests, and subjected to caste rules governing learning and teaching. Democracy was not to enter India by the back door of lay intellectualism and popular enlightenment.

(b) THE SCIENCES.—The ancient Hindus made large contributions to scientific knowledge. They invented the decimal and so-called Arabian systems of notation. They invented zero, saw its reality, and made it the dividing point between positive and negative quantities. The Arabs but refined the Indian systems of arithmetic and algebra, and transmitted them to Europe.

By 1000 B.C., astronomy, long evolving, had become a distinct science, but the Hindus used this knowledge merely to fix the dates of religious festivals. The lunar-zodiac scheme of astronomical calculation was a native invention of the period preceding 1000 B.C. Between 500 and 1200 A.D., Hindu astronomers stated as theory, based upon careful observation of facts, the actual causes of lunar and solar eclipses, and the basic ideas back of Newton's law of gravitation. Astronomy remained, however, a servant of ancient religious myths.

In mathematics we see their achievement at its best. The Hindus invented algebraic calculus, and were the first scientists to apply algebra to astronomical and geometrical problems. In 1202, Leonardo of Pisa in his *Book of the Abacus*, based upon Arabic works, first made this algebra and the zero concept known to Europeans. In trigonometry and arithmetic the Hindus were also pioneers at many points. Hindu geometry, dating from the eighth century B.C., was developed in connection with the building of altars. After construction rules had become fixed, the Hindus neglected geometry in favor of algebra.

In geography, natural history, medicine, chemistry and surgery, the Hindus made notable progress between 800 B.C. and 600 A.D. Some authorities say that Hippocrates borrowed his *Materia Medica* from the Hindus.<sup>16</sup>

In other fields than science, however, India's greatness lay. Her claim to preëminence among ancient peoples in the fields of language,

<sup>16</sup> R. C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, 728-729.



grammar, logic, psychology, philosophy, religion, and ethics cannot be successfully contested. Only in the richness and variety of literature, in sculpture, architecture, and the social and physical sciences did Greece surpass her. The Hindu vision of scientific phenomena was, however, dwarfed by a fixed religious horizon.

To science, as to philosophy, the Brahmins contributed less than did men of lower social rank. Caste laws, from those of Manu onward, placed even physicians and astronomers upon the level of menial castes, and declared their work impure. Priestly contempt for all non-Brahmin activities eventually degraded almost the entire field of useful activities.

**Asceticism.**—India has been a land of moral and religious ascetics ever since triumphant Aryan civilization reached its religio-moral seed stage. While the two have many things in common, we can distinguish between worldly and otherworldly asceticism, the former looking to a material reward, the latter, to a religious reward. Since primitive times some have practised austerities in order to gain such things as wealth or power. In time, the power sought came to be magic power, and worldly then began to become otherworldly asceticism. Indian asceticism passed through those stages of development and, by 700 B.C., otherworldly ascetics were numerous there. The four orders of men, as recognized by the sacred laws, were those of the student, householder, hermit, and ascetic, the last two differing from each other only in the forms of torture prescribed for them. The *Laws of Vasishtha*, for instance, read in part:

(Let the ascetic) shave (his head); let him have no property and no home. . . .

Let him wear a single garment. . . .

Let him sleep on the bare ground. . . .

Let him (constantly) seek in his heart the knowledge (of the universal soul).

(An ascetic) who lives constantly in the forest shall not wander about within sight of village cattle.

Freedom from future births is certain for him who constantly dwells in the forest, who has subdued his organs of sensation and action, who has renounced all sensual gratification, whose mind is fixed in meditation on the Supreme Spirit, and who is (wholly) indifferent (to pleasure and pain). . . .

Let him, though not mad, appear like one out of his mind.<sup>17</sup>

To gain miraculous powers these early hermits organized a system of physical and mental exercises designed to bring the body, the

<sup>17</sup> F. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, XIV, Part II, 46-47.



senses, and the mind under the yoke (*yoga*). Generally they were celibates. They retained caste distinctions. Silence, endurance of extremes of temperature, eating disgusting foods, covering their vermin-infested bodies with unspeakable filth, and maintaining excruciating bodily postures, sometimes for years, were among their ascetical practices. They are said to have devised 8,400,000 painful bodily postures.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that some of these practices antedate the Karma doctrine.

The Karma-believing ascetic renounced the worship of gods, his caste, family, property, and all forms of activity, except begging, because he deemed these to hold man world-bound. Such asceticism spread among all the great sects. In his yellow robe, his loin cloth, or completely naked, the monk of India has pursued his solitary, contemplative life. Because the ascetics accepted in time some philosophy which promised emancipation from Karma, they, though remaining solitaries, came to be recognized as members of religious orders.

In addition to the hermitage, communities of monks, vowed to ascetical practices, arose. The Buddhist movement, for instance, came to center in monasteries.

Through a thousand channels, asceticism eventually permeated Hindu society and left its mark upon educational ideals and practices. Today, the old otherworldly asceticism is giving way to a worldly form of which the life of Ghandi furnishes a well-known example.

## II. HINDU EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

### Brahmin Education

**Types of Formal Education.**—From the viewpoint of purpose there were two types of formal education in ancient India, the religio-cultural and the aristocratic-vocational. From the viewpoint of the group which generally provided it, there were two types of schools, the Brahmin and the Buddhist. The student who seeks an account of Mohammedan education will find a chapter on that subject in F. E. Keay's *Ancient Indian Education*.<sup>19</sup> The vocational training of manual workers was provided through the apprenticeship system, and much of it was under the supervision of the guilds. The religio-cultural type of education, in a long view of the Indian scene, was a special privilege of the priestly class, for whom it had also a

<sup>18</sup> F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1899, 457.

<sup>19</sup> Oxford University Press, 1918.

vocational significance. The aristocratic-vocational was designed to meet the special cultural and vocational needs of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Sometime before 500 B.C., the education of these latter classes, earlier, it would seem, provided generally by their own lay teachers, began to be supplied by Brahmin schools. If that be true (though the evidence leaves the matter doubtful), then earlier Brahmin schools were attended mainly by Brahmins, though the legal right of all pure-blooded Aryan boys to Vedic learning was doubtless recognized.

**Purposes and Ideals.**—While stated here and there in books, the purposes appear perhaps more clearly as an integral, though implicit, aspect of the cultural scene than as systematically stated ideals. As religio-philosophical and educational thought developed, the emphasis came to be placed upon the attainment of a far-away goal in an otherworldly tomorrow, in which, indeed, the contemplative Hindu felt himself to be always living. For him, the individual, caste, the cosmic order, etc., are all one great unity; and the past, present and future are but inseparable aspects of the eternal Now. Education was thus viewed as inseparably intertwined with every other phase of the eternal scheme. In practice, the individual, caste, etc., were treated as separate, and the individual was assigned a subordinate place in the divine social order.

The basic purpose of education was to enlighten the individual about that divine order and his place in it through a study of the *Veda*, which means knowledge. That purpose, evident in the life of the home, caste, temple, school, etc., was cultural. Immediately, it was social, and the ideal of duty (*Dharma*) was stressed by all leaders. A man's first duty was to the social order. Compliance with that was the core of religious life. The *Dharmasutras* which reduced men's duties to concise and memorable form became very important school texts. Yet, the Hindu looked beyond the social goal to the attainment of spiritual harmony between the individual, society, and the divine cosmic order.

What Hindus discovered during their metaphysical flights into the Infinite was usually far removed from life's realities, though their dreams had many practical, social results, either good or bad according to one's concept of values. Men need, however, other food than metaphysics. The mystics of India needed that other for their celestial flights and, while despising manual laborers and labor, had their physical needs supplied. Because they could not escape from worldly realities, a vocational purpose came to be embodied in

formal education, and was frequently stated by writers on education. Indeed, the immediate purpose was to train priests, princes, merchants, etc., for their practical pursuits. The law books have much to say about the knowledge and skills needed in these vocational fields. Enough Vedic learning was to be provided for laymen to inspire and guide their work. The devout Hindu, however, always deemed practical training subordinate to the education of the soul. For him, every institution and activity has as its goal the education of the soul, which ought to be attuned to the music of the universe, an end to which asceticism was the most certain path.

**Curriculum.** (a) LITERARY STUDIES.—The formal education of India was built almost entirely upon books. While some education came from life then as now, much of it came from books, the records of past experience, as it still does among literate peoples, each new generation of which, because of those records, beginning life at the point reached by the preceding generation. Animals can learn only by life and experience.

The ancient Aryans deemed the *Vedas* and the learning they contained as sacred, and the whole Brahmin caste became their preserver. In the sacred laws we read:

Sacred learning approached a Brahmana (and said to him), "Preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not to a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions: so (preserved) I shall be strong." <sup>20</sup>

The literary studies developed gradually in the course of centuries. The Indian alphabet, of uncertain origin, was but little used, except perhaps for commercial purposes, before Asoka published his rock edicts (c. 242 B.C.). Previously, the literature of the schools was mnemonic, and was memorized and transmitted orally, as have been the ballads and folklore of many peoples even to our own day.

The early speech of the *Rig-Veda* was a local vernacular, called Vedic. Sanskrit is Vedic speech as systematized by the grammarian, Panini, about 350 B.C. It became the language of the learned, of official documents, and of orthodox Hindu culture. Non-conformist scriptures have usually been written in other languages. After the tenth century A.D., Sanskrit works were translated into Indian vernaculars, some of which became local media of instruction. Yet, Sanskrit remained the official vehicle of Hindu culture, although, for

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<sup>20</sup> F. Max Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, XIV, Part II, 10, Oxford University Press, 1882.



the masses, it has been largely a dead language ever since writing came into use. Though dead, it long remained the only language of books and schools, which thus only the learned understood. The mark of caste was stamped upon it as learning became more and more a priestly privilege. By controlling this grammatically perfect instrument, the priests have exerted a most conservative influence upon Hindu culture.

Even the most ancient Aryans, motivated perhaps by race hatred, considered their speech God-made, and insisted upon linguistic purity in members of the Aryan family. Such an attitude made easy the acceptance of the fixed grammatical forms which Panini gave to Vedic speech, changed by centuries of growth, as it was, but which, when Sanskritized, was destined to change no more.

In Brahmin schools great stress was placed, especially for Brahmin students, upon the study of words. The god Brahman was identified with the word, and was the thing denoted by every word. Word study and grammar thus came to be the essence of philosophy, the heart of the curriculum, and the way to emancipation from Karma. Grammar, broadly considered, was the science of sciences, the stairway to heaven, the light guiding priests, warriors, and merchants to the proper discharge of their several duties.

The earliest curriculum consisted of the study of one *Veda*, and related subjects, taught by a priest whose family specialized in it. In time, all the *Vedas* were taught in each school. Even in Vedic times, the Brahmins recognized six subjects as essential to an understanding of the *Vedas* and their ritualistic use. These were called *Vedangas* (*Angas*), or members of the *Veda*. They were phonetics, meter, grammar, etymology, astronomy, and religious ceremonies. Out of these, many later priestly studies grew. Of the later studies philosophy was the most important.

To maintain their cultural and social supremacy, the Brahmins introduced philosophy into their schools, and made it the queen of studies in order to tame it and keep it tamed. Sankara, the leading Vedantist philosopher, held that the *Vedas*, science, history, etc., referred only to the "unreal" phenomenal world, and that it is only through the Vedanta, the basis of true knowledge, that one could be freed from Karma. The *Vedas*, he said, teach how Brahman is to be worshipped, not how he is to be known. Many such philosophers viewed the traditional curriculum as an obstacle to the attainment of a true knowledge of reality. The Brahmin schools faced the challenge of this rationalism, and made philosophy serve "useful" ends. In Brahmin hands, it became the "destroyer of ignorance,"



gave "meaning to life," and taught men how to attain the "goal of existence." By the early Christian era it seems to have risen to the leading place in the curriculum for the priestly class.

(b) NON-LITERARY STUDIES FOR KSHATRIYAS AND VAISYAS.—When the education of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas was brought directly under Brahmin control, about 500 B.C., the earlier curriculum was enlarged to meet the needs of this wider school clientele. A list in one of the *Upanishads*, for about the year 100 B.C., has, in addition to the old subjects, such new ones as logic, ethics, augury, military tactics, arithmetic, astronomy, the study of serpents and poisons, dancing, singing, playing, and the making of perfumes. At about the same date, some schools were teaching also sacred dramatics, history, aesthetics, and the eighteen vernacular scripts of India.<sup>21</sup> Many of those subjects were evidently designed to meet the needs of others than Brahmins.

By 200 A.D., a clear distinction was being drawn between the "sciences" and the "arts." The former were viewed as subjects of study; the latter, as training for practical activities. The sciences included literature, grammar, phonetics, elocution, economics, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, and history with stress upon its economic, social, and moral aspects, as reflected in the acts of governments. For priests, the emphasis was placed upon the sciences; for laymen, upon the arts. Among the studies of princes, at this time, we find the *Vedas*, religious ritual, grammar, rhetoric, elocution, arithmetic, astronomy, economics, education, medicine (including anatomy and surgery), eugenics, augury, the art of love, singing, music, chess, dice, tricks, sculpture, arrangement of flowers, study of precious stones and clothing materials, weaving, sewing, wax-work, animal training, dancing, archery, military tactics, and other physical exercises.<sup>22</sup> It was also customary to have princes travel at home and abroad to study foreign customs and the needs of their own people. On their travels at home they were to study irrigation, local government, interest rates, and basic economic problems, including production and distribution of goods, weights, wages, taxes, etc., and the treatment of widows and orphans. A system of chivalry, with lofty ideals, and similar to mediaeval chivalry, developed among the military nobility.

The educational theorist Kautilya (c. 250 B.C.) recommended that princes, having learned the rudiments, should study the *Vedas*,

<sup>21</sup> S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1928, I, 171 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 166 ff., 194 ff.

logic, philosophy, ethics, economics, political science, and physical and military activities. His economics included agriculture, cattle-breeding, and business practices.

The *Code of Manu* required the Vaisyas to know all merchandising and the laws governing its practice, weights and measures, soil and animal husbandry, foreign countries and people, treatment of servants, and vernacular languages.

This changing curriculum reflected the growing culture of India, and was designed to meet both cultural and vocational needs. The Chinese visitor Hiuen-tsang found the following studies being taught in the schools, in the period 629–645 A.D.: (1) the science of words, (2) the science of arts, (3) medicine, (4) philosophy, and (5) religion. The content of these studies remains a matter for conjecture. At that time education began with a study of the forty-nine letters and the ten thousand compound letters of the alphabet. Then came the reading of a primer, and writing. At the age of eight, pupils began to study grammar, “the science of words,” and sometimes spent twelve years on that subject. The choice of post-elementary studies seems to have been determined by the students’ future needs.

(c) PHYSICAL EDUCATION.—Systematic physical education was provided only for princes and soldiers, and its basic purpose was military. Apparently but a small part of this education came under Brahmin supervision. Yet, the story of Indian education would be inadequate without some reference to India’s provision for the needs of the body.

Hindu worshippers often engaged in religious bathing, swimming, and dancing. The baths of ancient Mohenjo-daro were probably used for religious purposes. The devotees of the dancing-god, Shiva, danced in frantic delight in his honor, generally unaware, however, of the cosmic and physical significance of the divine art. The morning bath has been a traditional religious duty of the twice-born castes, the pure body symbolizing the purity of the soul. The sacred books sometimes prohibit the use of food deemed injurious to health, and recommend fasting as a cure for disease. Asceticism, however, lessened Hindu concern for bodily health. Says an *Upanishad*:

In this evil-smelling, substantial body, shuffled together out of bones, skin, sinews, marrow, flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, eye-gum, dung, urine, gall, and phlegm, how can we enjoy pleasure? <sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cited in J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, Oxford University Press, 1915, 261.

The military from earliest times had their own formal training. The army had four divisions: (1) infantry, (2) cavalry, (3) chariots, and (4) elephants. Officers and soldiers were trained for all of these branches. Spears, bows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, long javelins, and slings were the chief weapons of war. War activities became in peacetime the sports of the nobility. Prior to 1000 B.C., some Brahmins became famous for their military skill and taught princes the art of defense. Archery, fencing, club contests, and lassoing animals were the most popular sports of princes. On hunting expeditions, in earlier times, the noblemen were accompanied by armed women riding in chariots.

In the Brahmin schools, the Kshatriyas were instructed in military science, usually, it would seem, by laymen under Brahmin supervision. Most of their military training, however, was probably provided outside of such schools.

For the masses, physical education came through their daily toil in vocational activities, and through religious ceremonies which demanded physical action.

**Method and Discipline.**—Traditionally, rote learning characterized learning and teaching in the Brahmin schools. Familiarity with the mere sound of the *Vedas* was deemed by many of greater educational value than an understanding of their meaning. Before written literature began, students memorized the longest texts without knowing their meaning. Later, the written books continued to be memorized, but the *Sutras* made the task easier. A study of the meaning of the books, however, followed their memorization from the earliest times, and the teacher encouraged his students to ask questions. Yet, this spirit of inquiry seems not to have led to doubts about the doctrine of the divine origin and infallibility of the *Vedas*. Where inquiry must keep within the bounds of unquestionable assumptions and "first principles," with which all answers must be reconciled, freedom to question is but a most effective instrument to strengthen the chains that enslave the human mind.

Brahmin education was an intellectual and moral discipline. It was the privilege only of the twice-born castes, who were born again into the pure Aryan family by the ceremony of initiation, which marked the beginning of discipline. New names were given to the initiated who, henceforth, had to carry and wear the symbols of their different castes. The sacred laws fixed the eighth, eleventh and twelfth year after conception as the proper age for the initiation of a Brahmin, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya, respectively. The sixteenth,

twenty-second, and twenty-fourth years, respectively, were the latest permitted for initiation. The uninitiated became Outcastes.

With initiation, the period of studentship began. The student led an austere life. Chastity, mental purity, self-control, and a contemplative spirit were deemed essential to learning, and he had usually to prove his fitness in these respects before his teacher accepted him as a student of the *Vedas*. Thereafter, he had to serve his teacher meekly, subdue all his passions, and avoid all occasions of temptation. Teachers of the Vedanta philosophy, reputedly freed from Karma through their knowledge of Brahman, were worshipped by their students as gods, and a similar respect was extended to other teachers later. Rules for students were prescribed by sacred law. Though differing in minor details from book to book, their spirit is always the same. The *Laws of Vasishtha*, similar to those of Manu, read in part:

A professed student shall serve his teacher until death. . . .

A student . . . shall bridle his tongue.

He shall eat in the fourth, sixth, or eighth hour of the day.

He shall go out in order to beg.

He shall obey his teacher.

He either (may wear all his hair) tied in a knot, or (keep merely) a lock on the crown of his head tied in a knot (shaving the other parts of the head).

If the teacher walks, he shall attend him walking after him; if the teacher is seated, standing; if the teacher lies down, seated.

He shall study after having been called (by the teacher), and not request the latter to begin the lesson. . . .

(While reciting his prayers) he shall stand in the daytime and sit down at night.

Let him bathe three times a day. . . .<sup>24</sup>

The *Laws of Baudhayana* have such rules for students as these:

Let him avoid dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, the use of perfumes, garlands, shoes. . . .

Let him take hold (of his teacher's) right (foot) with the right (hand), and of the left (foot) with the left hand. . . .

(Let him embrace his teacher's leg) below the knee down to the feet. . . .

(The pupil) must assist his teacher in making his toilet, shampoo him, attend him while bathing, eat his leavings, and so forth. . . .<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> F. Max Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, XIV, Part II, 40 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-154.



In India, as in China, the behavior of individuals was minutely regulated, and little was left to one's choice. The life of the student and all important aspects of pupil-teacher relationship were thus regulated.

Brahmin education was a disciplining of the mind, will, and body. The body was disciplined by ascetical postures and breathing exercises, prescribed for the various hours of the day and for various functions. Such discipline was deemed necessary for fruitful study and the control of passions. But, discipline was an end of education, not a means to an end. Study and instruction were but means through which habits of thought, feeling, body control, and behavior were to be acquired. Austerity (*tapas*), a practice of the gods, was the guiding ideal in education. The Karma doctrine, somewhat like that of original sin, lent support to the disciplinary practices of the schools.

After 500 B.C., corporal punishment, earlier unusual, became a common school practice. Manu approved the flogging of students with a bamboo or a rope, and later lawgivers approved his wisdom. Teachers, however, discovered that such punishment was not appropriate for students above the age of sixteen. Its use indicates that some schoolboys were not always in spiritual accord with the divine moral order and the asceticism of the schools.

**Organization and Schools.**—Formal schooling customarily began after the boy had received the sacred thread of initiation. In his childhood, an Aryan boy received moral and religious training from his mother, a practice approved by Manu. Some boys, prior to initiation, studied the rudiments under a private teacher. That practice may have been fairly general among Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who were three and four years older than Brahmin boys when they entered Brahmin schools.

In Vedic and early post-Vedic times (2500–1000 B.C.), Brahmin teachers specialized in teaching different *Vedas*, and boys apparently chose the school and the *Veda* most closely associated with their family tradition. Twelve years were required to complete the course in one *Veda*. In this early period, attendance at four schools, each one for twelve years, was essential for a mastery of the four *Vedas*. Few students, no doubt, stayed in school for the entire forty-eight years. Even after the *Sutras* had appeared, the length of the usual course continued to be twelve years. Since, in earlier times, boys married usually at the age of twenty, the course for Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, when these began to attend Vedic schools, was probably an abbrevi-

ated course. Being excluded from the performance of the sacrificial ritual, these lay boys required less religious instruction than did Brahmins, who, it is noteworthy, were deemed intellectually superior to them. In the course of the centuries Brahmin schools of different types appeared and disappeared, of which the following deserve special recognition.

**Schools of the Private Gurus.**—From the earliest times a special caste of priests had teaching as their occupation. Their usually one-teacher schools came to exist everywhere in India. They were private schools established by individual *gurus*. Some of these *gurus*, because of a large student body, used advanced students as assistant teachers, and thus originated the monitorial system which England borrowed from India in the early nineteenth century, and which enjoyed great popularity for a time in the United States. The private *guru* followed closely the Vedic educational tradition, and his school remained through the centuries the chief bulwark of the ancient cultural heritage. As compared with the private, the corporational type of school has played a subordinate cultural rôle in India.

**Parishads.**—A *Parishad* was an assembly of learned Brahmins having authority to decide all questions of religion and education. These assemblies, of ancient origin, became numerous and were permanently located in various centers. A legally constituted *Parishad* was required to have specialists in the *Vedas* and *Angas* among its members. Most of the members were teachers, and it is highly probable that students came to these centers to study under them. And it is most likely that Brahmin universities were an outgrowth of *Parishads*.

**Tols.**—In very many places there arose schools, called *Tols*. In famous religious and political centers many *Tols* existed side by side. The *Tol* was a one-room, one-teacher school, surrounded by a group of mud huts in which the students lived. These schools, while offering many studies, became famous chiefly for their work in law and logic. The enrollment in a *Tol* seldom exceeded twenty-five students. It was a free school supported by the gifts of patrons, which were often sufficient to provide even free food and clothing for the students. Where many *Tols* existed at one center, they took on at least the appearance of a university. Originating before the Mohammedan conquest, the *Tol* has survived to the present day.

**Forest Colleges.**—These were the successors of the *Parishads* and, for quiet and seclusion, were established in forests. Their buildings were mud huts. A water pot and a sleeping mat seem to have been the only furnishings of the dwelling huts of students and teachers. The fame of these colleges led to their endowment by kings, princes, and people. They became centers of philosophical speculation and of advanced literary study.

**Court Schools.**—Before India's Dark Ages, kings and emperors often surrounded themselves with scholars and master artisans. In royal courts learned men discussed questions of religion, philosophy, grammar and literature, science, and art. While they endured, these court schools were preëminent in intellectual brilliance, and attracted the most learned teachers of India. In them philosophy seems to have held the place of highest distinction.

**Temple Colleges.**—These schools came into prominence after 500 A.D., were taught by the temple priests, and were supported by temple funds. Where these funds were not sufficient to provide free food and clothing for students, rich farmers and merchants usually supplied the deficiency. In some cases, the temples paid students for attending their schools, a privilege, no doubt, reserved for Brahmins. Brahmin-approved literature and philosophy, particularly the Vedānta, were the most honored subjects in the course. In the largest of these colleges, the enrollment sometimes reached three hundred.

**Ghatikas.**—In the early Christian era, there arose a few schools, called *Ghatikas*, where most learned Brahmins met to explore the most profound teachings of the *Vedas*. They were attended by both undergraduate and post-graduate students, but the emphasis in them was upon the most advanced theological and philosophical study.

**Mathas and Vidyapithas.**—These appeared after 600 A.D. The *Mathas* were Brahmin monasteries which undertook the promotion of Vedic learning and orthodox Hinduism when Buddhism was in the last stage of its decline. The study of grammar, literature, logic, and Vedānta philosophy was stressed in them. Their purpose was the preservation of Brahmin orthodoxy and Hinduism. With their spread, the more liberal view of culture disappeared from Brahmin schools. They were endowed by kings and other rich patrons, and in them tuition and maintenance were free.

The *Vidyapithas*, of which only six were established, arose in the period which gave rise to the *Mathas*. While they had a similar pur-



pose, they were less intolerant than the *Mathas*. Grammar, literature, logic, and Vedanta philosophy were their basic subjects.

Neither the *Mathas* nor the *Vidyapithas* gave much attention to the study of religious ritual. Both aimed rather at establishing an intellectual basis of orthodoxy, and their speculations remained, with great consistency, within the bounds of Vedic dogmas.

After the Mohammedan conquest the *Mathas* and the *Tols* became the regular types of Brahmin schools, the latter eventually predominating in number and influence.

**Special Schools.**—From about 500 B.C. onward, schools specializing in various subjects arose, because of an increase in knowledge which made it impossible for students to master all subjects. Among these were schools of (a) grammar, (b) law, (c) astronomy, (d) sacrificial ritual, (e) logic, and (f) philosophy. The *Code of Manu* was compiled in such a law school. Schools of this type have survived into modern times.

**Brahmin Universities.**—Because of their very advanced studies, a few great centers of learning, established under both Brahmin and Buddhist auspices, may appropriately be called universities. The most famous Brahmin universities were those at Taksasila, Benares, and Nadia. The first flourished between 600 B.C. and 70 A.D., and it was there that Alexander the Great met and listened to Hindu philosophers. There, was compiled Panini's Sanskrit grammar and, there, the political theorist Chanakya anticipated the ideas of Machiavelli by fourteen hundred years. The curriculum of Brahmin universities was most probably similar to that of Buddhist universities. Only for the latter is there now any definite information. Religion, philosophy, logic, literature, and the science of words, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine received, no doubt, the chief emphasis. Certain practical studies taught in Buddhist universities, with their middle-class clientele, were probably neglected in Brahmin institutions.

**Students.**—The "orders" of student and householder were recognized in the most ancient times. However, only a student of the *Vedas* and related subjects was officially regarded as a student. A study of conflicting claims and evidence points to the conclusion that, as a general practice, the initiation and formal studentship, under Brahmin control, of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas dates from about 500 B.C. There is little doubt that all Brahmin boys, from the earliest times, studied the *Vedas*. For the other two classes, until that date, instruction was generally confined to vocational pursuits, and was provided by their fathers. From domestic chaplains the sons of the



lay nobility, no doubt, received some Vedic instruction in earlier times. Being excluded from priestly occupations, they received, with probably a few exceptions, even after the Brahmin schools admitted them, less religious, philosophical, and literary instruction than did Brahmin students.

The Brahmins, probably, did less to attract Vaisyas than Kshatriyas to their schools, for the curriculum shows less concern for their needs. When Brahmin ascendancy became at last secure in post-Buddhist times, both of these classes were again excluded from the schools. Alberuni, a Moslem (c. 1000 A.D.), says that a Vaisya who then dared to study the *Vedas*, and was so accused by a Brahmin, had his tongue cut out, if he were found guilty. Soon thereafter, the Kshatriyas were similarly deprived of their educational privilege. In the broad sweep of Indian history, the interest of these lay classes in Brahmin education was a weak one. Except during the period of lay enlightenment (c. 500 B.C.–650 A.D.), the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas largely rejected the privilege which was their birthright.

The Sudras and Untouchables were always rigidly excluded from Brahmin schools until modern times, as were also girls since about 2000 B.C.

There is but little conclusive evidence regarding the rate of literacy in India prior to modern times. There is some indirect evidence in the ancient literature which indicates that even not all Brahmin boys attended school in early post-Vedic times. Since, in those same times, the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas seldom, if ever, received formal literary training, only a small portion of the population was then literate. The period 500 B.C.–650 A.D. was marked by increased lay interest in learning, due mainly to Buddhism. The Oxford historian, Vincent Smith, is of the opinion that the rate of literacy among the total population reached 60 per cent at the close of that period.<sup>26</sup> That figure seems to be too high when we consider the prevailing attitude toward women and the lower castes. The facts, however, warrant our according to India a place of unique leadership in mass education in the ancient world. In the early nineteenth century, only about 5 per cent of Indian children were enrolled in schools, and the census of 1931 showed only 3 per cent of the depressed castes, and 8 per cent of the total population, to be literate.

**Teachers.**—Only Brahmins could legally teach the *Vedas*. In the field of religious and philosophical teaching they came to acquire an

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<sup>26</sup> K. Shridharani, "Indian Nationalism and Education," *Schoolmen's Week Proceedings*, 1943, 60, published by the University of Pennsylvania.

almost complete monopoly. For a time, laymen challenged their preëminence in philosophy and, no doubt, lectured on that subject. There were wandering lay teachers even in Vedic times who taught non-conformist doctrines, and thus foreshadowed the coming of Buddha.

In such practical fields as political administration, commerce, etc., laymen were usually the teachers, and that practice had the approval of Kautilya and even of Manu. Since these practical pursuits were regulated by Vedic laws, the lay teacher had to know these laws, and his teaching thus, probably, came to be supervised by Brahmins. In the village vernacular, commercial schools of modern times, the origin of which is obscure, the teachers have been generally laymen of the scribe caste, and Brahmins have not supervised their work.

From early Vedic times the qualifications and conduct of Brahmin teachers were regulated minutely by sacred law. Before teaching, a Brahmin must have performed all student duties, and have studied the subjects which he was to teach. As a teacher, he must make students observe all the rules of studentship, and accept no remuneration for his services other than gifts and the proceeds of his students' begging. Some teachers acquired valuable property through the gift system.

The *Code of Manu* describes the ideal teacher as one of gentle speech, who, even when offended, never offends by word; who never injures another by thought or deed; and who never, under penalty of losing heaven, makes others afraid of him by word or act. Yet, Manu approved corporal punishment. The lawgivers, generally, conceived the ideal teacher as learned, chaste, cheerful, kindly, correct in his speech, exemplary in his life, firm in his beliefs, content to live by begging and by his students' begging, and willing to reveal all his knowledge to zealous students. The teacher of old was apparently held in great respect. That ancient spirit of esteem had departed from the scribe-taught, village vernacular schools of nineteenth-century India, according to the testimony of British officials. Yet one who is still entitled to the name *guru* is held in great respect.

**Support and Control.**—Most of the schools being of the private type, gifts of students and philanthropists and the proceeds of student begging were the chief sources of support.

Schools of the corporational type derived much of their support from endowments secured in various ways. Royal grants of land to Brahmins often carried a provision for free education. Kings sometimes granted village revenues to Brahmins. Thus one group of

30,000 Brahmins, in 1091, were living by the revenues of 144 villages. Such grants usually required the recipients to teach, a duty which they learned to ignore, except in so far as preaching fulfilled it.

The general education of ancient India was free. The sacred books forbade teachers' fees as unworthy of priestly calling and offensive to heaven. India, however, rewarded in other ways the Brahmin custodians of her culture, while she did not neglect their material needs. Some teachers of special subjects charged fees, but their specializations were outside of the field of general education, as interpreted in India.

As regards control, the private character of Indian education is significant. Political authorities seem to have exercised no control over the education even of political and military officials. Nor was there any organized agency of Brahmin control. The priests were, however, powerful, and intolerant of unorthodox teachers. Yet the unorthodox enjoyed great liberty until Hinduism triumphed over Buddhism. Such later schools as the *Gathas* reflected the spirit of triumphant intolerance, though priestly control over them remained unorganized. The Brahmin teacher, however, like many other teachers in other lands and times, was effectively controlled by his cultural heritage, his class interests, his training, and by written and unwritten laws. The centuries-old stability of the culture which he guarded is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of such instruments of control.

### Buddhist Education

Since the general plan and spirit of Buddhist education was similar to that of the Brahmins, a detailed account of it would result in unnecessary repetition. With the exception of differences in religious and social ideology, in types of schools, and in the provision made for girls' education, Buddhist and Brahmin educational practices are strikingly similar. In the scale of values, the Buddhists, as did the Brahmins, placed their moral and religious ideals at the top. Buddhist education, like the Brahmin, was basically a religious, moral, and intellectual discipline. In it, indeed, less attention was paid to practical needs than in the Brahmin system.

Because Buddhism was a revolt against the Brahmins, it negated Brahmin claims to exclusive rights in teaching and sacrificing. Buddha admonished parents to train their children in virtue and have them instructed in the "arts and sciences." Rejecting the idea of an infallible authority, either of men or a book, he put knowledge in the



place of belief, and demanded mathematical certainty for everything. Yet, he was not able to reject the idea of Karma. His teaching was a strange blend of ideals of social reform and of a disregard by the individual of everything except his own escape into the blessedness of *Nirvana*. His followers, however, took great liberties with his teachings many of which were obscure in meaning.

While included in the curriculum, the *Vedas* were not the basis of Buddhist education. Buddhist literature, though not deemed infallible, replaced them as the source of wisdom and morality. Sanskrit, however, remained as the chief language of the new schools. In them, education began with a study of Sanskrit grammar upon which the Buddhists laid great emphasis. Their entire curriculum was, indeed, borrowed from the Brahmins. As in Graeco-Roman and mediaeval Christian civilizations, Indian grammar included the study of much literature. The Buddhist student began his study at the age of six and completed it at about the age of twenty. Then he began the higher studies of prose and verse composition, logic, philosophy, metaphysics, medicine, etc. On the completion of these higher studies he might enter a Buddhist university, if he passed the difficult entrance examination.

On all instructional levels, the texts and treatises, many of them lengthy, had to be memorized. Then followed discussions and debates on their meaning. The life and behavior of students were regulated by stringent rules similar to those governing the conduct of Brahmin students. Teacher-worship, and menial service on the part of the student marked teacher-student relationships.

While the hermit life was regarded by them as the ideal, Buddhist monks generally lived in monasteries, of which there were about 5,000 in India at the height of the movement. Every monastery had its school, and many of them became famous seats of learning. These schools were open not only to interns (called "children") but also to externs (called "students"). The former were the novices who had dedicated themselves to monastic life, with its ascetical requirements. Each novice had to choose a monk as a special teacher. He was promoted to the status of monk by a series of ceremonies beginning when he was eight years old and ending when he was twenty. During those probationary years, he had to engage in manual labor. As a fully ordained monk, he spent his life in further study, meditation, teaching, and preaching.

Buddhist schools and monastic life were open to all castes, but, apparently, only a minority of Buddhist youths were attracted to them. The monks and nuns constituted, at any time, but a small frac-



tion of the total Buddhist population, though they seem to have numbered millions at the height of the movement. Indian monasticism was Buddhist, the *Mathas* being the only Brahmin institution of the monastic type.

We have no conclusive evidence that the Buddhists had any other schools than those of the monasteries. It appears certain that these provided all formal education, from elementary to higher, for the students who attended them. They were most noted for their work in logic and medicine. Six of them grew into schools of university rank of which Nalanda became the most famous.

The University of Nalanda grew up between the years 425 A.D. and 625 A.D. near the site (Rajgir) where Buddha convened his first religious assembly. It consisted of six richly endowed colleges. To it came students from all India, and from all over the Near and Far East. The Chinese traveler Hiuen-tsang, in the seventh century, says that it numbered 10,000, of whom 1,510 were teachers. As in other Buddhist universities, tuition, board, and lodging were free, but only the most brilliant students were admitted. At each of the four gates, a dean of admissions maintained his office. This learned official gave each applicant a searching examination. Tradition has it that no one who failed that test, even though he were the son of a king, was ever admitted as a student. Tsang tells us that 70 per cent of the applicants failed to meet the entrance requirements. Nalanda closed around 850 A.D. Its magnificent ruins still stand as a reminder of the glory that once was India.

The studies for which Nalanda was most noted were grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, metaphysics, "human life," astronomy, geography, architecture, arts and crafts, medicine, divination, and music. Law and, apparently, mathematics received less attention in Buddhist than in Brahmin schools. Buddhism was a revolt against Brahmin law, and a contempt for legalism seems to have pervaded Buddhist education.

The learned monks of Nalanda, says Tsang, engaged in discussion of profound questions all day long. Here came students and learned men, who were not students, to settle their doubts, and to gather wisdom which they were to communicate to the outside world, not always, however, for purely unselfish ends. Of all ancient Indian schools, Nalanda acquired the greatest and most widespread renown.

While Buddhism, with its socially liberal ideals and practices, flourished, it enlarged very notably the educational opportunities of Indian youth of the sub-Brahmin castes, particularly of those excluded from Brahmin schools. The high degree of literacy, of which

we have spoken earlier, was made possible by that liberalism and by the growth of Buddhist monasteries and nunneries. Tuition, board and lodging were free in all these schools, but students, generally, were required to work and beg in order to support themselves and the monks, who, like the Christian monks of the West, came to prefer prayer to labor. The overthrow of Buddhism, coupled with the destruction produced by invasions since 1000 A.D., brought a great decline in learning, and a neglect of all practical concerns by the schools that survived the crises. Mass unenlightenment and a high rate of illiteracy have resulted from those occurrences.

### Education of Girls

**Under Hinduism.**—Prior to 2000 B.C., the wives of Brahmin priests and of some noblemen studied, as was then their privilege, the *Vedas*. After that date, the only education permitted them was informal training in domestic pursuits, morality, and good manners. The women who acquired a literary training in later times were so few that, in the tradition of India, they have become one of the marvels of the universe. The laws assigned to women the duties of rearing children, housekeeping (which included milking the cows), and the safeguarding of their husbands' property, activities for which a literary education was not necessary. In some minor religious rites they were given a part to perform, and for that duty they were instructed, as girls, by their parents. While husbands were regarded as the natural teachers of their wives, most of the instruction of girls and young wives was entrusted to mothers and mothers-in-law.

Under Hinduism, only the temple prostitutes received a formal education, which included some literary instruction. These women were taught music, singing, dancing, acting and reciting as a training for their part in temple ceremonies. Mind-reading, fortune-telling, manufacture of perfumes, beauty-culture, and detecting criminals and spies were among their activities. It is probable that the temple priests were their teachers in most of these arts.

**Under Buddhism.**—While some minor heretical sects, such as the Jainas, accorded women literary privileges, only the Buddhists, in practice, provided extensive formal educational opportunities for them. Buddha, apparently with some misgivings, approved the admission of nuns to monastic communities. The nunneries which were organized were much fewer than the monasteries for men, and

they were placed under the jurisdiction of the monks. Novices were admitted to the nunneries by the monks, and the nuns always held a subordinate position in the system.

What provision was made for the education of girls in these nunneries remains a matter of doubt. Domestic arts, religion, and morality were certainly taught. It is almost certain that the novices were also instructed in reading and writing. Whether or not the nunnery schools were open to externs, as were the monastery schools, is not now known. If they were, the practice must have resulted in a marked spread of literacy among women. Even though the mass of girls were excluded, the nunneries, when we consider the large number of girls who chose the community life, enlarged significantly the educational opportunities of Indian women. It is not likely that Buddhist nuns remained uninstructed in the rudiments of Buddhist literature.

### Vocational Education

Indian Aryans, like their Graeco-Roman kinsmen, acquired a contempt for manual labor, and made it the lot of the aborigines and of those of hybrid or doubtful origin. These lowly folk preserved and transmitted the arts and crafts since ancient times. As we have seen, training in these skilled manual occupations was under the control of the guilds, and it was provided by the apprenticeship system. Craft techniques were believed to be of divine origin, and remained largely unchanged throughout the centuries. Only those who knew the divine techniques, as described in the sacred books, could, as an almost universal rule, engage in the skilled occupations. The apprentice, in addition to hand training, committed to memory the prescribed rules of his craft, as found in the sacred books and as transmitted orally by master craftsmen, who were illiterate and had never seen even the alphabet. The craftsman's workshop was the vocational school of India. This is the general picture, but it is not entirely complete.

Kings bestowed signal honors upon famous craftsmen, and gave employment to many of them. Shipbuilders, armor-makers, and image-makers worked for kings only. From such royal monopolies, the kings collected revenues. The king's craftsmen, however, learned the trades by the apprenticeship plan. In such respect were these men held that even occasional princes became apprentices to them.

For the vocational needs of the military nobility, public administrators, merchants, and agriculturists, all of whom belonged to the



twice-born castes, some provision was made in both Brahmin and Buddhist schools from 500 B.C. onward, but, at best, it was very inadequate. The Brahmins were more concerned about the laws regulating such pursuits than about the efficiency with which they were performed. What formal instruction was provided in these fields was largely of the bookish variety, and the men engaged in these pursuits learned chiefly by practical experience how to perform them. In the curriculum of some higher schools and universities, a study of the "arts and crafts" sometimes appears, but it is most improbable that such a subject could, especially in Brahmin schools, mean much more than a study of laws governing these activities. The study of medicine appears frequently in the curriculum of Brahmin and Buddhist schools, but practically nothing is known about the content and plan of medical instruction.

The Buddhists gave special attention to the commercial education of princes. They called this study *Rupa*. It is probable that it included a study of coinage and exchange, commercial arithmetic and bookkeeping. Catering chiefly to the middle and lower classes, the Buddhists probably gave more attention to vocational studies than did the Brahmins, but detailed information about this aspect of their work is lacking. The silence of the records is not proof that they neglected the vocational needs of their students.

### Lay Vernacular Village Schools

In our scheme of classification of Indian schools and educational practices no entirely logical place exists for a description of village vernacular schools. Their significance, however, would, in any scheme, call for special treatment.

A British report on education in Bengal (1835-1838), and later reports for other provinces show that there were, in larger villages, Hindu vernacular schools, called in Bengal *Pathsalas*. The date of their origin is uncertain. While they existed in the seventeenth century, and may have arisen in imitation of Moslem vernacular schools, it is probable that they originated in attempts in ancient times to meet the special needs of the merchant class. Their vocational purpose is readily apparent. The reader's attention is called to the similarity between the *Pathsala* and the city vernacular school of later mediaeval Europe.

The British reports show that the enrollment in a *Pathsala* seldom exceeded twenty pupils, and that the teachers, while occasionally Brahmins, were usually of the despised writer caste. The curriculum



consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping, the teaching of which was traditionally considered a degrading occupation by the twice-born castes. The pupils generally belonged to the Brahmin and writer castes. It is, however, noteworthy that some *Pathshalas* admitted Untouchables, caste ceremonial being, no doubt, carefully observed. The students were from six to sixteen years of age, and were taught individually. The monitorial plan of instruction, of ancient origin, as we have seen, was in use in these village schools.

The Bengal *Pathshalas* and their equivalents, with different names, in other provinces were vernacular, not Sanskrit, schools, designed to meet the business needs of the commercial class. They were outside of the traditional Brahmin school system.

It is probable that merchants, political administrators, and farmers, both Brahmin and Buddhist, provided vernacular schools of the 3 R's for vocational purposes before the sacred books were put into writing. With the degradation of the scribe (c. 1 A.D.) everything connected with his occupation became degrading. Although the sacred books were eventually translated into Indian vernaculars, these vulgar tongues never enjoyed the high respect bestowed upon Sanskrit. An odium thus came to attach to the teaching of occupational pursuits which demanded instruction in the vernaculars, but the need for such instruction remained. The merchant class, particularly, must always have made some provision for it, and the village vernacular schools of modern times, in no way a result of British influence, are probably a survival of an ancient practice which long ago attained its present institutional form.

The *Pathsala* has been a product of village life, and India has been a land of villages. It has been, and is, the people's school. While the British reports show that many of the 700,000 villages had *Pathshalas*, there were, in the early nineteenth century, less than 1,200 Sanskrit schools of the old type in India, of which the *Tols* were the most numerous. The British investigators found vernacular schools of the following types: (1) temple schools, (2) schools supported by village magnates, (3) private-venture village schools, and (4) family tutorial schools of individual merchants. However, probably less than 10 per cent of Hindu boys were then receiving formal elementary education. The village vernacular schools, generally, were making no provision for moral and religious instruction, and kept close to their utilitarian goal. The *Tol* continued to cling to its old cultural objective, as did the classical school of Europe and America for centuries of our own history.

### India and the World of Tomorrow

The world of today, just emerged from the throes of a global war, is a patchwork of cultures and institutions, back of which lie long histories. The struggles and turmoils of our time cannot be fully understood without that perspective which history alone can provide. The civilization of India, still but little changed by the hand of time, furnishes an excellent example of the force of tradition and of the influence of education, formal and informal, upon the outlook of men and societies. Industrialization and contact with the West have begun to have their effect upon this ancient civilization, which still clings as far as possible to many of its ancient ways, although some Hindus have become advocates of almost complete Westernization. Western interests have been forcing India and China, as indeed other peoples, to adopt our ways of industrialization and nationalism, and world forces have been drawing these two peoples closer together. Resentment to Western imperialism, and to the feeling of white supremacy, of which we have been guilty, has increased among the people of both lands. While motives of justice and honesty ought to determine our attitudes and acts toward our Eastern neighbors, that of self-interest seems to offer the chief promise of an enlightened policy in our dealings with them.

The whites constitute less than one-third of the total population of the world. Some one has remarked that unless we develop good relations with our yellow, brown, and black neighbors we may find ourselves, in some not very distant day, riding in the Jim Crow seats. A yellow or a brown Hitler, under conditions which now prevail, will probably arise to destroy white imperialism and shatter the myth of white supremacy. The potential power of the Far East ought to give the white masters of the world pause. The United States is the greatest industrial and military power in the world. With the industrialization and militarization of the "colored" world, now rapidly under way, we are likely to become in the next fifty years a second- or a third-class power. In twenty years Russia, from a state of mediaeval backwardness, has almost caught up with us in the industrial and military race. What Russia has done, China can do. India is even now partly industrialized. In the coming peace we may have our last chance to prove ourselves worthy to live upon a basis of equality among our neighbors of other colors. The whites must learn the ways of peace in their relations not only with their colored neighbors but also with those of their own pigmentation.

One most important step toward desirable relations with our Eastern neighbors is the development in our youth of respect for their culture and achievements. Our schools in the past have been too much occupied with our own little Western cultural heritage. We still, for instance, continue to think of a liberal education in terms of our Graeco-Roman-Christian tradition. Our concept of the "humanities" has excluded the great contributions in such fields as religion, literature, philosophy, and art of Eastern peoples. Our lack of knowledge of the East has been partly responsible for that neglect on our part, but cultural prejudice and conceit have, too, played their part in determining our behavior. If we are to teach religion in American public schools, perhaps we ought to have our pupils study all the great religious movements of the world. If we are to teach appreciation of art, why should we exclude from the picture the art, let us say, of India and China? Our man-made music of the West is not superior to the man-made music of the East. There are no "natural" laws of music. The music of Persia, with its eight basic scales, and the music of East India, with its six hundred basic scales are as worthy of study and appreciation as our own, with its two basic scales. If we want international understanding and peace, we must aim, among things more basic (such as economic justice), at the moulding of good cultural relationships with our neighbors. The world of tomorrow must find ways for that cultural exchange which is indispensable to peace.

Indian society and education are now undergoing important changes. In the future, it would seem, there will be less emphasis in Hindu schools upon ancient literature and metaphysics, and more upon the realities of modern life. From the myths of the past India is being forced to turn to scientifically ascertained facts—facts about life, about her own society and about the world.

From the political, religious, social, and intellectual despotisms of the ancient East, which Egypt and India typify, we shall now turn to examine the rise and progress of a civilization and an education based upon respect for personal liberty and upon the principle that the individual stands first in the scale of values.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. In the solution of the problems of any modern nation or society it is essential to understand the historical background of them.



2. The builders of the better world of tomorrow must consider seriously the traditions in which modern unrest has its roots.

3. The Hindu is as justly proud of his cultural heritage as we in the West are of ours, and perhaps in some ways that heritage is of greater worth than ours.

4. The caste systems of Western nations have many things in common with that of India, and are equally reprehensible.

5. The greatness of the Far East is in the future; of the West, in the past.

6. The social and educational practices of ancient India are essentially the same as those of Egypt.

7. There are but few important differences between the social and educational practices of ancient India and of pre-literate peoples.

8. The gap between religious and ethical ideals and practices in ancient India was no wider than that between the ideals and practices of Christendom.

9. In India as in Christendom schools failed to promote effectively the ideals of their prophets, although that should be the primary end of instruction.

10. Ecclesiastical control of culture and education has been the greatest defect in the educational practices of India.

11. India cannot become great among the nations unless she destroys, root and branch, the educational practices which she has inherited.

12. Hindu statesmen and educators could learn much of great value to India by borrowing the educational practices of the United States.

13. The revolt against the formal study of grammar in the United States threatens the stability of our culture.

14. The story of Hindu civilization and Hindu educational practices ought to provide the answer to our own problem: to indoctrinate or not to indoctrinate.

15. The story of India suggests the answer to another modern problem: what shall we teach?

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## Chapter 5

### GRAECO-ROMAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

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#### I. GREEK SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

##### The Mediterranean World and Its Culture

**Greece.**—In the Mediterranean area, Greece is the land where the West begins. For thousands of years, the people of ancient Greece had been in commercial, military, and cultural contact with the civilizations of the Near East, as well as with those of their Mediterranean neighbors to the west. Greece was, in a very special way, the point where Eastern and Western cultures met and, to a degree, blended, as well as the point of origin of many of our Western ideals and institutions.<sup>1</sup>

**Roman Empire as the Culmination of Greek Striving for Political Unity.**—In Greece there arose an array of independent city-states, which for many reasons—one of them the Greek spirit of liberty and independence—never became united into one national state, until, conquered by the power of Macedon in 338 B.C. and then by that of Rome in 146 B.C., they were forced into a unity as a subject people. The Roman was a twofold victory, a military victory for Rome and a spiritual victory for Greece; for the soul of the great political structure which Roman genius reared was a borrowed soul, the culture of Hellas. The Roman empire was in a very real sense the culmination of an age-old striving for Grecian unity which was never realized by the Greeks themselves. In the things of the spirit—art, science, philosophy, literature, etc.—Greece was strong, but in organizing and moulding material institutions she was weak. The Romans, on the contrary, displayed an unparalleled practical genius for organization and the building of institutions. On Greek culture which embodied the universal ideals of “the true, the beautiful and the good,” Rome built the greatest legal and political systems of all times, which

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<sup>1</sup> H. R. James, *Our Hellenic Heritage*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, I, 3-14, 17-24; *Cambridge Ancient History* (C.A.H.), III, 248-250; VI, 398-400, 418-420, 423, 429, 431-437, 532-533.

were the embodiment of an additional ideal, "the useful," itself Roman in the same sense and to the same degree that the others are Greek. The Roman empire was one of many attempts, some of them old when Rome was still a city on its seven hills, to build a world culture and a world empire. To that end, Rome assimilated Greek culture in as far as it could be reconciled with utilitarianism and, when a further cultural element was needed, she made Christianity the servant of the empire in the days of Constantine the Great. The Roman attempt at a world empire finally failed, but the dream of universalism survived in the Christian system, until the time of the Reformation, and in the nebulous Holy Roman empire, until the dream was further shattered by Napoleon I.

### The Greek People

The Greek race, like other great races, was a blend of many populations. First there were the Aegeo-Cretans, an indigenous Mediterranean stock, whose presence in the region can be traced back to about 20,000 B.C. These had their own culture, and built up a remarkable civilization in Crete, on other Aegean islands, and on the Greek mainland.<sup>2</sup> From about 1600 B.C., Aryan tribes, the Nordics of ethnology, came into Greece in a series of migrations and settled among the earlier race. These migrations ceased about 1000 B.C. In later times, these Aryan conquerors called themselves Hellenes because of their supposed common descent from a mythical ancestor named Hellen. Of the Hellenes, the last to invade the peninsula were the Dorians who came in a steady intrusion from about 1100 B.C., and dominated a great part of the country. Many of the earlier settlers, whom the Dorians dispossessed, found a refuge at Athens, and others swarmed across the Aegean, settling on the islands and on the Ionian coast. These people are usually called Ionians. The Dorian conquest ended the Heroic Age, of which Homer sang, and ushered in a dark age which continued until the eighth century B.C., when another age of splendor began. Of the Dorian states, Sparta was the greatest and, of the non-Doric, Athens is by far the most famous.

### General Aspects of Greek Life

The civilization of Greece was in the making for thousands of years before the dawn of history, and much is known today of the earlier steps in the development of Greece and its education. In a

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<sup>2</sup> *C.A.H.*, I, 589-590.



brief treatise, such as this, we must pass over in silence the educational practices of Greece prior to the Doric conquest. It must be noted generally, however, that Hellenic Greece inherited the culture, the ways of life, the arts, crafts, and educational traditions of the ancient Aegeo-Cretan-Mycenaean-Achaean civilizations. This inheritance plus certain borrowings from the Orient blended with the Hellenic contribution to produce what we know as Greek civilization and culture. Hellenic Greece was composed of hundreds of little independent city-states, and a man was a citizen of his city (*polis*) not of Hellas as a whole. Many of these states were very small. The largest and most powerful were the Dorian state of Sparta, with a despotic oligarchical government, and the Ionian state of Athens which became thoroughly democratic. Variety and diversity in thought and institutional life marked the city-states generally. No two were exactly alike. Therein the Greek world shows a significant contrast with the uniformity in thought and institutions of Oriental peoples.

Real unity the Greeks never attained. Great natural barriers separated the city-states, and, unlike Rome, Greece never built paved roads. The "wet ways of the sea" were the highroads of Greece, and the gods of the sea build civilizations different from those built by the gods of inland rivers.

### Spartan Society and Education

Sparta had a total population of about 400,000, of whom about 225,000 were *Helots*, or slaves, and 130,000 *perioikoi*, who were not citizens but enjoyed personal freedom and other privileges. The *Spartiatæ*, or citizens, to whom the name Spartans belonged, numbered about 45,000. In these estimates women and children are included. The problem of Sparta was that of defending the state, as established, from enemies within and enemies without. Slaves and underprivileged persons have no reason to be loyal to those who oppress them. That work of defense devolved upon the *Spartiatæ*. The state was a military communism in which, for centuries, the citizens lived on a basis of equality in political and economic rights and their corresponding duties. Here individualism was destroyed in order that the state might be strong. State authorities decreed at the birth of a male child whether it should be permitted to live or not. Over their children parents exercised little or no authority. Indeed, the home, as we know it, did not exist in Sparta. Mothers had charge of their sons until they reached the age of seven, but

thereafter all education was in the hands of the state. That education was entirely physical and military and was consciously designed to make men physical and moral brutes. The physical and military discipline was, at times, so severe that weaker youths died under the strain, but Sparta rejoiced because she had discovered weaklings whose deeds of bravery and brutality would not redound to the glory of Sparta. Marauding bands of Spartan boys were sent out occasionally to murder groups of unsuspecting Helots so that they, in their youth, might learn to despise the enemies of Sparta, become accustomed to the shedding of blood, and be brutalized for the task of defending the state. If Spartan boys learned to read and write, they did so privately, for the state was not a patron of such intellectual pursuits. Girls were given a physical training and discipline similar to that of boys, but less strenuous. The Spartan educational system achieved its end, the preservation of the selfish interests of the *Spartiates* and their political system, but it contributed nothing to the building of a nobler world or to the betterment of humanity. The student of the history of education ought to read the significant if not entirely reliable story of Sparta's political and educational practices in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. That Spartan system stands in marked contrast with the political and educational practices of democratic Athens where men first learned to live the life of freemen.<sup>3</sup>

### Athens and Athenian Society

**Periods of Development.**—Athenian society and education passed through four periods of development: (a) the prehistoric, with which we shall not deal; (b) the Old Athenian Period of 1,000 years which ended about 600 B.C.; (c) the Transition Period, beginning about 600 B.C., and ending with the Macedonian Conquest in 338 B.C.; and (d) the Cosmopolitan Period, beginning in 338 B.C. and ending in 529 A.D. when the Christian emperor, Justinian, closed the pagan University of Athens.

**The Environment.** (a) **ECONOMIC ASPECTS.**—In the Old Period, economic developments were slow. The population subsisted mainly by agriculture, and the soil was, on the whole, unproductive. During this period, industry and trade were undeveloped, and craftsmen

<sup>3</sup> H. Blummer, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, London: Cassell, 1895, 99-102; C. A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education*, New York: The Century Co., 1929, 12-43; H. R. James, *op. cit.*, I, 205, 220-234; *C.A.H.*, III, 558-559, 564; K. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, London: Macmillan, 1912, 11-41; Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, in *Plutarch's Lives* as revised by A. H. Clough, New York: Burt, n.d., Vol. 1, 76-116.

were neither organized nor influential. Poverty of the soil and population pressure forced Athens, eventually, into industry and commerce and she became, in the Transition Period, the wealthiest of Greek states. Poverty in culture, in the Old Period, went hand in hand with poverty in material possessions. Until 600 B.C., Athens had produced no literature and her art was rudimentary.<sup>4</sup> Life in Old Athens had been simple, and society remained unchanged over a long period prior to 600 B.C. From that date forward economic changes came, and came suddenly, and society and education were profoundly influenced by them.

At the beginning of the Transition Period, the lawgiver, Solon, introduced many economic and social reforms and did much to develop foreign trade.<sup>5</sup> From that time on, industry and trade flourished, and the wealth of the citizens, as well as of the state, increased rapidly. Among the sources of that wealth were industry, commerce, gold and silver mining, a tax on foreigners, of whom there were as many as 45,000 residing in the city, and duties on imported merchandise. Old impoverished Athens thus became quickly a land flowing with gold.<sup>6</sup> Because of this increase in wealth, Athenian citizens came to enjoy much leisure and had greater opportunities for public service.

(b) SOCIAL ASPECTS.—In Athens, throughout her history, there were three social groups, (1) citizens, (2) *Metics*, or foreigners, and (3) slaves. In spite of the growth of democratic government, Athens was, and always remained, a society founded upon the institution of slavery. The state and communities owned some of these slaves and employed them as policemen, clerks, watchmen, attendants, etc., and paid them in food, clothing, and money. Most slaves, however, were individually owned and were bought and sold in an open market. Wealthy citizens owned as many as fifty, middle-class citizens as many as twelve, but there were poor citizens who could not afford to buy even one. Some slaves, for faithful service, were manumitted and acquired a status similar to that of *Metics*. Most Greek philosophers considered slavery a natural and useful institution and never questioned its justice.<sup>7</sup>

The *Metics*, during the Transition Period, dominated the industrial and commercial life of the city. Not a single important business

<sup>4</sup> *C.A.H.*, III, 572-585, 595-597; A. Boeckh, *The Public Economy of Athens*, London: Parker, 1842, 31-39.

<sup>5</sup> *C.A.H.*, IV, 32 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. Boeckh, *op. cit.*, 309-319, 329-333, 336-377.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-187, 207-208, 260-263; *C.A.H.*, V, 5-6.



was owned by citizens, and most shopkeepers, artisans and laborers were either foreigners, freedmen, or slaves. Citizens filled the ranks of public officials and the more important army positions, or engaged in agriculture. Until the end of the fifth century, Athens denied naturalization to *Metics*. It was considered vulgar and servile to work for another individual for pay, and all so employed, whether citizens or not, were despised. Such a stigma has attached to various trades and pursuits even to our own day. It was not considered servile to accept pay from the government for public services, but to engage in private trade or labor for profit was considered disgraceful and unbecoming a citizen and a freeman.

The citizens comprised, at any time, but a small portion of the entire population. Estimates of the total population of Athens differ, sometimes widely. The total population probably never exceeded 350,000, of whom probably never more than 100,000 were citizens. Among the citizens there were always economic inequalities and resultant social inequalities. Some citizens were very rich and some were poor. It is not true, as some writers have stated, that profound social distinctions existed among the citizens, and that the rich lived by exploiting the poor. Among male citizens there were no rigid political or social distinctions. Indeed, here, probably, citizens were more nearly equal than in any other society in history.<sup>8</sup> This equality was a product of forces at work chiefly during the Transition Period.

*Status of Women.* Women held a very inferior position in Athens throughout its history. Their status was one of economic, social, and political enslavement. In ordering their own lives they had no voice, but were subject, before marriage, to their fathers and, after marriage, to their husbands. They were, indeed, forced to live in a world of their own, removed from that of men. In their homes, women and girls were cloistered in separate women's apartments. Poorer women were permitted to go to the wells for water, and appear alone, at other times, in public, but richer women never appeared in public without a chaperon, in the person of a husband, servant or slave. Athenian men or servants did the household marketing.<sup>9</sup> Athenians, generally, put a very low estimate on a woman's ability and strength of character. The sudden social changes of the Transition Period were accompanied by a general disregard of the old morals, and a class of women, called *hetaerae*, commonly represented as immoral,

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<sup>8</sup> La Rue, Van Hook, *Greek Life and Thought*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1923, 80-81; H. R. James, *op. cit.*, 96-99.

<sup>9</sup> H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 191.

made their appearance in the city. Some of these were educated and attractive, and became the mistresses of prominent Athenian men, such as Pericles, Plato, and Aristotle. These enjoyed a freedom and opportunities for culture which wives and legitimate daughters were denied. One writer asserts that the education of European women began with the cultural privileges enjoyed by these *hetaerae*, and that they began the struggle of European women for emancipation from male tyranny. There was a school for *hetaerae* in Miletus, and Aspasia, mistress and, later, wife of Pericles, who was educated there, established a similar school in Athens.<sup>10</sup> The disabilities which custom and marriage laws imposed upon wives and daughters were numerous and oppressive. The home was their only sphere of activity. For Athenian girls there were no formal schools and, with the exception of a few who were given some literary training by exceptionally kindly husbands, girls received no education except the training given them by their mothers in the rearing of children, superintending nurses and slaves, cooking, weaving, making the family clothing, and other household tasks. One field of activity which, generally, in Oriental lands, and throughout the world, both past and present, has been a male prerogative was open to Athenian girls and women. That was the priestly office. Girls and women acted as temple priestesses. This liberalism was due to the facts that there was no priestly class in Greece, as in the Orient, and that the Greeks had no religious dogmas which called for an education preparatory to temple service. The Greek rites were easily learned, and women had no difficulty in performing them. Greek men wanted their women to be religious. Like Napoleon I, they wanted women who believed, not women who reasoned.

(c) POLITICAL ASPECTS.—In a unique way, Athens is the cradle of Western democracy, liberty, and individualism. True it is that Christianity stressed the value and sacredness of the individual soul, and that the ancient Teutons enjoyed a form of political equality in their "hundreds." But when all the facts have been examined, the conclusion is unavoidable that our democratic ideal goes back to the Demos of Athens. Roman genius for practical politics made it possible for this idea of liberty to survive in the West. During the Middle Ages there was a return to certain forms of spiritual and intellectual enslavement, but then the spirit of Greece, fostered by favorable conditions, awoke and, in the Renaissance, returned men again to the ways of freedom.

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<sup>10</sup> A. Heilborn, *op. cit.*, 111-119.

From a monarchical government, in the Old Period, Athens progressed, in the seventh century B.C., to an aristocratic republic, ruled by the nobility, and finally, in the Transition Period, to a most liberal democracy, ruled by all male citizens. The democratic movement really began with the reforms of Solon in 594 B.C., and reached its culmination with the reforms of Cleisthenes between 510 B.C. and 508 B.C. By this latter reform, all male Athenians of pure birth were enfranchised, and sovereignty was vested in the *Ecclesia*, or Assembly, of all the citizens. It was, indeed, a "popular" assembly. It passed all laws. A Council of 500, chosen by lot by the Assembly, put the laws into execution. The Council was but a committee of the Assembly, and no individual could be a member of it more than twice during his life. Citizens were paid for attending all meetings of these bodies, as well as for every public service they rendered. This attracted the poorer citizens to public office. Should any citizen arouse the indignation of the public, the Assembly could exile him for ten years from the city, if it were able to muster 6,000 votes against him. Thus were men's rights protected from would-be tyrants, and thus did Athens create and preserve that liberty which it bequeathed to the West.

(d) MILITARY ASPECTS.—Coincidentally with the increase of wealth and freedom went a great increase in the power of Athens. In the long struggle of Greece with Persia, Athens distinguished herself above all other Greek states and, from leader of some 300 states, called the Confederacy of Delos, in that struggle, she became ruler of them. While Sparta defeated her in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), Athens retained her position of military greatness until all the Greek states were finally subjugated by Macedon in 338 B.C.

(e) RELIGIOUS ASPECTS.—Greek religion was a blend of many elements. The ancient Cretans worshipped a virgin goddess and her son, and a cult similar to this extended in time throughout the pre-Christian Mediterranean world. One of the sacred objects of the Cretans was a marble cross, in form like that used by orthodox Greek Christians.<sup>11</sup> On this earlier culture were superimposed that of the Ionian gods, of whom Homer sang in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and of the Doric gods, of whom Hesiod sang in his *Theogony* and *Work and Days*. Some of these gods were national, as the Olympic deities, and others were local deities, worshipped only in individual city-

<sup>11</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 257–267.



states. The following important characteristics, presenting significant contrasts with other systems, are marks not only of the Athenian religion but of that of all Greeks.

Unlike Oriental peoples, the Greeks had no religious dogmas, nor sacred writings. Here no deity, like Osiris, pretended to judge the lives of men. Greek gods were neither holy nor omnipotent, but anthropomorphic beings somewhat better than ordinary mortals. No inspired teacher arose here. Their religion had no divine founder, nor a uniform priesthood, and thus the Greeks enjoyed a spiritual freedom of which the political and intellectual freedom, enjoyed by many states, was but a reflection. Priests and priestesses existed, but were appointed by the government and were subject to its authority. In religious matters the voice of the government was final. Greek priests were but masters of ceremonies in the temples and were neither teachers nor preachers. Such a system was more conducive to progress than the ecclesiastical despotism of the East. Among the Greeks, who burned their dead, a clearly defined ghost world did not arise, as it did among the Egyptians and others who buried their dead. Life, not death, was the center of interest. Here, religion was concerned with man as a living political being and on it, in a very special way, the social structure rested.

In the Transition Period, in Athens, this foundation of the social structure was seriously weakened. Rich, powerful and free, Athens had fallen heir to a great heritage of science and philosophy which freemen had been creating for two hundred years. That heritage was devastating to the old myths and superstitions. In the new age of reason and enlightenment, the old beliefs were challenged on scientific, philosophical, and moral grounds. It was the beginning of "modernism." But the old culture and folkways did not die without a struggle. Anaxagoras and Protagoras were tried, and Socrates put to death, for their public questioning (private questioning was never prohibited) of traditional beliefs. But, while Athens was perpetrating these acts of intolerance, Aristophanes and Euripides were presenting their burlesques of the gods in the theatre for the amusement of the public. At last, the old religion failed to meet the needs of an enlightened people, and philosophical speculation began to take its place as an answer to man's intellectual and religious problems. Freemen were now seeking "unknown" gods, and a flourishing period began for mystery cults, such as Orphism, which aimed at individual perfection and happiness on earth (to which the hope of a blessed immortality will contribute), and attempted to destroy any fear of death from which the members of the cult might suffer. These indi-

vidualistic, personal cults had their counterparts in the individualistic philosophies of Skepticism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism.<sup>12</sup>

(f) INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS.—It has been noted that, in 600 B.C., Athens was still quite primitive in culture. Yet, in common with most of the Greeks, Athenians always respected intellectual things. Over literature, art, and science there presided goddesses, whom the Greeks called Muses. There were nine of these, and each presided over her own branch of learning. The great era of Greek intellectual progress opened in the seventh century B.C., when the Ionian physicists began to investigate the nature of the physical world. While indebted to the Orient, Greek physicists produced works which were original. With them European science began. They sought knowledge for its own sake rather than for the sake of a social or a religious system. This attitude the liberal Greek mind never abandoned. It is an attitude which was largely abandoned in Communist, Nazi and Fascist states of our own day.

From a starting point in cosmology, Greek inquiry came to center, during the Transition Period, in man and society, and Athens became the home of this form of speculation. When Greece lost her independence, philosophy, thereafter, concerned itself chiefly with the nature of the divine and man's relation to it. Thus, Greek philosophy began with physical science, reached its zenith when it dealt with human and social problems, and ended as a system of theosophy or theology, in which form it passed over into Neo-Platonism and Christian theology.<sup>13</sup>

Greek intellectual development reached its height in Athens in the Periclean Age (461–429 B.C.), but the period of greatness continued until the Macedonian Conquest (338 B.C.). The "Glory that was Greece" was, indeed, the achievement of Athens alone. In architecture, sculpture, tragedy, comedy, history, science, and philosophy, Athens produced masterpieces that have never been excelled.<sup>14</sup>

### The Social Crisis

Athenian society in the Old Period was a society built upon traditional culture and folkways which, for centuries, permitted very little change in its ideals and institutions. While freer here than in Sparta from state domination, the individual was, nevertheless, subordinated

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 244–301; S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, New York: Liveright, 1930, 87 ff.

<sup>13</sup> W. Windelband, *History of Ancient Philosophy*, New York: Scribner, 1921, 22; F. Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, New York: Scribner, 1893, I, 26–27.

<sup>14</sup> Maurice Maeterlinck, *et al.*, *What is Civilization?* New York: Duffield, 1926, 81–95.

to the state, and his behavior was regulated by custom, law, public opinion and, if necessary, by force in everything that concerned the welfare of the state. In the Transition Period, the social changes, which we have described, occurred. They were sudden and deep-rooted changes, and their chief significance for us is that they resulted in the breakdown of the old folkways and the old culture and in the emancipation of the individual citizen from all the old agencies of control. The individual, for the first time in history, had become completely free in thought, speech and action, except in so far as he was restrained by laws which he himself made. Not only had the old order passed, but a passionate love of liberty had developed. Free-men had discovered the joys of liberty. Nor were they willing to relinquish that liberty. Although Aristophanes and Xenophon would have us think so, that liberty did not destroy the devotion of Athenians to their state. Liberty, rather, became a new and powerful force binding men to the state. When Athens fell before the power of Macedon, liberty was not the cause of that fall. But the advent of freedom had created the problem of rebuilding society upon a basis new in the world, that of individual freedom. How were men to build a society in which the individual would be free and society itself be stable and enduring? And so Athenian statesmen and philosophers faced that problem, which is the chief problem of every democracy, theorized about it, and left to the world a rich heritage of political and social ideals which have been an inspiration and a guide ever since. Thus, out of the Athenian crisis, men began, for the first time, to build consciously and deliberately the ideal society and the ideal world. In the building of the new and better world, Greek philosophers recognized the indispensable contribution that education must make to the process and the product. But before considering the new educational practices which mark the Transition Period and the social and educational theories of the philosophers, we must now pause to consider briefly the educational practices of Athens in the Old Period.

### Education in the Old Period

**General Aspects.** (a) **FORMAL.**—In Old Athens, unlike Sparta, the home was a very important institution, and parents enjoyed great freedom and responsibility in regard to the education of their children. The father had almost unlimited authority in the home. He decided the question as to whether or not his newborn child should be permitted to live, a question which, in Sparta, the state decided.



He decided, also, all questions regarding the education of his sons before they entered the state military corps at about the age of eighteen. Influenced, no doubt, by public opinion and by love for Athens, fathers educated their sons for their duties as citizens. Female infants were frequently abandoned at birth and permitted to die. For girls who were reared, no formal education was provided.

Until the age of seven, a boy was in charge of his parents, and was instructed and disciplined in the way customary in Athenian homes. At the beginning of his eighth year, the boy was separated from his sisters and younger brothers and placed in charge of a slave, called the *paidagogos*, who continued to be his attendant and guardian at home, in school, and in his sports, until he reached the age of eighteen. The *paidagogos* advised him in matters pertaining to modesty, politeness, and self-control.

During the Old Period, Athens provided two schools for boys: (a) the *palaestra*, or physical training school, and (b) the *didascaleum*, or school of music and letters. Rich and poor citizens were educated in different schools and for different lengths of time, the rich remaining in school until the age of sixteen or seventeen, the poor leaving much earlier.<sup>15</sup> There is still much uncertainty about the exact plan of school organization in this Old Period.<sup>16</sup> Occasionally, the sons of the rich were instructed privately at home.<sup>17</sup> The *palaestra* and *didascaleum* were the only schools of whose existence in 600 B.C. we are reasonably certain. It is unlikely that the *gymnasium*, an institution for more advanced bodily training, existed in the Old Period.<sup>18</sup> On leaving these schools, the sons of the poor went to their various trades or domestic labors, but the sons of the rich, it is reasonably certain, continued their gymnastics in some way, for in bodily exercise and physical contests Athenian boys and men of leisure never lost interest. Poor boys had little time for these diversions after their school years had ended. At the age of eighteen or nineteen, every Athenian boy, of pure blood, took an oath of loyalty to the state and was enrolled as a citizen. The state, in the Old Period, probably provided some form of military training for boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty, a practice which, in the fourth century B.C., developed into the *Ephebic College*.<sup>19</sup> Young men, of the ages twenty to twenty-two, were sent out to guard the

<sup>15</sup> K. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 49; C. B. Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, New York: Appleton, 1905, 87; H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 103, 115.

<sup>16</sup> H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 113; K. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 54.

<sup>17</sup> H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 115, 119.

<sup>19</sup> C. A. Forbes, *op. cit.*, 111-178.

frontier and continue their military training. That period of service completed, the formal education of Athenian boys came to an end.

(b) **INFORMAL.**—To be born, live, and participate in the family, social, economic, political, and religious life of Athens was an education in itself. In that little state, youths learned the ways of life by participating in the activities of life. In the Old Period, only the few participated in political activities, but the democracy of the Transition Period changed all that. Social life was marked, throughout Athenian history, by a variety of functions such as feasts, festivals, games, sports, and temple worship, in which nearly all participated. Attendance and participation of Athenian men and boys in the great national games, such as the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmean, and Nemean games, as well as in the Great Athenian festival, the Panathenaea, had great educational significance.<sup>20</sup> Sons of farmers, artisans, etc., learned the skills of these callings by acting as apprentices to their fathers or probably to others thus employed. Athens never developed any formal vocational schools.

The education of girls, with very few exceptions, was always of this informal character and was related to domestic activities, to which women were very closely restricted, as we have already noted.

**Educational Practices.** (a) **PURPOSE.**—Even in Old Athens, the object of education was the development of the individual in body, mind and morals for his own welfare as well as for that of the state. Here there existed traditionally a deep respect for the individual and his worth. It was not the Spartan ideal. Athens aimed to make citizens, after its own ideal; to make men, who were really men and gentlemen, and not brutes. All Greek education had citizenship for its object, but the political ideal, as well as that of citizenship, varied from state to state. It was not an education designed to prepare men for the judgment of Osiris in another world, as was Egyptian education to a large degree. It was rather an education designed to prepare youths for life in the *polis*, the city-state. In as far as the ideal of developing body, mind and morals for the sake of moulding men was embodied in the education of Old Athens, that education was the forerunner of the ideal of a liberal education which marked the Athens of the succeeding periods. Professional and vocational skills were never aimed at in the schools.

(b) **CURRICULUM.**—(1) *Physical Exercises.* The *palaestra* was an open-air school in which naked boys practised wrestling, boxing,

<sup>20</sup> H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 351 ff., 372 ff.

running, jumping, throwing the discus and spear, punching the bag, ball-playing and tug-of-war, and in which richer boys received, in addition, some military training. The work of the day ended with a swim in an adjoining stream.<sup>21</sup> The exercises, no doubt, were graded according to the age of the boys.

(2) *Music*. In the *didascaleum* boys were instructed in vocal and instrumental music, the Athenians being conscious of the moral, cultural, and patriotic influences of such training. Dancing probably was never taught in Athenian schools.<sup>22</sup>

(3) *Letters and Literature*. Reading, writing, and poetry (especially Homer and Hesiod) were studied, under a special teacher, by all boys, probably in the *didascaleum*. Literature served a cultural, moral, and intellectual purpose. Throughout Athenian history, the poet was the most revered of men. Only actors, poets, and professional athletes escaped the odium attaching to the acceptance of pay for labor or service, and of these the poet was most highly esteemed.<sup>23</sup>

(c) METHOD AND DISCIPLINE.—Imitation, drill, and repetition were the methods used in the schools. From sunrise until sunset the school grind continued, but boys must have considered many exercises of the *palaestra* not work but play. Long poems were memorized; and while some of the stories told by the poets were interesting, the study of reading, writing, and music, as taught, was difficult and the methods very formal. Many years were required to master even fundamentals. Discipline was severe at home and in school, and flogging of boys was a common practice, for it was thought to be essential to learning.<sup>24</sup>

(d) ORGANIZATION.—Whether boys attended the *didascaleum* first and then, some years later, the *palaestra*, or did exactly the opposite of this, or actually attended both schools simultaneously, is a question which has not been definitely answered.<sup>25</sup> In these schools boys might remain for an indefinite time. No upper age limit was fixed but, by custom, rich boys withdrew about the age of sixteen or seventeen, and poor boys about the age of thirteen or fourteen.<sup>26</sup> Beyond this came some state scheme of military training, as we have already noted.

(e) SUPPORT AND CONTROL.—The *palaestra* and *didascaleum* were largely private schools, conducted by individuals for private

<sup>21</sup> C. B. Gulick, *op. cit.*, 80-82.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 234-235.

<sup>25</sup> H. Blumner, *op. cit.*, 115.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.



gain. The only school in Athens that the state ever owned and controlled was the military training school for youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty which developed, in the Transition Period, into what historians have called the *Ephebic College*. Ephebic training was the only schooling which was ever compulsory in Athens. From Solon's time, if not earlier, boys were required to pursue certain studies, but the laws did not prescribe any school for such purposes. There are records of Athenians who knew no music, but no record that any Athenian was illiterate. The state was interested in the morality of youth and placed its supervisors of morals in the private schools.<sup>27</sup> In the Transition Period, and probably toward the end of the Old Period, subdivisions of Athens, known as the "tribes," were required to defray the cost of a part of the instruction in gymnastics and music, and they employed teachers for that purpose. The cost of any further instruction in these subjects and, apparently, the entire cost of literary education had to be borne by parents directly. In later times some distinguished teachers, among the Sophists, were paid by the state.<sup>28</sup> Poorer parents sometimes instructed their own children in letters, because the fees of teachers were too high.<sup>29</sup>

The private character of education in Old Athens is significant. It was primarily a parental duty, the state or the "tribe" merely assisting in work which parents recognized as their own.

(f) TEACHERS.—Three special teachers had charge of a boy's education: the *paidotribes* taught him gymnastics; the *kitharistes*, music; and the *grammatistes*, reading, writing, spelling, and literature. These teachers were often emancipated slaves or citizens of inferior economic and social standing. The profession of teaching was not an honored profession largely because men engaged in it for purely private gain, and sold their services to private employers. Most of them received but a mere pittance for their labors.

(g) PUPILS.—The sons of all Athenian citizens, both rich and poor, were educated in the way we have described. The studies were the same for all, but the rich pursued them for a longer time, and attended better equipped schools than the poor could afford to attend. This condition continued throughout Athenian history. Formal schooling was a male prerogative, and girls, with but few exceptions, received only the informal training essential for the discharge of household duties, a fact which has been noted earlier. It ought to be

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>28</sup> A. Boeckh, *op. cit.*, 120-122.

<sup>29</sup> K. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 59.

noted also that *Metics* were not excluded from the schools during any period of Athenian history.<sup>30</sup>

### The New Education of the Transition Period

**In Search of the Ideal Society.**—The significant changes in Athenian society during the Transition Period, which have been noted, resulted in the breakdown of the old folkways; and the new freedom of the individual made men anxious regarding the well-being of the state. Athenian philosophers and statesmen were thus forced to seek a solution of the basic problem of all democratic societies—the problem of reconciling individual freedom with social stability. Solutions of the problem were proposed by three groups in Athens: (a) the conservatives, who would reduce the individual again to subordination to the state; (b) the radicals, who advocated unrestrained individual freedom without regard for the interests of society; and (c) the mediators, who would reconstruct society upon a new basis which would ensure social permanence and a supposedly adequate measure of individual freedom.

The Athenians were thus the first to approach the fundamental problem of society rationally, or from the standpoint of *theory*. This approach was lacking in primitive and Oriental societies. The demons of Necessity and Change make men thoughtful. In Athens, educational change followed social change; educational theories followed social theories. Men who dreamt of ideal states dreamt of ideal educational schemes at the same time. These ideals, never realized in Athens, embodied the vision, new in the world, of building the perfect society on the basis not of what has been but on the basis of what ought to be—on the basis of the ideal.

**Changing Educational Ideals and Practices.** (a) **MODIFICATION OF OLD SCHOOLS.**—In the Transition Period, less time was given to the old courses in the *palaestra* and *didaskaleum*, and for boys over fourteen or fifteen an advanced course in music and literature was provided in some of these old schools. It was because these old schools, though improved, did not satisfy the popular demand that the schools of the Sophists arose.

(b) **NEW SCHOOLS.**—(1) *The Gymnasium and Ephebic College.* Probably in the sixth century B.C., the first *gymnasium* was established in Athens. In some Greek states, the *gymnasia* were schools,

<sup>30</sup> C. B. Gulick, *op. cit.*, 64-65, 87; Xenophon, *Economics*, Ch. vii.

but in Athens they were public buildings and grounds where young men, who had passed from the *palaestra*, and men of all ages, as well as professional athletes, engaged in physical exercises. The professional athletes had coaches; the others received no instruction.<sup>31</sup> Only the rich attended the *gymnasia*; the poor had no time for such activities.

Between 338 and 335 B.C., Athens provided a two-year course of compulsory military training for *ephebi*, or boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty. This institution is known as the Ephebic College. It was the only form of compulsory "schooling" that Athens ever had. Wars have, nearly always, stimulated interest in physical education. In Athens, following the Persian War, that interest knew no bounds, but it suffered an alarming decline when youths became absorbed in the intellectual activities offered by the Sophists. To check that decline, Athens departed from a long tradition and made military training compulsory. The Ephebic College was a state school where boys were given strenuous gymnastic and military training. From 322 B.C., fees were charged, and thus the College became aristocratic, and its compulsory feature was gradually abandoned. Under Roman rule, Athenians felt that they had all necessary protection, and the College became primarily academic in character. Eventually, it merged with other schools, and thus the University of Athens arose.

(2) *Ideals and Schools of the Radicals or Sophists.* These peripatetic lecturers, some of them learned men and some impostors, were numerous in Athens in the fifth century B.C. They were the radicals whose individualistic philosophy delighted adventurous youths and liberals, but shocked the conservatives. As teachers for profit, they were despised; as radical thinkers, they were feared by many. Protagoras, a distinguished Sophist, taught that the individual is the "be all and the end all" of life, and that truth is what each individual perceives or thinks it to be. The individual, not the state, is highest on the scale of values. That was the Sophists' ideal. Yet youths, and often adults, flocked to their schools for that liberal education, worthy of freemen, which frees the intellect from ignorance, the soul from fear, the body from infirmities; which develops the whole man, and which, ever since the days of Athenian democracy, has been associated with the ideas of human liberty and leadership. The Sophists provided the element of a liberal education which was most neglected in

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<sup>31</sup> C. A. Forbes, *op. cit.*, 82.



the old schools, the intellectual element. They neglected too much the physical element. From them youth sought those intellectual accomplishments necessary for leadership in public life.

For two centuries, Greek scientists had been exploring the universe, but they had kept their wisdom from the people. In democracies knowledge is the people's right. One of the most significant aspects of the work of the Sophists is that they collected existing knowledge, and offered it for sale in the open market to everyone who could afford to pay for it. And their prices were moderate.

(c) **THE NEW CURRICULUM.**—As a group, the Sophists taught everything that students demanded, and among their offerings were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, natural history, grammar, etymology, rhetoric, logic, versification, history, mythology, political science, ethics, criticism of religion, mnemonics, drawing, painting, music, athletics, and military tactics.<sup>32</sup> Rhetoric they stressed most, the other subjects being taught with a view to forming an accomplished orator. The Rhetorical School of Greece and Rome thus originated. In democracies oratory is important; in despotisms men are puppets. The Sophists taught logic not for the sake of truth, but for the sake of winning a debate. This has been called sophistry. But, in this they were probably consistent, for they denied the existence of "being" or objective reality, asserting that "appearances" are the only existing things, and individual opinion the only truth.

They thus represent the end of the old folkways and the old mind, and the point of origin of an enlightenment and a new way of life which mark the beginning of modern progress. They played a necessary part in the shaping of the new way of life. Men had to be freed from enslavement to custom before the better society, intelligently, consciously, and freely built and directed, could be established. The Sophists helped to destroy the old; others laid the philosophical basis for the new society.

**Ideals of the Conservatives.**—Pericles and Aristophanes were among those who were conservative in their views of the social problem. They looked back longingly to "the good old days" when the individual lived for the state. They praised the glories of the past; they bewailed the ignominies of the present. In his famous Funeral Oration in honor of those who had died for Athens, Pericles lauded the greatness of Athenians, their traditional ideals, and the state. With probably the philosophy of the radicals in mind he said:

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<sup>32</sup> K. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 165-166.

"We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character."<sup>33</sup> He commended briefly the traditional education. In addition to oratorical appeals, Pericles beautified the city so that Athenians might love it all the more.

Aristophanes, the comic dramatist and one of the immortals, used the theatre to ridicule the new tendencies in Athenian life. The Sophists and their education he held up to public scorn. He condemned the new education as effeminate, and called upon youth to return to manly exercises, as in the following passage from the *Clouds*:

If then you'll obey and do what I say,  
And follow with me the more excellent way,  
Your chest shall be white, your skin shall be bright,  
Your arms shall be tight, your tongue shall be slight,  
And everything else shall be proper and right.  
But if you pursue what men nowadays do,  
You will have, to begin, a cold pallid skin,  
Arms small and chest weak, tongue practised to speak,  
Special laws very long, and the symptoms all strong  
Which show that your life is licentious and wrong.<sup>34</sup>

But the voice of the critic was heard in vain, for the old education no longer met the needs of Athens. The Sophists, whom he denounced, were not a cause of the changes, but only a symptom of what had taken place before they came as a result of economic, social, political, and intellectual forces which were at work in Athenian life. In the new Athens, rich, powerful, and free, a return to the old order was impossible.

#### **Ideals of Constructive Theorists: 1. Socrates (469-399 B.C.).**

(a) THEORIES OF SOCIETY AND KNOWLEDGE.—Socrates sought a basis of social unity in knowledge. For the old folkways, now derided, he would substitute new folkways acceptable to a people enlightened and critically intelligent about social problems. He sought, by a process of free critical discussion in which he would have all participate, to bring men to an agreement on social questions. He would rebuild Athenian society on the basis, not of individual opinion, but of truth, knowledge, or "ideas" universally acceptable and intelligently accepted by all men. Truth, he said, resides not in individual perception, but in the element common to all perceptions, the

<sup>33</sup> P. Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1919, 27 (by permission).

<sup>34</sup> B. B. Rogers, *Aristophanes*, New York: Putnam, 1924, I, 357-358.

concept. The Sophists' philosophy would destroy unity of thought; that of Socrates would create such a unity and make it the basis of a stable society, of which enlightened men could be proud. Thus "the father of philosophers" bequeathed to the world his faith that an enduring society could be founded on the basis of knowledge, and that men can build, consciously and intelligently, a society that will not mock the reason of inquiring men. That society would respect the individual, for it originates in his own "ideas," and would be worthy of intelligent freemen.

(b) **SOCRATIC METHOD OF TEACHING.**—This method is a process of arriving at a definition, or concept, inductively by conversation on moral and philosophical problems. Socrates taught boys by eliciting their opinions on such problems. His purpose was to bring, as he said, ideas of universal validity "to birth," by proving logically to boys that their original opinions were erroneous or but half-truths. Thus he would stimulate them to further inquiry. Thus, while the Sophists thought of man as a perceiving being only, Socrates thought of him as intellectual as well. It is the intellect, especially, he taught, that leads man to knowledge and therefore to virtue which is based on knowledge. Only in a small community, however, could social unity be secured by such a method.

2. **Plato (427–347 B.C.).** (a) **SOCIAL THEORY.**—Plato approached the educational problem by considering its fundamentals, the nature of man, the nature of society, and the nature of knowledge.

The "ideal state" described in his *Republic* is one in which there are three social classes, men of gold, men of silver, and men of iron. The gods, he says, made men thus. The universe, society, and man operate according to a divine plan. Just as man is an organism which works in harmony towards a divinely appointed end, so society is composed of similar parts for a similar end. The function of the men of gold, or philosophers, whose virtue is wisdom, is to rule the state; of the men of silver, whose virtue is courage, to be the military guardians of the state; and of the men of iron, whose virtues are obedience to superiors and self-control, to be the laborers of the state. Each man will perform that duty for which his god-given nature has equipped him. Thus would Plato build, upon his principle of "justice," a society which avarice and unrestrained individualism could not destroy. The ills of Athens, he felt, were due to an "unjust" division of labor, and these he would correct by abolishing private ownership of property in the case of philosophers and guardians, by restricting it in the case of laborers, and by assigning duties to men



on the basis of the natural capacity of individuals and of groups. To get men to believe the myth of the divine institution of social classes, he would remove all over the age of ten from the state, and then indoctrinate the children. There have been many lies in education, but few have so frankly justified the practice as did Plato.

Theoretically, the social classes would not be hereditary, and a cobbler's son might be born a philosopher. Thus would Plato build the ideal state with philosophers, who love wisdom, truth and justice for their own sake, as its rulers. And Plato remarked that, until kings are philosophers and philosophers are kings, the perfect state will not see the light of day. In practice, there would be very little individual freedom in such a state.

*Position of Women.* Plato would accord women all the privileges enjoyed by men. The home and marriage he would abolish so that the state would be the only object of affection, women be free, and the breeding of a better human stock be provided for. Women are, he says, generally inferior to men, but some women are superior to some men. All fields of activity he would open to them, and he would have them educated in exactly the same way as men.

(b) THE NATURE OF MAN.—Plato recognized individual differences, and would take cognizance of these differences in his scheme of education. While stressing the political and social aspects of man's nature he did not ignore its physical, religious, intellectual, and aesthetic aspects. Some of these he would develop more in one social class than in another. Laborers would be given little or no intellectual education because of their natural incapacity for it. In his treatises, the *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*, he states his views on the soul. All that can be said here is that the science of psychology began with the Sophists, Plato, and Aristotle.

(c) THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE.—In answer to the great question of the Graeco-Roman and Christian worlds, "What is truth?" Plato formulated his "theory of universals," which we shall call "Platonic realism." In it, he and his followers assert that the only real things, or truth, are abstract or universal "Ideas," and that these have an objective and independent existence in the metaphysical world. The material, visible world is one of appearances or shadowy reflections of these "Ideas," which are the causes of all concrete things. The highest Idea, or first cause, is the Idea of the Good, which is Plato's supreme god. These "Ideas," or perfect realities, are visible only to the "mind's eye" of contemplative philosophers. The

material world is knowable by sense perception; the real world, only by a process of contemplation, pure reasoning, and intuition. Ordinary men can know the former; only men of gold can know the latter. Socrates' "truth" resides in the world of man's everyday experience; Plato's, in a world beyond the reach of such experience. The men of gold will bring to human society some of that justice, goodness, beauty, and truth which reside in the "Ideal" world.

While respecting the old folkways, Plato would found his ideal society, not upon custom and ancient belief but upon the basis of truth, as he conceived it. The idea of building society upon truth, but not necessarily Plato's truth, will appeal to reasonable men, for truth can make and keep men free.

(d) PLATO'S EDUCATIONAL THEORY.—The highest duty of the state, said Plato, is the moulding of virtuous citizens. Beyond that point modern thought has not gone. Plato's state is the lay secular state, and his educational scheme is likewise secular. He views education in its broadest sense. He advocates censorship of art, literature, and music, so that the state may reflect "the true," "the beautiful," and "the good." Gymnastics give beauty and health to the body as music gives harmony and moderation to the soul.

Plato's views on the education of laborers are obscure. Since, however, social selection is a function of the school, it may be inferred that all children would be enrolled in school for an unstated period, ending, for laborers, not later than the age of eighteen. The education of the upper social classes is clearly indicated. For them he would retain the traditional schools, the curriculum being subject to state censorship and control. The course for boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty would be military. The soldier class would be eliminated from school at the end of that course. For rulers, philosophers, he now suggests the establishment of two new schools, the first retaining all students to the age of thirty, when the less gifted would retire from school to engage in practical politics, the second retaining great-minded intellectuals for five years longer. Between the ages of twenty and thirty, all these philosophers would study arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy not for practical purposes but for the purposes of disciplining the powers of the mind, and of comprehending the great abstract truths, or "Ideas," underlying these sciences. These studies lead to dialectic, or the science of pure reasoning, for those retained in school after the age of thirty. At this stage, these philosophers would contemplate nothing perceivable by the senses, but only pure abstractions, for the purpose of catching a

vision of the "Idea of the Good." From thirty-five to fifty, they would rule the state, and then retire from public service, to enjoy till death the vision of the "Absolute," the contemplation of which Plato considers the highest form of happiness.

(e) INFLUENCE OF PLATO.—The following are a few of many examples of Plato's influence: The government of the mediaeval church, while influenced by the Jews, was essentially Platonic, the priestly hierarchy playing the rôle of philosophers. Platonic realism and theological dogmatism are closely related. Mediaevalists tried to build an "absolute" society on the basis of otherworldly "truth," as did Plato. To them, as to Plato, the visible world is one of unrealities. This realism was, for centuries, the chief obstacle to the growth of scientific inquiry. Plato's formal disciplinary conception of education has exerted a great influence on curriculum and methods of instruction almost to our own day. And he was the first to formulate a definite philosophy of education, and to lay a philosophical basis of state education.

3. Aristotle (386–322 B.C.). (a) SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEORY.—In his *Ethics* and *Politics*, Aristotle says that society and the state are natural institutions, and that man is by nature a "political animal." The state, he says, is the greatest achievement of nature and of man. His social and educational philosophies are founded upon his doctrine of "nature." Nature makes one man superior to another, and designs some to be masters and others to be slaves. Slavery he considers a natural institution, and his "ideal state" would be founded upon it. Above slaves stands a social hierarchy headed by a governing élite. In that society, each man would be placed according to his peculiar natural gifts. Slaves, artisans, merchants, and farmers, Aristotle would exclude from citizenship, because their vocations are ignoble and impediments to "virtue." Only those should be citizens who have leisure for self-improvement and for the performance of public duties. All landed property should be in the hands of the élite, since only rich men can be good citizens.

(1) *Women's Place in Society*. Women, he says, have, by nature, their own peculiar virtues and duties. They are, by nature, inferior to men, and their virtue lies in obedience to men, whose right it is to command. Silence, he says, is the natural ornament of a woman. Freedom for women, as in Sparta, is a menace to the state. The natural sphere of women's activities is the home and, here, it is the husbands' right to exercise complete authority in regulating the lives of women and children.



(2) *Political Theory*. There are by nature, says Aristotle, three social classes, the very rich, the very poor, and the moderately rich. On the basis of his theory of the "relative mean," that vice lies in extremes and virtue in the path between them, he advocates a bourgeois democracy as the best political system. In practice, this supposedly democratic state would dominate the individual who would be made by education and law the tool of the government.

With Aristotle, the *summum bonum* is "happiness," not "justice," as with Plato. It is the only goal, he says, that men seek for its own sake and is, therefore, by nature, the ultimate end of all individual and social action. It is attained by every organism, vegetative, animal, and human when that organism performs its peculiar natural function. Man shares with plants the function of growth and, with animals, the instinctive functions of perception, sensation of pleasure and pain, and the resultant emotions. Reason is man's peculiar function. It pervades his instinctive animal mechanism and controls it. Man's instinctive animal mechanism Aristotle calls the "irrational soul"; the intellectual mechanism, the "rational soul." The moral virtues are peculiar to the former; the intellectual, to the latter. Moral virtue, while necessary for all in society, is not the same for all. A man's courage consists, for instance, in commanding; a woman's, in obeying. Slaves, women, and children are largely irrational, and their virtues are moral, not intellectual.<sup>35</sup> Thus, only men who are citizens are capable of the highest form of happiness, that of intellectual activity in search of truth and in its application to statecraft, which is the sovereign art whose end is social happiness. When all individuals in a state are happy, each by performing his or her natural functions, the state will itself have attained the goal of happiness. Aristotle's ideal society is, then, one in which rational men will be governed by their own inner reason, and all others, by an external control exercised over their behavior chiefly through the proper education of their bodies and "irrational" souls. It is education that makes human beings virtuous.

(b) *THE NATURE OF MAN*.—Aristotle, as we have noted, gave serious thought to individual differences and psychological questions. He considered man in his various aspects, physical, moral, intellectual, political, etc., but his emphasis upon the political aspect of human nature is of special significance.

(c) *THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE*.—Aristotle rejected Platonic realism and made the physical world of time and change the center of

<sup>35</sup> *Politics*, Bk. VIII.

reality. The things of the physical world are not appearances but realities. While these things change and perish, there is in them a reality that is constant, a substance which is the object of our concepts. This substance or "Form" is an immaterial principle of structure, inhering in matter and incapable of independent existence. It is the same in all objects of one class, and is the "essence," or true nature, of the individual object. Aristotle's "Form" and Plato's "Idea" differ only in that Plato gave independent existence to the "Idea" while Aristotle makes the "Idea" inhere in each concrete thing. While Plato would arrive at truth by pure reasoning and intuition, Aristotle would begin with sense perception, although he holds that universal truths can be reached only by pure reasoning and intuition. His belief in the infallibility of syllogistic reasoning retarded the growth of science, for he assigned to sense-perception a subsidiary place. Yet his own use of the inductive method, if not his attitude, was favorable to science, for he insisted on collecting all ascertainable facts.

(d) EDUCATIONAL THEORY.—No one has formulated more forcibly than Aristotle the conception of education as a state function and of the dependence of its character upon the character of a variety of political systems, of which it is the preserver. Education, said he, must serve the political system by conforming with its nature. Moreover, education must conform with the nature of the individuals to be educated.<sup>36</sup> A liberal education is the right of freemen only, and these must not engage in vulgar employments which deform the body and degrade the mind.

(1) *Education of the Body and Irrational Soul.* Aristotle's period of formal education ends at the age of twenty-one, and it has four subdivisions, the first ending at the age of five, the second at the age of seven, the third at the age of puberty, and the fourth at the age of twenty-one. To insure a healthy body, he recommends eugenic marriages, regulated by the state. During the first five years, education ought to be natural and consist of spontaneous bodily exercise, and the guarding of the child against immoral influences. Then, for two years, the child will observe the activities he will later learn. During these years, the child will remain at home under the supervision of state "Directors of Education."

It is not clear when the training of the irrational soul, which begins at the age of seven, ends, but intellectual education would not begin before the age of puberty. Reading, writing, arithmetic, as

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. VI.

preparatory to later studies, gymnastics and music would make up the curriculum for the training of the irrational soul. Of these, gymnastics and music are the most important, and Aristotle discusses them at length. Their purpose is the liberalizing one of purifying the soul of its passions and developing in it right habits of moral action. Gymnastics should not make athletes, or brutes, but men—men of health, beautiful form, and nobility of character, who are virtuous and happy because their impulsive souls function moderately and temperately. Physical training he recommends for the enjoyment of leisure and peace, not for military preparedness. "Purification" (*Katharsis*) of the irrational soul of evil impulses, and the development of the habit of observing the principle of the "relative mean" in one's instinctive and moral behavior are the chief purposes of gymnastics, as they are of music. The music which slaves and laborers may hear may be as vulgar and intemperate as their souls, but melodies of purification are for freemen.

This education of the irrational soul would not be in private but in the state's hands because, Aristotle says, education is a science based on general principles of universal validity, and ought to be in the hands of those who know these principles, namely, legislators or their representatives.

(2) *Education of the Rational Soul, and Faculty Psychology.* How he would educate the rational soul can only be conjectured. For three years after the age of puberty, youths, he says, ought to pursue "other studies," mental in character, for men ought not to labor simultaneously with mind and body. It would thus appear that, like Plato, Aristotle recognized a form of dualism between mind and body.<sup>37</sup> It is probable that science, philosophy, and literature would be pursued in developing the rational soul. Political science he considers the queen of studies, and psychology would be an important part of it. By such studies, the "faculties" of the rational soul would be developed. Plato had spoken of parts of the soul, and that doctrine became, with Aristotle, that of mental faculties. This "faculty psychology," developed further by Saint Augustine, met no serious challenge until the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> It may be supposed that Aristotle, in educating the rational soul, would provide appropriate exercises for the development of its "faculties." This psychological theory has always supported Plato's theory of formal discipline.

<sup>37</sup> Otto Klemm, *History of Psychology*, New York: Scribner, 1914, 49.

<sup>38</sup> W. B. Pillsbury, *The History of Psychology*, New York: Norton, 1929, 13-33; O. Klemm, *op. cit.*, 47-55.



(e) **INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTLE.**—Aristotle bequeathed to the world the ideal that a happy and, therefore, virtuous citizenry makes a happy and virtuous state, and that, in the perfect state, men ought to be controlled by reason and by a sense of respect for “what is right.” His views, and those of Plato, on state education crept into Roman law, into the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas and Luther, and, eventually, into modern educational practices. His theories of knowledge and of the universe became the official philosophy of the church in the thirteenth century, and were authoritative in the universities of Europe for four hundred years. In the hands of theologians, Aristotle’s philosophy enslaved the human intellect and retarded the progress of science. Real progress had to await another method of observing nature than Aristotle’s.

### Developments in the Cosmopolitan Period

**The New Mind.**—In this period, Greek culture spread through the Near East and the whole Mediterranean world. Cosmopolitanism implies devotion to no state, and Greek learning and culture assumed that characteristic. Philosophers now advocated world-citizenship. Out of the failure of philosophers to answer the question “What is truth?” grew the philosophy of skepticism and the non-social and individualistic philosophies of the Stoics and Epicureans. But this was not the end. The tendency away from the moral and social thought of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle ran itself out in the hedonism and nihilism of men who laughed at all philosophers and at all quests for truth or certainty. The new comedy, also, was individualistic. It stressed the joys of youth and worldly pleasures. Life is ruled by chance. The gods are not interested in men, for as Lucretius, of Hellenized Rome, said,

No God Almighty ever made for man  
A Universe of such imperfect plan.<sup>39</sup>

Thus philosophy gradually took the place of religion, and ethics became the science not of social but of individual happiness. Under Hebrew-Christian influence ethics became the handmaiden of religion, and the bond became so strong that modern states have found it difficult to separate both in public school education.

**The New Education.**—In Athens itself, physical and military educational requirements were gradually relaxed, and schools became

<sup>39</sup> *C.A.H.*, Cambridge University Press, VII, 246 (by permission of the Macmillan Co.).

more academic in character. Still, the Athenians never lost interest in physical education. The chief developments of the period appear in: (a) the growth of philosophical schools, (b) the rise of the University of Athens, (c) the subsidy and control of the University by Roman emperors, and (d) the suppression of the University by the Christian Emperor, Justinian, in 529 A.D.

Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Epicureans, and Skeptics founded philosophical schools. The University of Athens arose gradually out of a union of the Ephebic College and these philosophical schools. From the first century A.D., Roman emperors, desiring to make Athens the cultural center of the empire, endowed chairs of rhetoric at the University, and subsidized the study of philosophy.

Outside of Athens there were many famous centers of Greek culture and learning, but of these Alexandria was the most illustrious. Its University, influenced by Aristotelianism, became the center of scientific research, as Athens was the center of philosophical speculation.

But progress in science and philosophy suffered a serious check. Through contact with Eastern mystery religions, Westerners began to substitute faith for reason in the quest for truth, and eventually came the Middle Ages, an age of faith, when scientific progress almost ceased. Mankind thus made a detour from the highway of science and, in 1800 A.D., Europeans had advanced no farther in many sciences than had the Greeks in 200 B.C. Elsewhere, we shall examine more fully the question of the fate of science in mediaeval Christendom and the revival of interest in it at the beginning of modern times.

## II. ROMAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

### Periods of Development

There were four periods in the development of Roman education: (a) the *Native Roman Period*, the first part of which ended about 600 B.C., when Rome borrowed the alphabet from the Greeks of Cumae, and the second part of which ended when Livius Andronicus, a Greek resident of Rome, translated, probably in 250 B.C., Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin; (b) the *Transition Period*, when Greek culture and Greek educational ideals and practices were introduced widely into Rome, in spite of the opposition of Roman conservatives, the period ending, with a victory for Greek ideals, about 55 B.C., when Cicero wrote his *De Oratore*, in which the new education was fully

approved; (c) the *Institutionalized Roman Period*, ending about 200 A.D., during which there occurred a great expansion in the growth of educational institutions and practices, significantly Greek in form, but not entirely Greek in spirit, for the Romans added the utilitarian ideal to the purely liberal and cultural ideal of later Greeks; and (d) the *Period of Decline*, corresponding with and following the decline of the Roman state, a period which ended in 529 A.D., when the Emperor Justinian closed by law the pagan University of Athens, and thus officially approved the Christian and ecclesiastical domination of education in the West, a domination which had been growing gradually for two hundred years. During this last period, and as a result of the political changes which finally resulted in the absolute rule of imperial autocrats, the educational practices of the two earlier periods, which prepared men for a life of practical usefulness and leadership in Roman society, lost their former values and relation to life and, surviving by the force of tradition, degenerated into purely formal procedures, prized by an idle aristocracy of birth and wealth for their purely cultural and ornamental values.

### The Changing Environment

**The Changing Economic and Social Environment.**—From a small self-sustaining agrarian community, with a domestic economy, in the early Native Period, Rome grew, in the Transition and later periods, into a nation and an empire of great landed estates, great industrial and commercial activity, and great wealth. The significance of commercial activity in the blending of cultures in the Mediterranean world, while very great, cannot be presented here, except to say that it contributed notably to the mingling of Eastern and Western thought,<sup>40</sup> and the spread of Graeco-Roman culture. Great Roman engineers built a network of roads which extended from the Forum to the ends of the empire, and which served military, commercial, and cultural purposes.<sup>41</sup> Towns, bristling with industrial, commercial, and political activity, arose. Gilds of artisans, with an apprenticeship system of technical education, appeared and, through them, the mechanical arts of the Orient and Greece were transmitted to Europe.<sup>42</sup> From the third century A.D., town life and commercial activity declined, and the townspeople were gradually reduced to a condition of serfdom on the great landed estates of the nobility.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *C.A.H.*, VIII, 652-658; X, 417.

<sup>41</sup> E. M. Hulme, *The Middle Ages*, New York: Holt, 1929, 7-8; W. D. McDaniel, *Roman Private Life*, Boston: Jones, 1924, 171-176.

<sup>42</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.



The social system, as it developed, reflected the changing character of economic and political life. Roman society was always a society of marked social distinctions. In the Native Period, there were the patricians, an hereditary and land-owning aristocracy descended from the ancient families, and the plebeians, who enjoyed a measure of personal freedom, but who depended for a livelihood upon the patricians, and engaged in manual and domestic occupations. Until 445 B.C., intermarriage between the patricians and plebeians was forbidden by law.<sup>44</sup> Out of a successful struggle of the plebeians for economic and political rights came, in the fourth century B.C., a new landed nobility, the *optimates*, composed of patricians and plebeians. Below this new nobility of wealth and power stood the great Roman proletariat who lived in poverty and dependence. Between these two classes, and as a result of imperial and commercial expansion, there emerged a great middle class, the bourgeoisie or knights, who engaged in a variety of occupations, military, administrative, and commercial, and became a rich capitalist class. But at the very top of the social structure there always stood the nobles, so noble that they were expected never to engage in any mental or manual work, except agriculture, for profit.

Below all of these stood the slaves, who were few in the Native Period, but who became very numerous from the third century B. C. onward, every war bringing its new quota of slaves into Roman society. The prices paid for slaves on the Roman market ran from \$100 for a laborer to \$28,000 for a grammarian.<sup>45</sup> Eventually, all manual occupations and some professions, such as medicine and teaching, came to be, to varying degrees, in the hands of foreigners, slaves, and ex-slaves.

With the decline of the empire, wealth passed into the hands of the great landowning nobility, and the other classes were gradually reduced to forms of civil, industrial, and agricultural serfdom. In the fifth century A.D., civil servants were placed by law in hereditary endogamous guilds. Similarly, the old industrial guilds became hereditary, and various forms of serfdom, under a wealthy nobility, were imposed upon European society.<sup>46</sup>

STATUS OF WOMEN.—In spite of male domination, founded upon the male prerogative of *patria potestas* which gave absolute power to

<sup>44</sup> H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, New York: Scott, Foresman, 1903, 51.

<sup>45</sup> W. D. McDaniel, *op. cit.*, 93.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-40; S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, London: Macmillan, 1898, 145-166, 227-281; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 10-13.

the oldest living father in the family, Roman women enjoyed more economic advantages and much greater personal and social freedom than Athenian women. Yet, their status was one of inferiority. Great social changes accompanied the expansion of the Roman state, and Cato proclaimed regretfully, in 195 B.C., that women were becoming the rulers of men.<sup>47</sup> The "emancipation" of Roman women progressed rapidly with the increase in the wealth and power of Rome and with the penetration of Roman society by Greek culture. Toward the close of the Transition Period, an exaggerated form of the hetaeradom had developed, and family ties, formerly supported by profound religious feelings, were seriously weakened. Never, probably, except for a time in Soviet Russia, was divorce more easily obtained than in the first centuries of the Roman empire.<sup>48</sup> In the Transition Period, Rome experienced a social crisis, similar to that of Athens, and the old culture and folkways, the old morality, underwent a profound change. There were few Roman customs or traditions which were not affected by the new forces at work in society at that time, and the greater freedom which was accorded to women was but one aspect of the social change that had occurred. Yet, Roman women never enjoyed the same educational opportunities as men.

**The Changing Political Environment.**—Rome grew from a small city community to an Italian nation, and then to a great empire, covering much of the Near East and all of Europe, except Germany. In government, Rome progressed from a monarchy (754–509 B.C.) to a republic (509–2 B.C.), and then to an imperial autocracy (2 B.C.–476 A.D.). The crowning achievement of Roman statecraft was the preservation of republican forms under the absolute régime of the emperors. Democracy developed slowly between 449 and 70 B.C. out of a protracted struggle of the plebeians for power, but at its best it was a restricted form of democracy. Under the empire, political life acquired a fixity of form. Women, freedmen, and slaves continued to be disfranchised. Simple freemen, mostly tradesmen and artisans, and minor civil servants were permitted to vote but could not hold political offices. Above these came the full citizens, who might hold any office provided they met all legal requirements, but who were, in practice, barred by poverty from such positions. The highest political privileges and offices were enjoyed by the nobles, an aristocracy of birth and wealth.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> A. Heilborn, *op. cit.*, 121–122; W. D. McDaniel, *op. cit.*, 54.

<sup>48</sup> W. D. McDaniel, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>49</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 10–11; J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1927, 92–95.

In the period 300–146 B.C., as a result of the Italian, Punic, and Macedonian wars, Rome became a great power, and Greek culture was forced upon her as a consequence of foreign contacts. From 200 A.D. onward, Roman power and prestige were declining as a result of economic, social, political, religious, and moral causes.<sup>50</sup> The separation of the Eastern and Western empires occurred gradually from 330 A.D., when Constantine made Constantinople the new capital, and the Western empire fell into the hands of the German barbarians in 476 A.D. At the beginning of the sixth century, the Eastern Emperor, Justinian, restored Roman power in Italy for a brief period, during which he introduced into the West his Justinian Code with its provision against pagan schools. This Code became, later, the basis of legal study in the law schools of Europe.<sup>51</sup>

The Roman empire was a great “melting-pot” of races and cultures, but only the upper classes were really Romanized. The underprivileged lower classes were interested not in cultural but in material things. While schoolmasters, with designs upon the minds and souls of men, followed the conquering armies of Rome, and while emperors took control of education for the sake of cultural and political unity in the empire, the masses were touched but little by Roman culture. The ancient idea of universalism was embodied in the empire, a political structure built, in theory, upon the principles of (a) the independence of citizens, (b) the sovereignty of the people, and (c) the supremacy of law, as supposedly an expression of the people’s will. In the fields of government and law, Rome has been the teacher of the Western world.

The fall of the empire brought dismay and despair to Christians and pagans alike. Many Christians looked upon it as a divine institution and, at its fall, waited in fear and hope for the end of the world. St. Augustine, in his *City of God*, treated the empire as the last period in human history, and proclaimed that there is a more abiding city than worldly Rome, the otherworldly Heavenly City.<sup>52</sup> Rome fell, but the world did not end. Rome fell, but Romanism, the cultural Rome, survived, for Rome was essentially an idea, and ideas are difficult to destroy.

**The Changing Religious Environment.**—The official gods of ancient patrician Rome were patrician gods, and religion was a state

<sup>50</sup> G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, New York: Scribner, 1914, 77–84; S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 227–281; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World*, New York: Knopf, 1931, 185–186.

<sup>51</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 67–74.

<sup>52</sup> F. Lot, *op. cit.*, 251–253; S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 305–310.



and patrician religion. Around the old city was erected a sacred wall, the *pomerium*, and, inside this cultural fortification, foreign deities might not be worshipped. The whole world of the ancient Roman was filled with spirits. Over every important event or activity in a Roman's life, whether birth, death, plowing, warfare, etc., a spirit presided, which Romans had to propitiate. These earlier deities were nature forces, not anthropomorphic as were Greek gods, and they were practical forces which "bound" men firmly to their everyday duties. State priests, who were simply public officials, but never a caste, conducted the state worship under the direction of a "supreme pontiff." Here religion and patriotism were one, and here *pietas* (reverence for religious things) was man's bounden duty.

Between 500 and 200 B.C., as a result of national expansion, the worship of foreign gods, particularly Greek anthropomorphic deities, spread rapidly. From 399 B.C. onward, in spite of determined conservative opposition, Greek religions were introduced widely, and all the gods became, in time, so humanized that there occurred a great decline in religious fervor. Because of the growing democracy and individualism of Rome, men sought a personal rather than a social religion, and this personal element, the traditional system lacked. The early emperors had themselves proclaimed and worshipped as deities for the purpose of cultural and political unity in the empire, but this was but another form of state, not personal, religion, and it did not satisfy the individualism of the age. Under the republic and the empire, Roman liberalism permitted very great freedom of worship, and the official state religion was but one of many in Rome. The masses were attracted in increasing numbers by Oriental mystery cults, such as Mithraism, and by their related cults of Judaism and Christianity; the intelligentsia, by intellectual systems, such as Stoicism and Epicureanism. The struggle between an array of competing philosophies and religions for supremacy passed into its last phase, in the fourth century A.D., with the imperial recognition of Christianity as the religion of the empire. Paganism, however, struggled on against the new cult for nearly two centuries and left its impress upon many church practices in Christendom.<sup>53</sup>

**Foreign Influence.**—By far the most important foreign influence upon Roman life was that of Greece. From about 800 B.C., a stream of influence, first from the Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily, and then from Greece herself, flowed into Rome and Italy,

<sup>53</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 48-49, 316-343; S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 74-111; J. W. Duff, *op. cit.*, 53-59; W. Windelband, *op. cit.*, 303 ff.; *C.A.H.*, X, 46 ff., 468-583; S. Angus, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity*, New York: Scribner, 1925.

the period of greatest borrowing from Greece dating from 300 B.C. Sometime before 600 B.C., the Romans borrowed the alphabet from the Greeks of Cumae, and the art of writing spread throughout most of Italy between 800 and 200 B.C.<sup>54</sup> Thus to Greece, Rome owes the beginning of her literary education. The earliest written Roman documents that have been found date from the sixth century B.C.<sup>55</sup> In 449 B.C., as a result of growing democracy, the XII Tables of the Law began to be put into written form, but the literary period proper began about 250 B.C., with the introduction of Greek literature, and Latin translations of the same, by Greeks who had settled in Rome. All that can be said here is that Rome soon inherited all the literary products of Greece, and that soon Greek and native Roman authors were producing a Latin literature modeled after the Greek. The "Golden Age" of Latin literature was reached in the period 70 B.C.—14 A.D., the age of Cicero and his younger contemporaries. When Cato wrote, at the beginning of the second century B.C., he listed oratory, agriculture, war, law and medicine as subjects worthy of study. One hundred years later, Varro listed as studies, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, medicine, and architecture. Cato's conception of education was essentially professional; Varro's, much more liberal.

In science, art, literature, philosophy, religion and education, Rome borrowed freely from Greece, and the culture of Hellas became the spirit that enlivened the republic and the empire. But the new culture met with determined opposition. There were Romans who thought that they could conquer the world without losing their souls, but in that they deceived themselves. In 161 B.C., the Roman senate, alarmed probably by Epicureanism, decreed the expulsion of philosophers and rhetoricians from the city. These outlaws were probably Greeks who lectured in Latin, but the law was not enforced, for Romans, thirsting for the new culture, continued to attend the lectures of Greek professors. In 92 B.C., Latin rhetoricians were expelled by a similar decree, because boys were "wasting their time" attending their lectures, all of which indicates that, at this time, only Greek teachers were thought to offer the genuine article to Roman youths. Greek physicians were likewise unwelcome for a long time, because Romans feared that they had murderous designs upon the lives of "barbarians."<sup>56</sup> The Transition Period was, then,

<sup>54</sup> *C.A.H.*, II, 563-590; IV, 113-117, 122-123, 347-403, 413-468; H. R. James, *op. cit.*, I, 209-210.

<sup>55</sup> J. W. Duff, *op. cit.*, 67-69.

<sup>56</sup> T. C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, London: Macmillan, 1921, 62.

one of struggle, which ended in a victory for Greek culture, although the Roman never fully accepted the Greek estimate of liberal values.

**Roman Character.**—While Roman history is a continuation of the Greek, the character of both peoples differed, for the Greeks were thinkers, the Romans, doers. Roman art was as utilitarian as their great roads, and Roman literature, nearly always, displays a practical purpose. Lucretius would destroy superstition; Virgil would glorify the empire and recall men to their sense of duty. Roman rhetoric, history, and philosophy bear the stamp of utilitarianism. In all literary fields, except satire, the Romans were imitators, not creators. While there were two languages, the Greek and the Latin, there was but one literature, the Greek. The Romans achieved practically nothing in natural science, for Greek scientific knowledge was enough for them. But, in law, government and engineering, the Romans excelled. The Greeks knew how to think about the world; the Romans, how to rule it. Roman law is one of the greatest of human achievements. The greatness of the ancient world passed with the fusion, in the early imperial period, of the best that Greece and Rome had contributed in the intellectual, artistic, legal, and administrative fields.<sup>57</sup> Rome stands as a bridge over which passed into the modern world the culture and achievements of Greece.

### Roman Education in the Native Period

**Informal Education.** (a) MORAL AND VOCATIONAL.—In Rome, newborn children were “exposed” or reared at the discretion of their fathers, but “exposure” was rarely resorted to. Before the alphabet was introduced into Rome proper, about 600 B.C., educational practices were like those of any pre-literate people, and children were educated through actual participation in the activities of social life. There were probably no formal schools, but Rome itself was a school where children learned the rules of life by living, for here life was education and education was life. Children, until about the age of seven, were given moral training by their mothers. After the age of seven, sons of patricians and plebeians became versed in their fathers’ callings by acting as their apprentices, but plebeian youths were restricted to mechanical and menial employments until near the end of the period. In the same way, girls were instructed by their mothers in the domestic, social, and religious duties of women. But, in their homes and in the city, children grew up in an atmosphere of religion which made

<sup>57</sup> *C.A.H.*, X, 545, 586; G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 20–23; J. W. Duff, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.; T. C. Allbutt, *op. cit.*



a profound impression on their character. The economic, social, and political aspects of the environment, intertwined, as they were, with the religious, produced men skilled in practical and social duties, and possessed of stern virtues and manly character.

(b) PHYSICAL.—In ancient times, the demands of physical nature were satisfied largely through informal play and manual occupations. Being a military people, fathers trained their sons in the arts of war, and in a variety of exercises for the sake of physical strength. Swimming, riding, running, leaping, wrestling, throwing the discus and javelin, quoits, backgammon, and tennis were practised, many of them, apparently, from very early times. But they were the sports of patricians, while these maintained their ascendancy, and they were pursued, not for the sake of sport, but for health, strength, and practical skills.<sup>58</sup>

**Formal Education.**—Little is known about literary education in Rome prior to the publication of the XII Tables of the Law, in 449 B.C. Thereafter, Romans gradually fell under the cultural spell of literature. The Tables were committed to memory by patrician and plebeian boys, but, until 304 B.C., only patricians knew the rules of conducting law suits. About 280 B.C., the first plebeian *pontifex maximus* (supreme pontiff or priest) opened a law school in Rome evidently for plebeian boys.<sup>59</sup> Instruction in reading and writing, preliminary to the study of the Tables was, apparently until the Transition Period, given by fathers, and perhaps mothers, in their homes, for there is no conclusive evidence that special teachers were employed in the Native Period.<sup>60</sup> The Tables continued to be learned by heart until the time of Cicero, although the language of the Tables had passed out of use.

### Education in the Transition Period

**Informal Education.**—The old apprenticeship system of education continued in the fields of domestic and mechanical arts, commerce, navigation, diplomacy, civil service, war, and, to a remarkable degree, in law. In connection with commerce, our modern bookkeeping system began to develop, but boys learned it, not in schools, but through business practice. In the professional and vocational fields, the apprenticeship system endured until the fall of the empire, and

<sup>58</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 360; J. S. Watson, *Cicero on Oratory and Orators*, London: Bohn, 1862, 35.

<sup>59</sup> J. W. Duff, *op. cit.*, 88.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-88; W. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 74-75.

survived in the civilization of the Middle Ages, and well into modern times.<sup>61</sup>

**Formal Education.**—In the cultural field, an expanding nation needed a more universal leaven than the native culture of the earlier city-state, and formal schools and formal education, fashioned after Greek models, emerged from about 300 B.C. onward. We have already noted the opposition of certain Romans to the new culture, and the failure of that opposition to stem the tide of change.

(a) **THE NEW PURPOSE.**—When Roman fathers, no longer able to prepare their sons adequately for an increasingly complex life, turned them over, perhaps regretfully, to schoolmasters, they demanded that these masters prepare them in a practical way for a life of usefulness and political leadership in the republic. In the Native Period, education prepared boys for the many duties, legal, military, political, economic, etc., which all citizens then performed, but in the Transition Period, all Roman education came to embody a single practical purpose, the making of the perfect orator. But the ideal was not a narrow one, for by Romans an orator was conceived to be the completely educated man, possessed of all the knowledge and skill of a philosopher, lawyer, statesman, soldier, author, etc. Indeed, to the accomplished orator, all positions in public life, whether in peace or war, were open. For three hundred years, Romans continued to define the orator, as Cato did, “‘a good man, skilled in speaking.’”<sup>62</sup> All education of boys, whether in the elementary, secondary, or higher schools, came to be guided by that purpose. Roman theorists, as Cicero and Quintilian, insisted that the ideal orator must work unselfishly in the service of society.<sup>63</sup>

(b) **THE NEW METHOD AND DISCIPLINE.**—In the Native Period, youths learned by imitation of their elders in the courts or on the farm, etc., and, when the XII Tables were introduced, they learned them by memorization. With the coming of schools and literature, imitation and memorization of literary models, as a method of instruction, were carried over from the apprenticeship system into the schools of letters, grammar, and rhetoric. Thus, a highly formalized method of memorization and imitation, strengthened by severe corporal punishment, came gradually into almost uni-

<sup>61</sup> J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, New York: The Century Co., 1931, 449.

<sup>62</sup> H. E. Butler, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, New York: Putnam, 1920, IV, 355.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 355 ff.; J. S. Watson, *op. cit.*, 346 ff.

versal vogue and, in the Institutionalized Period, was condemned by educational theorists and ridiculed by satirists.<sup>64</sup> The Greek theories of faculty psychology and formal discipline appear in such writings as those of Quintilian, whose views on method are, however, highly progressive. In the Transition Period, many older practices survived, and moral education continued to be acquired by example in the home; and many orators continued, as in the past, to learn the procedures of the law courts by attaching themselves to practising lawyers, while others learned by pleading fictitious cases in rhetorical schools under the instruction of a schoolmaster.<sup>65</sup> In the centuries following the Transition Period, the formal method of the schools replaced, almost entirely, the apprenticeship method of the past.

(c) ORGANIZATION AND CURRICULUM.—(1) *Ludus*. Probably as early as 300 B.C., Roman parents began to send their children to the *ludus*, or elementary school, for instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the XII Tables of the Law. Students, from about the ages of seven to twelve, attended this school. The subjects taught here were those that fathers, and probably some mothers, had been teaching in their homes for probably two hundred years.

(2) *Grammar School*. Sometime after 300 B.C., schools for the study of the Greek language and literature were established by Greek teachers and, when a Latin literature developed, similar schools for the study of that literature were also established by Greek teachers. In time, Roman teachers began to replace those from Greece. While Romans considered the Greeks as their inferiors politically and morally, they had to admit their superiority in literature, philosophy, and art. Therefore, the Greek language and literature were always esteemed more highly by Roman intellectuals than the Latin language and literature. Quintilian, near the end of the first century A.D., said that the formal education of Roman boys ought to begin with a study of Greek. Indeed, there originated in Rome the practice of attaching greater importance to the study of foreign languages than to a study of vernaculars. The Greek language became a medium for learned men in the empire, a fact of great cultural significance. Under some emperors, from Constantine's time, Latin was officially recognized as the language of the empire. After the fall of the Western empire, the Greek tradition prevailed in the East, and Latin continued to hold its place in the cultural life of the West.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> H. E. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 57-61; P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 396 ff.

<sup>65</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 359 ff., 371 ff.

<sup>66</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 4; F. Lot, *op. cit.*, 272-275.



But, the thought embodied in Latin was Greek, not Roman. Classical Latin was never the language of the common people of Rome, the *vulgus*. Their language was vulgar Latin, the Koinê, and the classes in Roman society were distinguished by their language as well as by many other marks of difference. This Koinê, the parent of Romance languages, spread widely through the empire, and the cultural unity of the masses, created by it, lasted until the 8th century.<sup>67</sup>

Roman boys entered the grammar school at about the age of twelve, remaining there for about four years. This secondary school represents the nearest approach of the Romans to the Greek view of a liberal education, for it provided a thorough literary training, but as a preparation, however, for the technical work of the higher rhetorical school. The formal study of Greek and Latin grammar came, in time, to receive much attention. Early in the first century B.C., Varro wrote his grammatical *De Lingua Latina*. This was followed, in the next century, by Palaemon's *Ars Grammatica* and, in the fourth century A.D., by the grammar of Donatus, which had great vogue in the Middle Ages. The curriculum of the grammar school included a wide selection of Greek and Roman literature, both poetry and prose, Homer's poems being favorites until Virgil's began to replace them in the second century A.D. Until the Period of Decline, emphasis was placed upon the meaning of the thought in literature, and the grammar school thus provided instruction in a variety of subjects, such as history, geography, mythology, to which allusions were made by the authors. In addition to these studies, students wrote Greek and Latin prose, and probably verse, compositions. Thus arose a type of secondary education in Europe, with which all of us are familiar.

(3) *Rhetorical School*. There were enough Greek philosophers and rhetoricians in Rome at the beginning of the second century B.C. to alarm the conservatives, and the formal study of rhetoric dates from that time, although the rhetorical school, in its final form, did not emerge until, probably, about the close of the Transition Period. Indeed, for a long time after 55 B.C., the masters of the grammar schools gave instruction in oratory, although special schools of rhetoric existed for that purpose. Boys entered the rhetorical school at about the age of sixteen to study the techniques of oratory. The school was modeled after the rhetorical schools of Athens, and its procedures were based largely on the views regarding rhetoric of

<sup>67</sup> H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1929, 5 ff.

Isocrates and Aristotle, and later of Cicero and Quintilian. The chief studies of the school were oratorical theory and declamation, and these were studied and practised in a very thorough way. All the knowledge that a boy had previously acquired was now applied, in school debates and declamations, to problems related to actual public life. Until near the close of the Transition Period, as Cicero's own education shows, oratorical training continued to be acquired by many youths, not in formal schools, but through their acting as apprentices to practising orators and statesmen of note. The formal school, however, soon replaced that system, and its procedures became highly formalized. There students wrote compositions and speeches, each one conforming closely with an established form and, in delivering these speeches, practice came to be based upon established rules, even in such matters as facial expression and gesture. But, while showing formal tendencies, the work of the school, until after 200 A.D., was definitely related to social needs, for in a free society the orator plays an important rôle, and the school aimed to prepare him for that rôle.

Cicero and Quintilian felt that encyclopedic knowledge was essential for success in oratory. Cicero listed, for instance, as essential, a knowledge of military affairs, geography, political affairs, philosophy, physics, mathematics, law, and logic, and remarked that the "complete orator" is one "who can speak on all subjects with variety and copiousness."<sup>68</sup> Quintilian listed, among other studies, Greek and Latin grammar and literature, orthography, etymology, music, astronomy, geometry, mensuration, surveying, physics, philosophy, moral philosophy, history and a little gymnastics for the sake of graceful gestures.<sup>69</sup> Instruction in such subjects these theorists did not consider to be the duty of the teacher of rhetoric. They were thought of as the work of the grammar master, or private tutor. Both Cicero and Quintilian included philosophy; but philosophy, in spite of the interest of Roman intellectuals in it, never found a firm foothold in Roman schools. There were a few philosophical schools, but they were not popular. Quintilian, as probably most Romans, thought of the philosopher as a visionary who talked convincingly about government but avoided practical political activity. The ideal orator of Quintilian ought to be a "wise man" who relates his wisdom to action. Since philosophy was not taught by rhetoricians, Quintilian advised students of rhetoric to attend the meetings and discussions

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<sup>68</sup> J. S. Watson, *op. cit.*, 158.

<sup>69</sup> H. E. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 61 ff.; IV, 355-409.

of philosophers as often as possible.<sup>70</sup> By the close of the Transition Period, Romans had come to consider oratory as the queen of studies and the last step in formal education. Yet, some aristocratic youths supplemented the work of the rhetoricians by traveling in Greek lands and studying at the famous centers of Greek learning.<sup>71</sup>

(d) SUPPORT AND CONTROL.—The schools of this period were private, and were supported by students' fees.

(e) TEACHERS.—Roman parents, evidently of some wealth, placed their boys in charge of a *paedagogus*, a slave or ex-slave, from the time they entered the *ludus* until they donned the *toga virilis*, at about the age of sixteen. The *paedagogus* was expected to supervise a boy's morals and his studies, help him with his home work, and discipline him when necessary. He was the boy's constant attendant at home and in school, but any teaching he did was incidental.

The teacher in the *ludus* was called the *litterator*, and was often a slave or freedman. He was not highly respected, and his salary was small. In the time of Emperor Diocletian, his salary was fixed by decree at \$1.20 a month, which was one-fourth the salary of grammar teachers and one-fifth that of rhetoric teachers, as regulated at the same time. The *litterator* was generally a poor teacher whose chief virtue consisted in his capacity to inflict physical torture on his pupils.

The teacher of the grammar school was called the *grammaticus* or *litteratus*, and was usually a man well versed in literature. As a class, these grammarians were accorded a measure of respect which increased as the centuries passed, and the fees they received, while small, were much higher than those of the *litterator*.

The teacher of the rhetorical school was called the *rhetor*. Of all teachers, a distinguished *rhetor* stood highest in social esteem, and the fees paid him were higher than those received by grammarians. Juvenal, however, tells us that Roman fathers were unwilling to pay, even to the greatest teachers, more than "two poor sesteria," and that the education of their sons cost them less than their daily baths. For a long time the fees were paid as gifts but, by the first century A.D., teachers were charging fixed fees. The Romans disdained the idea of salaried professions.<sup>72</sup>

(f) STUDENTS IN THE TRANSITION AND LATER PERIODS.—(1) Boys. It would seem that a knowledge of the 3 R's was quite

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 385 ff.

<sup>71</sup> W. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 79-80; P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 363-364.

<sup>72</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 418.



general in Rome in the Transition and later periods. Cato would have household slaves thus instructed, most likely because they would be more useful to their masters. The whole question of the extent of literacy in Rome at any time is one about which there is much uncertainty. Because of a number of duties intrusted to slaves and freedmen, it would seem that many of them must have had a knowledge of the 3 R's, but it is very unlikely that, in acquiring that knowledge, they sat side by side with the sons of freemen in the schools of the *litterator*, and it is quite certain that they were very seldom given an opportunity to study under the *grammaticus*. Since, moreover, only citizens of the upper class could hold higher offices in the state, and since these offices went to those highly educated, an incentive to pursue such higher education was lacking in all classes below the aristocracy. Moreover, since the schools received no public support before imperial times, the poor, some of them Roman citizens in the artisan class, must have found it impossible to pay fees or gifts to teachers. In imperial times, many scribes were needed in keeping administrative records throughout the empire, and these were drawn from the lower classes. Thus, the groups below the aristocracy must have had fairly free access to the *ludus* and grammar schools under the rule of the emperors. As the imperial centuries passed, however, the nobility came to consider education their exclusive prerogative. In connection with this question one must keep in mind the growing caste system of Rome which became hereditary, the differentiation of employments on the basis of caste, the exclusive hold upon all higher offices by the aristocracy, and the relation of rhetorical education to the duties of such offices.<sup>73</sup>

(2) *Girls*. Throughout Roman history, girls received an informal education acquired through participation in the activities of domestic, religious, and social life. A woman's sphere of activity was, however, that of the home, and her duties were those of spinning, weaving, supervising servants, and the rearing of children.<sup>74</sup> Even before the Transition Period, mothers taught their sons and daughters reading, writing and correct speech. Fathers assumed responsibility for the education of their sons who had reached the age of seven, but mothers continued to supervise the literary and moral education of their daughters.<sup>75</sup> After the *ludus* had been established, girls sometimes attended it, but the practice was not common, and

<sup>73</sup> T. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, Oxford University Press, 124-132.

<sup>74</sup> W. D. McDaniel, *op. cit.*, 56.

<sup>75</sup> W. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 74.

many girls of the aristocracy had private tutors. Moreover, the "salons" of Roman hetaerae were centers of intellectual life from 200 B.C. onward.<sup>76</sup> From the fourth century A.D., it appears that girls frequently attended grammar and rhetorical schools, particularly in Gaul, and many women, but of the aristocracy, were, in the last centuries of the empire, noted for their literary attainments. Even St. Jerome approved their study of pagan literature, although he was more concerned about their moral education.<sup>77</sup> Yet, in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed by Roman than by Athenian women, only a few of them, and these of the upper class, entered the formal schools or received a literary training, for such training was not necessary in their domestic activities. Musonius, following Plato, recommended that women be given the same intellectual opportunities as men but, unlike Plato, he would limit their sphere of action to the home. But he expounds a theory; he does not describe a practice.<sup>78</sup>

(g) PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE TRANSITION AND LATER PERIODS.—Because they were never able to assimilate fully the Greek ideal and practice of a liberal education, and because of their acquired enthusiasm for a cultural and intellectual training, which they long lacked, Romans neglected the education of the body in their schools. Quintilian said that dancing was fit only for children,<sup>79</sup> and he would keep gymnastic teachers out of the reach of schoolboys. He considered gymnastic training valuable only in as far as it contributed to graceful gesture in the delivery of an oration.<sup>80</sup> While he admired the strong physique of the professional athlete, he was sure the orator did not need such a body.<sup>81</sup> Romans, however, established many public and private baths, with *gymnasia* and *palaestrae* attached to them, but these had no connection with the schools.<sup>82</sup> Public and private athletic contests, and gladiatorial combats, for which gladiators were trained in schools supported by the nobility or public treasury, grew up to satisfy the public thirst for amusement, if not for the blood of dying gladiators.<sup>83</sup> Nero required noble youths to engage in contests in the arena, and in Greek games, which he introduced. He also inaugurated national games similar to the Olympic games, but all of these practices ended with his death. Under Gordian the Third, in 240 A.D., the national games were reintro-

<sup>76</sup> A. Heilborn, *op. cit.*, 121-123.

<sup>77</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 205-209; S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 207-208.

<sup>78</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 401 ff.

<sup>79</sup> H. E. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 191.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 217.

<sup>82</sup> W. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 65-66.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-277.

duced.<sup>84</sup> Thus Roman educational attitudes and school practices, in which mental training alone was stressed, checked the continuance of the Greek tradition of physical education in Europe, and Christian thought almost completely destroyed that tradition for centuries.

### Education in the Periods of Institutionalization and Decline

**Institutionalized Period.**—The literary and rhetorical tradition, which had grown up slowly during the Transition Period, became fixed and formalized in the Institutionalized Period. While many older practices, such as home training in morals, tutorial instruction, and some aspects of apprenticeship training continued here and there, and while some writers, as Tacitus, looked back longingly to the old education, literary and rhetorical education had passed from the home to the school,<sup>85</sup> and the moulding of the orator had become the sole aim of school training. Quintilian argued in favor of the school as against home and tutorial plans of instruction.<sup>86</sup> Grammarians, rhetoricians, and their schools increased rapidly in number, and education gradually became bookish, artificial and formal, although it was still related to social and political needs, for society, under the early emperors, retained its republican characteristics and, in it, the orator continued to perform his traditional functions. During the period, the demand for literary education reached its height. Great crowds then rushed to hear a great orator, as they do today to hear a great singer or a great preacher.<sup>87</sup> Outside of the schools, a strong national spirit developed, interest in Latin literature grew, and a reaction against Greek influence appeared. The schools, also, tended to become more national in their literary emphasis. But the method of the schools and the themes upon which students wrote and declaimed became more and more formal and less and less related to life.<sup>88</sup> The subjects upon which boys wrote and declaimed in school were ceasing to be the subjects with which statesmen and lawyers were actually concerned. If we can accept the views of Tacitus and Juvenal, even moral education was now much neglected. When the period ended, life and the school were at the parting of the ways.

**The Period of Decline.** (a) **FORMALISM.**—In this period, rhetoric became an end in itself, for, with the growing autocracy of the emperors, it gradually lost its earlier usefulness. The decline in the value of rhetorical education followed the imperial decline and the

<sup>84</sup> *C.A.H.*, X, 717-718.

<sup>85</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 361 ff.

<sup>87</sup> S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 425.

<sup>86</sup> H. E. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 39 ff.

<sup>88</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 416-417.



growing despotism of the emperors. The sword took the place of oratory in pointing out to men their course of action. Imperial laws, the voice of despots, at times imposed upon men by force, replaced the eloquent and persuasive voice of the orator. The old institutionalized practices survived, however, by the force of tradition, and because of the fact that rhetorical education had become a distinguishing mark of the nobility. As the period progressed, the old studies were pursued for their purely cultural values and for the personal pleasure and prestige that literary accomplishments brought to gentlemen, and sometimes ladies, of rank, wealth, and leisure. The tendency of the earlier period to stress form rather than the content of education now became a fixed characteristic of the schools. Linguistic niceties for their own sake, or at best for the sake of personal polish and agreeableness, became the goal of education. The old stern moral training which was considered so important in the earlier periods, and for which the home long held itself responsible, was now intrusted to schoolmasters, of whom some were utterly corrupt, and under whom boys learned morals by reading didactic fables and by writing and delivering flowery orations on moral subjects. This was a poor substitute for the old practice, for it lacked a living example of sound morality. Christian education was a protest against this defect in the pagan system.<sup>89</sup>

(b) CHANGING ORGANIZATION.—Toward the end of this period, the *ludus*, which traditionally admitted children of the lower classes, seems to have disappeared, and the work formerly assigned to the *litterator* passed gradually into the hands of the *grammaticus* and his assistant, the *primus magister*. In the Theodosian Code, elementary masters are not mentioned. The practice of employing private tutors, common among the nobility, and the growing servitude of the lower classes account, no doubt in large measure, for this change. At a very early age, usually at five, but frequently in infancy, boys were placed in charge of teachers. At fourteen, they left the grammar school and entered that of rhetoric, which they left not later than the age of twenty.<sup>90</sup>

(c) STATE CONTROL OF EDUCATION.—Plato and Aristotle advocated the control of education by the state and for the state, and the Roman emperors carried that theory into practice. Private and domestic education began to decline under the first Caesar, during whose reign twenty publicly subsidized schools were in operation in

<sup>89</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 201-205.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-106.

Rome. The rights of citizenship he conferred on Greek and Roman teachers of the liberal arts. Succeeding emperors, Vespasian, Hadrian, the Antonines, and Alexander Severus, adopted the policy of paying the salaries of rhetoricians in Rome and the provinces.<sup>91</sup> In Gaul, in the first century, Strabo found state-appointed teachers,<sup>92</sup> but, in the Roman provinces, municipal authorities paid the teachers. Constantine, in the fourth century, supplemented these privileges of teachers by exempting them from many imperial and municipal taxes, from military service, and other burdens, and by making their persons sacrosanct, a privilege claimed, later, by mediaeval ecclesiastics. All these privileges were extended to the wives and children of teachers. Imperial benevolence was extended to free-born students in the form of scholarships by Trajan, Nerva and Alexander Severus. The emperors and public authorities thus became the patrons of culture and learning. This public endowment was supplemented, occasionally, by private philanthropy. Student fees, however, continued to be necessary.<sup>93</sup>

Out of this benevolence came control. Julian, in 362 A.D., claimed the right to revise the appointments of teachers made by municipal authorities, and actually appointed some teachers. He wanted to keep Christian teachers out of the public schools of Rome and the provinces. Gratian, in 376 A.D., left the towns free to appoint teachers, but he prescribed their public salaries which, while small, were always supplemented by student fees. Some rhetoricians became very rich.<sup>94</sup> This tendency toward imperial control culminated in an edict of Theodosius and Valentinian, in 425 A.D., proclaiming that all schools are state institutions and that it is a penal offense to teach without imperial authorization. The school system of Rome thus became a state-controlled system. The state began to relinquish that control when Justinian, a pillar of orthodox Christianity and an enemy of the Hellenic spirit, outlawed pagan education by closing the University of Athens, in 529 A.D. Thus was officially inaugurated the ecclesiastical control of education in Europe.<sup>95</sup>

(d) PAGAN ANTECEDENTS OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.—The most Roman section of the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries was Gaul. Here the sun of pagan culture declined and set in the sky of the ancient world, but it bequeathed some of its light to the night of the Middle Ages and, in the Renaissance, it rose again. The Greeks

<sup>91</sup> S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 399–400.

<sup>92</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 112–115.

<sup>94</sup> S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 402–403.

<sup>93</sup> P. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 408.

<sup>95</sup> F. Lot, *op. cit.*, 255–275.

established a colony and schools at Marseilles, as early, probably, as 600 B.C., and the Hellenic educational tradition was strong here at the time of the Roman conquest.<sup>96</sup> There were, also, many other schools of Gallic rhetoric in Gaul when the Romans came. It was not until the fourth century A.D. that the Latin language and literature replaced the Gallic. In Roman times, there were famous schools at Marseilles, Autun, Trèves, Lyons, Arles, Auvergne, Vienne, Toulouse, Poitiers, Narbonne, and Bordeaux, that of Bordeaux being the foremost rhetorical school in the empire and one deserving to be called a university.<sup>97</sup> In the universities of the greater cities, such as Rome and Constantinople, there were departments of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and law. Philosophy, however, had declined everywhere in the empire, except in Athens; and, in the schools of Gaul, Plato's great science of dialectic had fallen to the level of formal logic or had become a hunting-ground for rhetorical imagery. Science, the sister of philosophy, was never cultivated in Rome, except in a most superficial way; nor did it fare better in the schools of Gaul. In many Gallic schools, law was taught, but probably not thoroughly, for provincial students often went to Rome for their legal training, and Justinian appointed lawyers to "stations" in the empire for the purpose of offering a five-year course in law.<sup>98</sup> At Bordeaux, and probably elsewhere in Gaul, there was offered instruction in medicine,<sup>99</sup> but that science was not yet divorced from astrology. Physicians, however, enjoyed all the privileges of teachers in the empire. The whole science of the period was a jumble of inaccuracies, as is evident from the treatise of Martianus Capella on the liberal arts which had an extraordinary vogue in the Middle Ages.

Thus the curriculum of the last schools of heathendom was confined almost entirely to a study of grammar and rhetoric, a tradition which long prevailed in the secondary and higher schools of Europe. But Roman students were trained to be slavish imitators of literary models, and not creators of literature. These models became intellectual despots, to whose authority students submitted, as they did to that of their imperial despots. Eminent Greek and Latin grammarians and rhetoricians carried on, until the close of the pagan world, the literary tradition which Greece bequeathed to Rome, and, within the narrow and formal intellectual circle in which they moved,

<sup>96</sup> S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 406-407.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 167, 409-410; T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 68-89.

<sup>98</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 80-86.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-88.



they did thorough work. With the decline of paganism, the schools of Gaul and of the whole empire were slowly transformed by Christian influence. It was a very slow process of transformation and, in the process, the Graeco-Roman, or pagan, educational ideals and practices blended, to a degree, with the Christian. Christendom thus inherited the literary tradition and ideals of heathendom, although that tradition was weakened by the asceticism of the Middle Ages, when religious hymns, the Scriptures, and the writings of the Church Fathers supplemented, in the curriculum, the few safe pagan authors, such as Virgil, who continued to enjoy some measure of popularity. In Christendom, the despotism of literature was thus extended not only over the intellects but also over the souls of men. The despotism of Roman emperors, and of Roman and Christian literary models, which were worshipped too well, conspired to destroy the free, critical spirit of Hellas, and thus dimmed for centuries "the glory that was Greece."

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The discovery of better ways of social life is made easier and more certain through a small-nation plan rather than a large-nation plan of world organization, because the former provides for variety of experimentation while the latter makes for uniformity and stagnation.
2. The defects of the Spartan scheme of education suggest that, in planning our education today, we ought to look beyond the needs and interests of national states to the needs and interests of humanity.
3. The defects of traditional Athenian education were not corrected in the schools of the Sophists, who in their turn introduced new, and perhaps worse, defects.
4. The story of the Sophists suggests that the teachers of a nation, if not closely supervised and controlled, may bring about the decline of a nation.
5. The fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the present day originated in ancient Athens, and the conditions that gave rise to it then were essentially the same as those which underlie it in the modern world.
6. A study of life in the ancient Orient and in Athens reveals that man's intellectual outlook is conditioned by his environment.
7. History throws no light upon the problem of the relation of race to genius, and therefore we must turn entirely to the findings of modern psychologists for a solution of that problem.

8. The political and social problems of the modern world are new, and modern social engineers will find no suggestions of any value in the political and social theory of ancient philosophers.

9. The story of Athenian education negates the contention that the school is not the master but the servant of society.

10. The predominant Athenian conception of a liberal education is well adapted to the character and needs of modern American society.

11. The ideals embodied in physical education in modern America are the same as those embodied in the practices of Sparta and Athens, and of their value we can have no doubt.

12. The overthrow of the Athenian state is proof that the separation of church and state and the secularization of education are dangerous political and social practices.

13. To grant any group exclusive privileges in any field of knowledge, even for scientific ends, is undemocratic, and where democracy and science conflict democracy ought to prevail.

14. The fact that Greek philosophers failed to guide the social forces of their time indicates the futility of philosophical speculation and of the study of philosophy.

15. The history of Rome reveals that no nation can spread its power and influence throughout the world and remain unchanged.

16. The disintegration of the Roman empire suggests the futility of modern attempts to unite the peoples even of the Western world either politically or culturally.

17. At no step in its development was Roman education suited to the real needs of Roman society.

18. Resolved that the United States adopt the educational practices of Rome in the Institutionalized Period.

19. Roman educational practices represent an improvement upon those of Athens.

20. Education in the United States, as once in ancient Rome, has now reached its period of decline.

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## Chapter 6

### MEDIAEVAL SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

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#### I. MEDIAEVAL SOCIETY

##### Causes and Rise of Christianity

Christianity is an offshoot of Judaism, from which it drew much of its inspiration and many of its practices. Its indebtedness, however, directly and indirectly, to other Oriental and Western religions and philosophical systems has been immense. The first Christians were Jews who introduced into the Christian system such rites as baptism and the common meal. The Gentiles, in turn, contributed their quota of beliefs and practices.<sup>1</sup> It would probably be difficult to find anything in Christian thought and practice that has not been found earlier in other systems. History is a continuous process.

The readily acceptable causes of the rise of Christianity were the economic, social and political inequalities and injustice, and the slavery, wars, moral laxity, and race and class hatreds which had existed in the Mediterranean world for centuries before. That was a world of social struggle, and of intellectual and spiritual uncertainty and unrest. An increase in knowledge and social change had shaken men's faith in the old cults of Greece, Rome and, to an extent, of Israel. Philosophy, which intellectuals had substituted for religion, failed to answer such questions as that regarding immortality, in which Westerners became interested through contact with the East. Men sought a Messiah. Prophets arose and revelation literatures appeared.<sup>2</sup> The world needed a leader, and a leader appeared.

##### The Ideals of Christianity and Its Forerunners

Against the narrow racialism and nationalism of the Jews, whose God and culture had become, in spite of the prophets, racial and national in character,<sup>3</sup> and against a similar particularism of culture

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<sup>1</sup> (*Cambridge Ancient History*) *C.A.H.*, III, 488-498; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 254-255, 376-397; A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, 47-49, 229-250.

<sup>2</sup> *C.A.H.*, III, 488-498; X, 472.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 78 ff., 109-110; *C.A.H.*, VIII, 509.

among all the peoples of the Mediterranean world, and the hatreds such particularism engendered, Jesus and Paul advanced the idea of a universal culture, of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of all mankind, rich and poor, slave and free, master and servant, Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, whose souls are all equal before God. It was a dream of a universal Christian democracy, and it has remained a dream. Against the disrespect for human souls and life, particularly child life, which then prevailed, not so much among the Jews, however, as among Gentiles, Jesus protested. The basic ideals of Christianity, those of universal culture and brotherhood among men, are to be found in the thoughts of great Eastern leaders from the fourteenth century B.C. onward. Akhnaton, Buddha, Krishna, Zoroaster, Confucius, Lao-tse, and Asoka preached a similar ideal and attempted to realize it.<sup>4</sup> A similar idea found its way, probably from the Orient, into Greek cosmopolitan philosophy, particularly Stoicism, and the Macedonian and Roman empires, though not clearly inspired by noble motives, were approaches toward the attainment of a universal ideal.<sup>5</sup>

### Christian Approaches to World Problems

**Moral Approach.**—Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Robert Owen, Karl Marx, Peter Kropotkin, and hundreds of others have had dreams of social Utopias.<sup>6</sup> Jesus would build the Christian Utopia, embodying his religious and social ideals. That work he and his early disciples attempted to do through a moral and emotional appeal to the hearts of men. It was an appeal that all could understand, for all men, even the illiterate, have hearts able to grasp the significance of the message "Love one another." An eternal heaven of inconceivable joys, where men never hunger or thirst, was offered as the reward of a Christian life. It was a heaven, to the poor easy, but to the rich difficult of access. The new gospel delighted the poor, although it promised them few comforts here and recognized Caesar's right to his taxes. The fact that early Christianity was largely a lower-class movement explains, to a great degree, its rapid spread. Like Plato's universe, the Christian Utopia had its worldly and otherworldly "kingdoms," of which the worldly came to be considered a very imperfect reflection of the otherworldly. It represents an attempt to solve the social

<sup>4</sup> H. M. Woodward, *Humanity's Greatest Need*. New York: Putnam, 1932, Ch. II.

<sup>5</sup> C.A.H., VII, 224 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Story of Utopias*, New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922.

problems of the world and to satisfy man's desire for immortality. As a religion, it stressed personal needs, not state needs, personal morality, not state morality. It made sin an offense against God, not against the state. Primitive Christianity had no theology and little ceremonial, but belief in sin and redemption existed among the earliest Christians.<sup>7</sup>

**The Philosophical Approach.**—The intelligentsia of Athens and elsewhere, versed in learning and philosophy, could not accept the simple truths of Christianity as they were first presented. But Christian Apologists, such as Clement and Origen of Alexandria, intellectualized the teachings of Jesus and reconciled them with Greek philosophy, particularly that of Plato. The new rationalized Christianity gradually won the intelligentsia over. In contact with the world, Christianity was changed, and the wise who were not to be called were called. Evidences of this intellectualizing movement may be seen in St. John's Gospel where Jesus is identified with the Greek philosophical concept of the *Logos* or "Word," and in the profoundly philosophical language of the Nicene Creed (325 A.D.) which, unlike the Sermon on the Mount, simple folks could not understand. Christian theological dogmatism resulted from the union of Christianity and philosophy, and the universal culture of Jesus thus became a divisive one, for not all could accept the dogmas. The dogma of the Trinity, for instance, turned the Jews away. Henceforth greater stress was laid upon formal beliefs than upon a moral life and a brotherly world, and Christians who had escaped from Hebrew legalism found themselves under new tyrants, such as Augustinianism and, later, scholasticism.

Christianity has failed to make men brothers, as modern nationalism, wars, and race hatreds show, but the original moral and non-dogmatic form of Christianity was never given a chance in any society. The Christianity that failed was the secularized and rationalized Christianity under which the Christian world has lived.

### The "Kingdom" and the Secular State

While Greeks and Romans cherished individualism among free-men, they gloried in the state as the greatest of all their institutions. In Christian thought, worldly institutions, even the state, are as nothing when compared with individual souls, whose salvation is the

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<sup>7</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 39-44.



purpose of life. Early Christians adopted the attitude of supreme disregard for the state, and they renounced state cults, among them emperor worship and other Roman ideals.<sup>8</sup> They were, therefore, reputed to be "bad citizens" and were persecuted, at times, by the Roman state from the first until the fourth century. The persecutions, with the exception of that under Diocletian, were not so drastic as commonly supposed, and it was the tolerance of the Roman state toward all religions which made it possible for Christianity, competing with many systems of thought and belief and borrowing from them all, to triumph over its competitors. The emperor, Constantine, in 312 A.D., made Christianity the state religion and soon afterwards "good citizen" and "good Christian" had become synonymous, although paganism survived, chiefly among the old aristocracy, until the sixth century. Wedded to the empire, the church, now the "empire baptized,"<sup>9</sup> used the state to enforce orthodoxy. The state, thus, suffered politically, by involving itself in theological disputes, and the church, morally, by using its political power to convert pagans by coercion.<sup>10</sup> Did not Jesus ask his followers to love their enemies? Christians learned to hate them.

Thus, in the early Christian centuries, a long struggle between church and state began. From the fall of Rome until the twelfth century, with the one important exception of the Charlemagne régime, the domination of the state by the church was almost complete. The "City of God" had triumphed over the city of Satan. During these centuries, the state did exist by the "will of God," but for the ultimate purpose, through defending the church and suppressing crime, of saving souls; and it shared with the church, or handed over to it entirely, its traditional functions. The church had its own civil and criminal courts, dungeons, and gibbets. Its courts had wider powers than those of princes. It owned one-quarter of the land of Europe, and the state could not tax it. It determined the basis of economic life in Europe. It controlled all charity. Above all, it controlled ideas through its control of education, secular or religious. One of the ideas which it protected was that secular political government was permitted, but not established, by God, in order to check human propensity to sins of violence resulting from Adam's fall. Only ecclesiastical power, it was generally taught, was created

<sup>8</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, London: Harrap, 1921, 24-25.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander C. Flick, *The Rise of the Mediaeval Church*, New York: Putnam, 1909, 148.

<sup>10</sup> M. Deanesly, *History of the Mediaeval Church*, London: Methuen, 1925, 63-64; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 670-675; F. Lot, *op. cit.*, 50-52.

by God, and therefore it is superior to temporal power, which was created by man.<sup>11</sup>

From the twelfth century onward, as a result of many influences, modern national states slowly emerged, and the power of the church declined. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the secular state has, largely by education, controlled the lives of individuals for the glory and power of the state, as the church once did for its glory and power. But the Christian mind has retained many of its early marks, for tradition is a great force, and the secularization of education by the state has created a serious concern in some people for the moral and religious education of children. That problem some states have solved in one way, and some in another, but, in no case, to everyone's satisfaction. The motive actuating such a concern has frequently been that of social conservatism.

### Christianity and Pagan Learning

The wedding of Christianity and philosophy, probably inevitable because of propinquity, was deliberately an act of stooping to conquer, and the Christian mind remained hostile to pagan learning in spite of an actual amalgamation of Christian and pagan thought. But the germ of paganism and Greek philosophy was planted in the new soil, and has been a troublesome weed in the field of Christian orthodoxy. Even in the first three centuries, the Greek spirit of inquiry had produced a wide variety of "heresies" in Christendom, and all questioning of "orthodox" thought in every field since then has been a manifestation of the same surviving spirit. The early Christian Fathers saw the danger to the faith of Christians lurking in pagan learning, particularly in dialectic, which is really philosophy but which was, during a great part of the Middle Ages, merely formal logic. The official *Apostolic Constitution*, of the fourth century, commanded the clergy to shun all "heathen" and "diabolical" books and to draw their wisdom from the Scriptures instead. Tertullian and Augustine thought that the divine studies were incompatible with the secular.<sup>12</sup> St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome warned Christians against the pursuit of pagan studies, although all of these men recognized their value for the purpose of "robbing the Egypt-

<sup>11</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 417-424; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 370-376; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers*, New York: Holt, 1923, 14-16; C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*, New York: Macmillan, 1932, 206; G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge University Press, 1931, 189-191, 248-249.

<sup>12</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 191 ff.

tians." Pope Gregory the Great said that God's word does not need the aid of grammar, and that servants of Christ ought to avoid uttering the names of pagan gods. Ermenrich, writing to the Abbot of St. Gaul, in the ninth century, said that as dung enriches soil, "so the filthy writings of pagan poets are a mighty aid to divine eloquence."<sup>13</sup> In spite of some apologetic indecision, these attitudes stand forth prominently in the voices of the Fathers.

Not only did Greek literature and philosophy suffer from this opposition, but science, already weakened by Roman indifference and Aristotelian logic, became, in Christendom, subservient not to philosophy but to theology. The belief in the resurrection of the body, made by God in his own image, made the study of anatomy irreligious. The beliefs that God made the earth with his own "hands" and that it would soon be destroyed checked man's interest in geology and geography. Chemistry, physics, astronomy, medicine and hygiene, physiology, biology, anthropology, zoology, history, and all such studies could not thrive well in an atmosphere where capricious supernatural powers were substituted for immutable laws as the causes of things. Men then sought such causes in the Bible and in "signs in the heavens," rather than in facts as they themselves observed them. St. Augustine said that Holy Writ is the final authority on all questions, and his influence is still felt. The Middle Ages were an Age of Faith. This was due, in some degree, to a lack of knowledge which resulted from the neglect of Greek science in Rome, to the barbarian invasions, and especially to the hostility of Christians toward Greek learning generally. The Christian mind knew everything and doubted nothing. It was a believing mind. Its peaceful certainty was based upon faith, not upon reason or scientific discovery. Against such a mind, the scientist was forced to struggle. Science is a quest for God, but the scientist is a believer whose faith is based upon discoveries arrived at by observation and experiment.<sup>14</sup>

In art, the story is somewhat different. When the Christian Fathers, on the basis of the Jewish admonition "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image,"<sup>15</sup> attacked idolatry, they checked one form of art. Christians considered it sinful to gaze upon some beautiful works of pagan art. But the creative spirit of Periclean art

<sup>13</sup> H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, London: Constable, 1938, pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, New York: Appleton, 1896; J. W. Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, New York: Appleton, 1927; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 414-417; *Infra*, 254 ff., 413 ff., 549 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Exodus*, XX, 4.



had been killed by formalism, and Christianity just buried its carcass. But before the obsequies, it borrowed a few ideas from the corpse. Out of this borrowed art, which appears in architecture, sculpture, wall-painting, there emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Gothic art, in many ways strikingly original and beautiful. It was, of course, an art which embodied religious and otherworldly ideals, and Christian conceptions of the beautiful. This art, however, attained its greatest beauty when, by the thirteenth century, it passed out of monastic control and into the hands of artisan guilds in the cities. The Christian's aesthetic nature had to express itself. While repressed, for a time, with regard to things of worldly beauty, its energies flowed into otherworldly channels, and the product had beauty in it. It may be true, as some assert, that the Renaissance but formalized the free, creative art of the later Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup>

The triumph of Christianity was the death of the theatre, cherished by the Greeks, because Christian leaders considered the influence of comedy and tragedy immoral.

### Christianity Against the World: Monasticism

The otherworldly tendencies of Christianity culminated in monasticism, a movement in which hundreds of thousands of men and women fled from the world into the spiritual security of monasteries where, by leading a life of extreme asceticism, they hoped "to merit heaven by making earth a hell." Monasticism and asceticism were common in Eastern cults for about one thousand years before Christian ascetics, probably in imitation of Egyptian recluses, began to flee to the deserts in the early fourth century A.D.<sup>17</sup> In one hundred years it had spread throughout Eastern and Western Christendom and, at the height of the movement, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of European monks and nuns, at any one time, seems to have run into the millions.<sup>18</sup>

Among the causes of Christian monasticism were: (1) economic insecurity and the general decay of Roman society, (2) the persecutions and the fear they aroused, (3) the Oriental-Christian ideas that life is evil, sin is real, the flesh is an enemy of the soul, and that the Christian soul can be saved only through holiness and avoidance of things that the world calls good, (4) the belief, not universal how-

<sup>16</sup> F. Lot, *op. cit.*, 135-150; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 150-173.

<sup>17</sup> F. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, London: Harper, 1909, 62.

<sup>18</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*; J. P. Marique, *History of Christian Education*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1924-1932, I, 71.

ever,<sup>19</sup> that the world would soon end,<sup>20</sup> and (5) the secularization of the church itself and the alarm which that change created.

An ascetic capacity in human nature is an indispensable condition of monasticism. The Christian ascetic, fearing hell, warred against the world, the flesh and the devil, and stifled, as far and as long as possible, every urge of his aesthetic nature. The celibate life, he set up as the ideal, and he repressed all his senses, sometimes torturing his body, in order to escape hell and merit heaven. The ascetical ideal was embodied in the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, by which all monks renounced the bases of attachment to the world—property, family, and personal freedom. Contempt for the state and society finds its clearest expression in these vows.

Generally, the monks lived under a "rule," that of St. Benedict being the most widely adopted. It enjoined upon monks constant manual labor, to keep them from sin, and some reading, especially sacred reading, each day.<sup>21</sup> The rule regarding reading led to the copying of manuscripts and some intellectual activity. Some of the old pagan classics were thus copied and preserved, although the attitude of monks, other than the Celtic, toward such literature was not one of respect prior to Charlemagne's revival of learning, after which it became gradually less scornful.

Asceticism spread outside of the monasteries into society, as the Crusades indicate, but, by the twelfth century, it was declining rapidly as a result, among other things, of changed social conditions, the supposed security of institutionalized Christianity, the belief in the efficacy of the sacramental system, and the belief that salvation is easy for those who believe. The church in the world and the church against the world had become alike in their worldliness. They could not avoid it. Thus, in a feudal world, the church became feudal, and bishops and abbots, as feudal lords, lived as luxuriously as lay feudal noblemen. Asceticism was giving way to the aestheticism of the modern world. All of the causes, to be mentioned later, which brought about the disintegration of the mediaeval mind contributed to this change.

Monasticism probably saved the Christian system, grown worldly, by stressing moral and spiritual values in life, and, aiding the distressed, it upheld Christian democratic ideals. For a time, it set an excellent example of industry for the peasants and dignified toil, but, after the tenth century, the monks preferred the choice of Mary

<sup>19</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 325.

<sup>20</sup> M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 17-18, 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-40; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 172.

to that of Martha.<sup>22</sup> The moral ideal is the greatest gift of monasticism to modern culture. While it helped to preserve some ancient intellectual treasures, it was not a friend of learning, in the Graeco-Roman sense. In the midst of barbarism and wars, however, one ought not to expect too much.

The church and the monasteries acquiesced in all mediaeval forms of social injustice. Under feudal abbots and bishops, as under lay lords, the serfs were impoverished and degraded. Relatively few of humble birth were canonized, it being easier now for the rich man than the poor man to enter heaven. Only through the monastery, however, had the poor boy a chance to better his position, for the aristocracy had complete control of the church at large.<sup>23</sup>

### Economic and Social Aspects of Mediaeval Society

**Feudalism.**—Mediaeval economic and social conditions were linked to feudalism, which was both economic and political in character. On its economic side, it originated in declining Rome; on its political side, it arose in the late eighth century because of the inability of central government to protect life and property. Under it, political prerogatives were, in theory, delegated by the king to subordinates, and subdelegated from one to another of these, through a hierarchy of feudal nobles. In practice, the state, under feudalism, lost all its prerogatives, and government was completely decentralized, the authority of each overlord being supreme in his own domain. In return for personal and military services, each overlord, throughout the hierarchy, bestowed great tracts of land upon his subordinate nobles. This system marked the collapse of Roman political unity. The story of the rise of nationalism is, largely, the story of the decline of feudalism.

Mediaeval economy was agricultural; industry was domestic; and commerce, though never dead, was, until the twelfth century, poorly developed. Before the revival of commerce, from the twelfth century onward, agriculture and war were the chief activities.

In mediaeval society, there were three classes, sometimes referred to as two: (a) the clergy, (b) the nobility, and (c) the peasants. Classifying the higher clergy with the nobility, there were only two, the nobility and the peasants, or *villains*. War was the profession of the lay nobility, ecclesiastics seldom bearing arms, though engaging others to do so. There were grades of lay nobility, princes, barons,

<sup>22</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge University Press, 1931, 208–222.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 526; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 405.



knights, and squires, the last being the most numerous. Out of this, an hereditary caste system of nobles and non-nobles developed. Chivalry was the social usage of this élite. A similar caste system developed among ecclesiastics. The feudal nobility led a worldly life. The peasants, unorganized, uneducated, and impoverished, were at the mercy of the aristocracy.

The peasantry comprised: (a) serfs bound to the soil, (b) free *villains*, or renters, and (c) slaves. Jerome, and other early Christians, approved of slavery,<sup>24</sup> as did canon law.<sup>25</sup> In southern Europe, the slaves were mostly Jews and Moslems; in northern Europe, mostly Christians.<sup>26</sup> By manumission, made desirable by economic change, serfdom, never much better than slavery, had practically disappeared by the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

Mediaeval thinkers found warrant for this system in Holy Writ, and later in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Aquinas, the Christian Aristotle of the thirteenth century, said that the state needed a stupid, brawny peasantry divided by a distrust for one another.<sup>28</sup> For a long time, all felt that this caste system reflected the "will of God."

**Emergence of the Bourgeoisie.**—Mediaeval life was essentially rural prior to the thirteenth century. There were towns, whose chief institutions were the gallows, the church, and the cemetery, "God's Acre." In these towns, there was always some commercial activity but, from the tenth century onward, there was an increase in that activity. Beginning with the twelfth century, the growth of cities in number and the increase of commercial activity in them was very rapid.<sup>29</sup> Contact of Europeans with the East and the Moslem world was the chief cause of this commercial revival.<sup>30</sup> Eyes of discontented and often rebellious peasants began to turn from the castle to the town,<sup>31</sup> and to the towns the population began to drift, in spite of efforts to stop it. Great landowners became more humane, and an agrarian middle class appeared.<sup>32</sup>

The cities, however, were the nurseries of the new bourgeois class, bankers, manufacturers, merchants—capitalists—men interested in

<sup>24</sup> S. Dill, *op. cit.*, 161.

<sup>25</sup> G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, 166-172.

<sup>26</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 572.

<sup>27</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 301-304; C. Seignobos, *The Feudal Regime*, New York: Holt, 1902, Chs. I, II; G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, 33, 151-172; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 566-593.

<sup>28</sup> G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, 253.

<sup>29</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 190-191, 209, 358-360.

<sup>30</sup> R. A. Newhall, *The Crusades*, New York: Holt, 1927, Ch. III; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 490.

<sup>31</sup> G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, 125-128.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-138.

wealth and power. A new Europe was emerging as a result of commerce. The old Europe was feudal, ecclesiastical, and agricultural; the new, bourgeois, lay, and commercial. The new burgher class, the Third Estate, worldly and lay in its interests, has played a leading rôle in destroying feudalism, converting Christian universalism into nationalism, and secularizing the world—for profit. Its political victory came in the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth century, and, against the growing power of the proletariat, it now turns to Fascism.<sup>33</sup>

**The Gild System and Industrial Serfdom.**—With the revival of commerce came the organization of merchant and craft gilds, to protect members from unfair competition. Weavers, shoemakers, fishmongers, etc., etc., were so organized, and each gild had its patron saint. These gilds became autocratic, and lower class workmen were barred from many privileges. To become a master craftsman, a boy, at about the age of thirteen, was apprenticed to a master for about seven years. Then, for more experience, he went from town to town as a “journeyman” artisan. Lastly, he presented his “masterpiece” to gild examiners, and, if it was considered of sufficient merit, he was enrolled as a gild member, and became himself a master over apprentices. The gilds, in time, tried to prevent men from becoming masters.<sup>34</sup>

Out of this system came an urban social hierarchy, running through many levels from commercial magnates at the top to unskilled laborers at the bottom. Out of political and economic urban problems came the worldly legal profession which substituted, for feudal law, Roman law, the first serious rival of the Scriptures in Christendom. This new profession was lay and bourgeois. Wealth and knowledge, weapons once almost entirely in the hands of the church, passed into possession of the city bourgeoisie. But poverty and ignorance continued, and an industrial serfdom appeared.<sup>35</sup> Lower class workers were exploited by the gilds; riots occurred from 1250 onward, but ended, about 1400, in a victory for the industrial barons. But the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had begun.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 275–301; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 502–506; James W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, New York: The Century Co., 1931, 126–179, 224–255.

<sup>34</sup> J. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 328–329.

<sup>35</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Mediaeval Cities*, Princeton University Press, 1925, 160.

<sup>36</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929, 198 ff.; J. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 396–414.

**Women in Mediaeval Society.**—Christendom inherited various traditions with regard to women's nature and status. Ancient German women held an inferior position, as the word *weib*, of neuter gender, still reminds us. Until the late eighteenth century, a woman was her husband's "property," and could be sold by him in the market place.<sup>37</sup> Under Roman imperialism, rich women enjoyed much freedom and independence. That condition might have survived had not St. Paul ordered women to obey their husbands and keep their heads covered in churches. That was a hard blow struck against woman's emancipation.<sup>38</sup> The ascetics considered women as snares set by Satan for the ruination of souls, but monasticism, while segregating them, gave them the same opportunities as monks.<sup>39</sup> The spiritual equality of women and the sacredness of marriage were church ideals, though often disregarded.<sup>40</sup> Mariolatry helped to raise women to a high moral plane, but, stressing modesty, it retarded their participation in public affairs. Chivalry, with its ideal of gallantry towards women, both refined and debased the "gentler sex." Islam placed a low estimate on woman's worth.<sup>41</sup>

In theory and in practice, the mediaeval woman's world was different from man's. Economically, socially, politically, and morally, she stood, in practice, on a different and inferior plane. Under later feudalism, great ladies sometimes enjoyed great privileges, even intellectual, but they also suffered great economic and social disabilities. The duties of the women of the castle and the nunnery, as of those of the hovel, were the traditional domestic ones. Feudalism, however, tended to emancipate them from the home. Thomas Aquinas taught that women, by their natural weakness, are subject to men and that children ought to love their fathers more than their mothers. Such an estimate mediaeval women accepted.<sup>42</sup>

The field of the healing arts was not entirely closed to mediaeval women. Some branches of medicine, connected with nursing, had always been open to them. In 300 B.C., Athens permitted women to practise medicine.<sup>43</sup> Women were on the staff of a medical school at Salerno, in Italy, in the ninth and later centuries, and "certified mid-wives" were among the students. To these women physicians, no

<sup>37</sup> A. Heilborn, *op. cit.*, 123-132; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 113-114.

<sup>38</sup> St. Paul's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Chs. XI, XIV.

<sup>39</sup> E. Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage*, New York: Macmillan, 1926, 44-46.

<sup>40</sup> F. W. Cornish, *Chivalry*, London: Allen, 1911, 286.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel Zwemer, *Across the World of Islam*, New York: Revell, 1929, 111 ff.

<sup>42</sup> F. W. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 282 ff., 288 ff., 299 ff.; W. S. Davis, *Life on a Mediaeval Barony*, New York: Harper, 1923, 9-10, 74-77, 83, 99, 100-103.

<sup>43</sup> J. L. Maddox, *The Medicine Man*, New York: Macmillan, 1923, 81.



department of medical study or practice was closed. The Salerno school was probably a lay school, free from ecclesiastical control.<sup>44</sup>

Views expressed regarding women's mentality differed. Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Jerome, and Sedulius showed no contempt for the female mind.<sup>45</sup> Yet the Germanic tradition, St. Paul's view, and that of Thomas Aquinas represent those prevalent in the Middle Ages. Pierre Dubois, a French lawyer, in the thirteenth, and William of Occam, a Dominican monk, in the fourteenth century showed greater liberality. The former would enfranchise women, inaugurate coeducation, and give women all the educational opportunities of men, to prepare them for medical-missionary work among the Moslems. The latter would admit them, because of their wisdom, to church councils. These were but the views of advanced thinkers, for mediaeval women were not permitted to develop their talents and tastes in their own way. There were men of great intellectual achievement in mediaeval times, but no such women. The latter were denied such an opportunity.

### Chivalry

Chivalry was the social and moral code of the feudal nobility, but it was an ideal rather than a practice. Its ideal, summed up in the phrase "death rather than dishonor," was given final expression in the *Chanson de Roland*, about 1110 A.D. Its rules applied chiefly to one's conduct in war, religion, and love, and required the knight to serve his lord, God, and his lady according to fixed forms of conduct. To base-born men it did not apply, but only to those of noble blood. Under chivalry, the nobility despised the poor, and the consecration of knighthood by the church prolonged the bondage of the masses. A regular system of apprenticeship education in the services due to one's feudal lord, for the purpose of moulding the finished "gentleman," grew up and became formalized. Gentleness, honor, loyalty, homage, courage, courtesy, liberality, respect for women, faith, and piety were the knightly ideals of virtue. Like the monk, the knight had his vows. He swore to fear and worship God, serve his lord, uphold the rights of widows, the weak and defenseless, and protect the church. In practice, the knight was a paragon of virtues and vices, at the latter of which ecclesiastics connived. The whole system represented a union of religious and chivalric ideals. From the altar, where the ceremony of knighthood was performed, the knight

<sup>44</sup> T. C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, London: Macmillan, 1921, 431-439.

<sup>45</sup> E. P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920, 59 ff.; T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 209.

marched out into the world as the Christian soldier, but a soldier more than a Christian. Chivalry ended in the fifteenth century with the fall of the cavalry system of warfare long pursued by feudal soldiery. When the horse fell from power, at the hands of base-born infantry, many ideals fell with him. While chivalry lasted it was an international code of manners, based upon caste. The literature it produced, though non-national, laid the basis of national vernacular literatures and cultures.<sup>46</sup>

### The Mediaeval Mind and the Forces That Changed It

**The Mediaeval Mind.**—The outstanding ideals of mediaeval Christendom were: (a) the supreme value of spiritual things, (b) otherworldliness and the unreality of the material world and things, (c) the spiritual equality of all men before God, (d) the nobility of labor, and the application of principles of abstract justice in industrial relations, (e) the unity of all mankind, and (f) service to God, one's fellows, and one's soul, as man's first duties.<sup>47</sup>

Practice fell far below ideals, for the mediaeval mind accepted existing things, many of them vicious, as a manifestation of the will of God. The mediaeval mind was an ascetical, believing, submissive mind, filled with fears and superstitions. It was a Christian mind—though largely, but unconsciously, pagan—ready to make every sacrifice for Christianity. It was a clerical mind, exalting the ecclesiastical above the lay, or lewd, life. It was a herd mind, intolerant of heterodoxy. Above all, it was a mystical, otherworldly mind which, like cathedral spires, looked from earth to heaven, from the limited to the unlimited, from the temporal to the eternal.

**Factors Producing Mental Change.**—All the worldly developments we have considered—commerce and the revival of political interests, the revival of interest in Roman law, the emergence of the bourgeoisie, chivalry and the Crusades—hastened the process of secularizing the mediaeval mind and making it critical about its surroundings. Other developments are also very important: the realist-nominalist controversy; the introduction of Moslem learning into Europe; and the re-emergence of localism.

(a) **THE REALIST-NOMINALIST CONTROVERSY: FROM MYSTICISM TO SCHOLASTICISM.**—The Greeks accepted the idea of the supremacy of reason, and moderns accept the idea of the infallibility of experi-

<sup>46</sup> F. W. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 68-83, 157-231, 267-280, 310, 365; A. Tennyson, *The Idylls of the King*; E. Prestage, *Chivalry*, New York: Knopf, 1928.

<sup>47</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 40-41.

mentation, in discovering truth and in interpreting man and his universe. The idea that God has revealed truth in history was the controlling mediaeval idea. God who has repeatedly spoken to man "hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." In history the mediaeval man saw a divine purpose, and revelation and faith became, for him, the foundations of all truth and all knowledge. Faith was opposed to reason which, in the pagan world, led man into skepticism, and Holy Writ and the voice of the church became final authorities on all questions, earthly or divine. This idea was most perfectly embodied in mysticism, a process by which holy men became united with God, as an actual experience. The basis of that union was not the intellect, but the heart; not knowledge, but love. To mystics, the material world is an illusion, the senses deceptive, multiplicity and change unreal, and God, though invisible, the one and only reality, through whose omnipresence all things become one unity.

Mysticism is a very old phenomenon, and it came into Christian thought through Platonism and Neo-Platonism.<sup>48</sup> St. Paul who gazed upon God from the "third heaven," an Aristotelian astronomical sphere that never existed, was a mystic. His transportation was immediate and instantaneous. Dialectic, a pagan science, soon changed this earlier view of "the flight of the alone to the Alone," as Plotinus spoke of the soul's flight to God. The pseudo-Dionysius, whose authority became almost apostolic, said that there are three steps in the soul's flight: (a) purgation, (b) illumination, and (c)

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<sup>48</sup> The intellectual aspects of mediaeval life have given rise to much debate. Here, as everywhere else in history, generalizations are hazardous. Yet from out the mass of fact and interpretation of life in the Middle Ages one fact constantly intrudes itself upon the view: Men then lived by faith, not by reason or science, and reason was but the servant of faith to be cast aside if it could not be made to serve faith. Reason and faith were then in opposition. That there were a few men to whom the generalization does not apply does not destroy the general or almost universal validity of the generalization itself. The opposition of reason and faith must be kept in mind by anyone who will attempt to interpret the intellectual life of mediaeval Europe prior to the fifteenth century. H. Wildon Carr, in F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation* (p. 91), puts his finger upon the very heart of the question. Says he: "Throughout the whole period of mediaeval philosophy we find two factors in continual opposition, a principle of reason and a principle of faith. The whole philosophic effort is an attempt to reconcile them, to justify authority by an appeal to reason in the interest of faith. It ended in failure. It was bound to do so, for the only principle the philosopher could invoke to reconcile the contradiction was the principle of reason of the Greek philosophy, and this principle was itself one of the opposing factors. It is this inherent contradiction in the mediaeval mind which gives to its philosophy throughout the whole period that negative character which it assumes even in its most enlightened exponents. *Credo quia impossibile, Credo ut intelligam*—these are its watchwords. The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is the embodiment of the contradiction. The faith to which Paul appealed was not intuition or any form of the mind reconcilable with reason. It was an irrational and an anti-rational principle, and this was the tragedy so far as philosophy is concerned."



perfection. Later logical analysis increased the number of steps, and the flight now often required a lifetime. These ideas, accepted as Christian, are not found in the Gospels. They are essentially Platonic.

The break-down of mysticism began when John Scotus Erigena, himself a mystic, head of the palace school of Charles the Bald, and a product of Irish schools in which Greek learning had survived, applied the test of dialectic to church dogmas. He argued, on the basis of his mystical pantheism, that all things are one, that true philosophy and true religion are one, that theology must agree with philosophy, and that authority is derived from reason, not *vice versa*. Reason and Holy Writ, he said, spring alike from God's wisdom, and reason is the only safe guide to the interpretation of God's word. All dogmas of the church, because they are true, must, he said, be reasonable, and all of them be accepted on faith, while he would reconcile them with the truths of dialectic. For this, and such mystical teachings as the non-existence of evil and hell, he was condemned by church councils, which held that faith and reason are not one, and that dogmas need no rational support.<sup>49</sup> Two hundred years later, the realist-nominalist controversy between theologians had developed, and St. Anselm, master of the science of proving, by dialectic, the existence and validity of universal ideas, was considered by the church a pillar of orthodoxy, although his stand was essentially that of Erigena.

The controversy between Anselm, the realist, and Roscellinus, the nominalist, was concerned with the nature of universal terms or class names. Anselm held, as did Plato, that only class names, genera and species, are objectively real and that individual, concrete things are only appearances, or shadows of reality. The nominalists argued that class names are but names, having but a subjective existence, and that only individual, concrete things have objective reality. The realists held that the universal is prior to the thing—*universale ante rem*; the nominalists, that it is posterior to the thing—*universale post rem*. Both claimed Aristotelian approval, but Aristotle, who was then little known, taught that the universal is in the thing—*universale in re*.

The theologians debated not only the question of the nature of truth and reality, but also that of the method of attaining a knowledge of them. The realists said that faith is the way to a vision of truth and reality; that it precedes reason and is indispensable to

<sup>49</sup> B. Fitzpatrick, *Ireland and the Foundations of Europe*, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1927, 183 ff.; R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, London: Williams & Norgate, 1884, 52 ff.; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 750-775.

knowledge. "I believe," said Anselm, "in order that I may know." The nominalists held that reason and knowledge must precede faith; that all knowledge is attainable through the senses and reason; and that church dogmas and revealed truths must be demonstrable by reason. Their formula was "I know, therefore I believe." Roscellinus was condemned by the church in 1092,<sup>50</sup> and few nominalists, "heretics in dialectic," as Anselm called them, ventured to express their views openly until William of Occam became again the champion of their ideas in the fourteenth century. Yet, since the time of Roscellinus, nominalism, embodying in a notable degree the spirit of Greece, has been a vigorous force in Christendom. It stands for man's right to doubt and question, for the validity of sense impressions, the adequacy of reason, and the reality of the physical world. The Reformation, the scientific movement, and social revolutions are, among other things, its spiritual progeny.

In the twelfth century, Abelard proposed a view on the realist-nominalist problem, which was much closer to nominalism than to realism. He taught the reality of individual things, and the unreality of universals except as purely mental concepts derived from our experience with elements common to all members of a particular class. From particulars, he said, we arrive at concepts; the process is not the other way. It was Aristotle's position, although Abelard knew little about his philosophy. Abelard's view, called "conceptualism," was widely accepted. He also upheld man's right to question all *dicta* of Church Fathers and all dogmas. Said he: "*A doctrine is not believed because God has said it but because we are convinced by reason that it is so.*"<sup>51</sup> The church condemned his "errors" in 1141, and even Roscellinus thought the condemnation just.<sup>52</sup> But it was an age of authority, and Abelard himself had unquestioning faith in Aristotle's teachings.<sup>53</sup>

The whole thought system evolving from this controversy is called scholasticism, and Thomas Aquinas, whose views have since been authoritative among Catholic and other fundamentalist theologians, perfected the system. He accepted Aristotle, whose views, authoritatively interpreted, with regard to logic and the whole "natural order," he regarded as the last outpost on the road to truth attainable by reason. Thomism is Aristotelianism Christianized, and teaches that philosophy and theology are separate sciences, the former surveying the natural, and the latter, the supernatural order. Since, he said, revelation is a fact—and philosophy must not question that

<sup>50</sup> F. Ueberweg, *op. cit.*, I, 372.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>51</sup> R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 153.

<sup>53</sup> F. Ueberweg, *op. cit.*, I, 391-392.

"fact"—philosophy and theology can never be in opposition when they deal with the same questions; and revealed truths, incomprehensible to the intellect, must be accepted on faith. He thus made philosophy the handmaiden of theology, as earlier Christians had made the earth "God's footstool." Man's reason, said Aquinas, being finite, cannot comprehend the infinite, but it can prove the validity of the "preambles" of faith and show that the bases of faith are not unreasonable. This is the zenith of scholasticism, which is philosophy as the servant of theology.

The rediscovery of Aristotle had much to do with the finished product of scholastic thought. Two of his works in logic, translated, and these alone, were known in the earlier Middle Ages. By 1150, his complete logic, the *Organon*, was known.<sup>54</sup> In the next century, his metaphysics, physics, psychology, and ethics, with their subdivisions, were introduced into Europe, mainly through Moslem channels.<sup>55</sup> The first attitude of the church toward this pagan philosophy was hostile, but, when the harmony between Aristotelianism and moderate realism, now officially approved, became evident, that attitude changed to one of complete approval. In 1209, the authorities at the University of Paris forbade the reading of some works of Aristotle, under pain of excommunication. From that date, the University statutes show a wavering attitude until, in 1254, they proclaimed that no work of Aristotle is forbidden, and prescribed many of them as regular texts. For three hundred years thereafter, the liberal arts course in European universities was almost exclusively Aristotelian.

With the stamp of ecclesiastical approval on it, Aristotelianism became a great enslaver of the human intellect. The written word of Aristotle became as authoritative as the written word of God. Men asked, with regard to the "natural order," not "what is true?" but "what does Aristotle say?" In the scholastic age, men were intellectually curious, but the materials of knowledge were very limited, a fact which we must recognize before we minimize the value of their really great systematizing work. Their perfected system retarded the Renaissance. Their method of learning, that of appeal to authority, to the Scriptures and Aristotle, impeded progress. To find the number of teeth in a horse's mouth, men went to books; and professors and students debated such questions as to whether or not "horsiness" can exist apart from a horse. Formalism and attachment to intellectual subtleties made scholasticism ridiculous, and brought reason

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 430; A. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 222.

<sup>55</sup> F. Ueberweg, *op. cit.*, I, 433.



and faith quickly to the parting of the ways. In the thirteenth century some scholastics, under Moslem influence no doubt, were suggesting the experimental method, and Roger Bacon was experimenting. The modern mind was slowly emerging.

(b) INTRODUCTION OF MOSLEM LEARNING INTO EUROPE.—The votaries of spreading Islam assimilated, in the early eighth century, Greek learning, which had survived among the Hellenized Christians of the East, and brought it back to the West, where they ruled over all northern Africa and Spain. While, in the later Middle Ages, the West was in direct contact with the East through the Crusades and otherwise, the indirect contact through the Moslems was more influential. The greatest contribution of the Moslems to the West was the restoration of Aristotle's philosophy. Their work in mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, biology, geology, geography, surgery, medicine, pharmacy, and history, was notable and contributed to the awakening of scientific interest and to the rediscovery of the observational and experimental method in Western Christendom. Long in contact with India, and students of Hindu learning, the Moslems brought, to the West, Arabic notation, a Hindu product, which has been of great value in arithmetic and algebra. In commerce, wealth, the beautiful and very modern cities they built, agriculture, engineering, and the arts, as well as in learning, they led the world and, in contact with them, Christian Crusaders saw the discrepancy between the real world and the church's picture of it. It was a stunning blow to the mediaeval mind. Every large Moslem city, in the East and West, had its college, or university, staffed by the best scholars, Moslem, Jewish, or Christian, and often enrolling as many as 10,000 students. Thus Mohammedans helped notably to pass on the torch of Greek learning to the West.<sup>56</sup>

(c) VERNACULARS AND LOCALISM.—(1) *Roman Unity until 750*. "In the beginning was the road," said some historian. Roman cultural unity, as evidenced by the spread and use of the Koinê, or vulgar Latin, through Western Romania, was due largely to the great Roman roads. It was the language of the commonalty, not the élite, of Rome and her provinces. Democratic feeling in the empire, apparent in such tendencies as the liberal granting of citizenship, the frequent manumission of slaves and the institution by the emperor,

<sup>56</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 214-237, 439-454; F. M. Stawell and F. S. Marvin, *The Making of the Western Mind*, New York: Doubleday, Doran, n.d., 48-51; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 107-148; F. Ueberweg, *op. cit.*, I, 402-417; T. C. Allbutt, *op. cit.*, 289-299, 394-395, 422.

Constantine, in 321 A.D., of a day of rest, most welcome to laborers, with which our Sunday practice of rest is closely associated as to origin, was also apparent in respect for the vulgar tongue among some of the élite. Christian concern for the salvation of souls, even of slaves, made the use of the vulgar tongue essential in missionary work.<sup>57</sup> The Koinê remained a spiritual bond of unity in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal—Romania—until about 750 A.D., when modern Romance languages were emerging. The economic and social bases of that unity remained until about the same time. Besides, the vigorous Christianization of barbarians by Christian missionaries was a significant factor in the preservation of the unity of Romania. Most of the increasingly numerous priests and monks were probably literate. The Council of Narbon, in 589, forbade the ordination of deacons who could not read. While little is known about the learning of the laity, most of the clergy, from the sixth till the ninth century, were probably able to read and write,<sup>58</sup> although some think that book learning almost vanished.<sup>59</sup> Moral and religious instruction of the laity by preachers was universal.

(2) *Charlemagne's Effort to Preserve Unity.* The economic and social bases of cultural unity were disintegrating rapidly in the eighth century. Roads collapsed; commerce declined; travel became less frequent; missionaries, having depaganized Romania, were back in their monasteries; and the Koinê was passing into village dialects. That drift, Charlemagne, mightiest monarch and the only great mediaeval statesman, tried to check, doubtless for political reasons. He would create an intellectual basis of unity, as the church had created a spiritual, and he himself, a political one. He stood almost alone as a political protagonist of the educational prerogatives of the state in the Middle Ages. Classical learning had nearly vanished because of Christian hostility, barbarian invasions, decline of cities, and the urgency for Christianizing the rural masses. Missionary needs brought the ideals of common people and their language, the Koinê, to the fore, and culture had been leveled down, as incorrect mediaeval Latin shows. Charlemagne would have established a universal system of parish reading schools for all boys and, above these, higher schools attached to every monastery and cathedral for the education of the clergy. These he commanded the clergy to establish. At the head of the whole system would stand the national palace school and probably

<sup>57</sup> H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1929, 123-125.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13, 21-25, 28, 39-40.

<sup>59</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 93.

other royal schools for the higher education of the royal household, court officials, and civil administrative officers. He wanted to revive classical learning, and his interest in higher literary education seems to indicate that he wished to create an intellectual élite similar to that of Rome. His was a significant effort to preserve the unity of Romania through a homogeneity of culture, based on classical learning, but it failed because the bases of unity were gone. Political disintegration came rapidly after his death. Learning, however, never again declined to the level from which he had rescued it.<sup>60</sup>

(3) *Vernacular Literature and the Rise of Localism*. In the Middle Ages, classical Latin was the language of international affairs, of the international church, of prayer, theology, philosophy, and of all school learning and textbooks. For a time, less serious literature appeared in Latin, but here the vulgar tongues, vernaculars, soon replaced it.<sup>61</sup> Charlemagne considered Latin indispensable in all important matters. It was the clergy who perpetuated it, for few laymen could read or write. The laity and commonalty created vernaculars, and narrated in them, first orally and then in writing, the legends of Europe. A vernacular literature began to appear in England in the eighth century,<sup>62</sup> and in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Its earliest form was poetic, and it shows an interest changing from heroic deeds to love, and then to adventure. Chivalry inspired much of it, and its tone was worldly. A later literature, born in the cities, was satirical, rationalistic and, sometimes, communistic. These new writers mocked theology, the clergy and the nobility, and showed utter contempt for women and marriage.<sup>63</sup>

Much worldliness, obscenity, frivolity, and mockery crept into the Latin songs of wandering students, pilgrims not to Rome or the Holy Sepulchre but to shrines of knowledge, the new universities rising up in awakening Europe from the late twelfth century onward. The church disapproved of wandering, but it could not stop it forever. Crusades, pilgrimages, wandering friars and merchants created an interest in the world beyond mountains and seas that authority could not suppress. Organized guilds of students, stationary and wandering,

<sup>60</sup> J. B. Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, New York: Stechert, 1911; E. P. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, 90-93.

<sup>61</sup> H. F. Muller, *op. cit.*, 121-131; C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 105-106.

<sup>62</sup> F. M. Stawell and F. S. Marvin, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.

<sup>63</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 493, 808-836; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 176-187; E. Prestage, *op. cit.*, 45 *passim*, 167-180; F. Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, New York: American Book Co., 1908, 445-447.



arose, and many of their members showed as much interest in wine, women, song, and heresy as in serious learning. Their vices were legion, and their songs show a drift from the mediaeval to the modern world.

The rise of vernacular literatures, lay, worldly, satirical, and radical, indicates the collapse of the unity of Romania and a changing attitude toward religious and social traditions. In every way, they show heretical tendencies. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, vernacular Gospels began to appear and, finally, the Reformation gave Holy Writ to the common people in their own languages. Schools for the common people, the elementary schools of modern nations, arose on this new cultural foundation, as did modern nations themselves. The sixteenth century saw not only the unity of Romania gone, but the universalism of Christendom replaced by localism.<sup>64</sup>

## II. MEDIAEVAL EDUCATION

**Purpose.**—Basically, the purpose was to prepare a man for the service of God, the church, his fellows and his soul. Education had, thus, a cultural and vocational purpose, stressing both the current ideals and the needs of the various branches of church and civil service. Yet, mediaeval schools, other than the universities, offered only a general education, literary in character. Knowledge, as then conceived, had to do only with God and the way of salvation. The Greek conception of a liberal education, except in a few Italian lay schools, did not prevail.<sup>65</sup> The Roman ideal of the orator disappeared. The ideals of meekness and modesty of character became ideals for all Christians, and the "Christian prince" became the ideal ruler. Under later feudalism, the worldly *courtois* became the ideal ruler.<sup>66</sup>

St. John Chrysostom, in his *Golden Book concerning the Education of Children*, advised aristocratic parents to discipline all the senses and desires of their sons from their infancy, so that they might become Christian gentlemen, "champions for Christ," whose thoughts and speech always center in God and heaven.<sup>67</sup> With death, not with wealth, glory or power, a Christian's thought should be pre-

<sup>64</sup> J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1907; Helen Waddell, *op. cit.*, 161-194.

<sup>65</sup> L. F. Anderson, *History of Common School Education*, New York: Holt, 1909, 88-89.

<sup>66</sup> John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, 114-115, 117, 119-120. In John Evelyn, *Miscellaneous Writings*, London: Colburn, 1825, I.

occupied, and every father should guard the entrances to his son's soul, the senses.<sup>68</sup> This moral and religious purpose predominated in mediaeval thought.<sup>69</sup>

All church positions and, until the fourteenth century, many civil positions were in the hands of the clergy. The general literary training of the parish, cathedral, and monastic schools was the only training preparing men for these vocations. There was no special training for professional or vocational fields.

**Curriculum.** (a) **ELEMENTARY.**—Elementary education was poorly organized and was not systematically differentiated from other stages of education. At the age of six or seven, students entered the monastic and cathedral schools, the theological seminaries of the time, and received all their instruction there. That practice prevailed in the pagan grammar schools of Gaul, where the *ludus* apparently ceased to exist as a separate school.<sup>70</sup>

Latin was the language of mediaeval education. The elementary studies comprised reading and writing Latin, memorization of the psalms in Latin, singing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. A boy memorized Latin psalms and prayers without learning their meaning.

(b) **SECONDARY STUDIES.**—The form and content of the Graeco-Roman curriculum had become fairly definitely fixed by the close of the third century A.D. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, drawing, and gymnastics were stressed by Greek theorists. Roman writers added to these the studies of law, medicine, and architecture. Physical education was neglected in Roman schools, and medicine and law were taught, apparently, incidentally. Christians borrowed the fixed system of seven liberal arts, in vogue in the late third century, and discussed by Capella in his treatise *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. These, Christians made preparatory to a study of theology after a long period of indecision regarding their value. Not only were they found useful in despoiling pagans, but they were found indispensable to a study of theology and the Scriptures. They came to be known as the "seven liberal arts," and from the time of Bishop Isidore, who wrote a treatise on them in the seventh century, they were divided into the *trivium*, or lower studies—grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic—and the *quadrivium*, or higher studies—arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Thus did Christians appropriate to their use a pagan

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 115–116.

<sup>69</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 70.

<sup>70</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 54–60.

curriculum which became the basis, if not the core, of the theological course in cathedral and monastic schools, and they found Scriptural warrant for the practice. But, under Christian influence, the "liberal arts" ceased to be liberal. Keeping in mind the general neglect of learning in Western Christendom prior to the eleventh century (the British Isles, before the ninth century, and parts of continental Europe during, and for a short time following, the reign of Charlemagne being exceptional), the curriculum was, briefly, as follows:

(1) *Grammar*. This comprised a study of Latin grammar and literature. Outside of Great Britain and Ireland, and even there after the ninth century, Greek was not studied. Prior to the twelfth century, the Latin grammars of Donatus and Priscian were the basis of literary study. Then came the grammars of Alexander de Villedieu (1199 A.D.) and of Eberhard of Bethune (1212 A.D.), the latter having a chapter on Greek derivatives. These were the most widely used texts, although there were others based, generally, on Donatus. Students began with Readers, moral in tone, and from these they advanced to some Roman classics, interest in which increased from 1000 A.D. onward. Conversational texts, *colloquia*, were also used. Students, too, wrote prose and verse compositions. The ability to read and write Latin and to use it for liturgical, theological, and practical purposes, rather than an appreciation of literature, was the goal sought. There was probably a fair supply of classical literary material available, and there appears to be some truth in the view that scholasticism and the universities, with their devotion to Aristotle, were responsible, to a marked degree, for the decline of the classics immediately prior to the Renaissance.<sup>71</sup>

(2) *Rhetoric and Dictamen*. In comparison with grammar, the other six "liberal arts" received scant attention, as the encyclopedias of the time show. Preaching succeeded the oratory of Rome and, in the Middle Ages proper, there were no notable preachers. From the beginning of the ninth century, rhetoric was studied in the form of *Dictamen*, or writing of documents and epistles. Churchmen and princes had need for copyists and secretaries who could write fairly good prose. *Dictamen* thus became a part of the liberal arts, supplanting rhetoric. The copying of legal documents was the forerunner of legal studies in mediaeval universities.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Paul Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1906, 11-51.

<sup>72</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 170 ff.; P. Abelson, *op. cit.*, 52 ff.; C. S. Baldwin, *Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York: Macmillan, 1928.



(3) *Dialectic*. Dialectic, or pure philosophy, survived only in name in the Middle Ages. Christians feared it as a threat to faith. What they studied as dialectic was but formal logic. Interest in logic increased from the eighth century, when it was discovered that a fallacious syllogism might make a church dogma seem ridiculous. The texts on logic were very elementary until Aristotle's *Organon* was rediscovered at the close of the eleventh century.<sup>73</sup>

(4) *Arithmetic*. Western Christendom possessed little mathematical knowledge until Moslem influence was felt. But the *quadrivium*, like the *trivium*, was needed by the church. Arithmetic was studied to fix the date of church festivals and for an understanding of the property of numbers. The texts in the encyclopedias of Capella, Isidore, etc., the only ones in use, were very elementary. Moslem influence and the publication of the *Liber Abaci* of Leonardo of Pisa (1202) started mathematics on a new course.<sup>74</sup> With the revival of commerce and politics, arithmetic as applied to bookkeeping, taxes, etc., was much needed, and the demand was met, probably, by the burgher schools of the cities rather than by the church schools.

(5) *Geometry*. The Romans neglected geometry, as did Western Christendom. Before the twelfth century its study was very rudimentary. It was, again, chiefly Moslem influence which was responsible for the revival of interest in it.<sup>75</sup>

(6) *Music*. As part of the *quadrivium*, music was studied only theoretically. Not the practical performer, but only one who had studied a brief treatise in an encyclopedia was considered a musician. Arithmetic was a prerequisite to its study as a liberal art. It was studied only for church purposes, not for enjoyment. A few monastic schools became famous for their theoretical and practical work in music.<sup>76</sup>

(7) *Astronomy*. This was the most popular mathematical study, for Christian eyes looked heavenwards. Astrology heightened that interest. The writings of Alcuin and Maurus on astronomy were influential but, until the Moslems came, astronomical knowledge was very limited.<sup>77</sup>

(8) *Other Studies: (a) History*. Orosius' *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans*, written, in 417 A.D., to prove that God destroyed the Roman empire because of paganism, was used as a text

<sup>73</sup> R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 220.

<sup>74</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 802; P. Abelson, *op. cit.*, 90 ff.

<sup>75</sup> P. Abelson, *op. cit.*, 113 ff.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 128 ff.

<sup>77</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 803; P. Abelson, *op. cit.*, 219 ff.

in some schools. (b) *Natural History*. An occasional school taught a natural history wildly extravagant in its stories about the wonders of nature. (c) *Roman and Canon Law*. A few English schools, in the eighth and ninth centuries, gave instruction in canon and civil law.

(9) *Texts*. The almost universal basis of study of the liberal arts, or of some of them, were the encyclopedias of Boethius (480–524), Capella (c. 500), Cassiodorus (c. 490–c. 580), Isidore (560–636), Bede (673–735), Alcuin (735–804), and Rabanus Maurus (786–856), of which Isidore's was the most widely used.

Were a conclusion regarding the relative emphasis placed upon each of the seven arts to be drawn on the basis of the space given it by these writers, one would say that approximately thirty-one per cent of the time given to the "arts" was allotted to grammar, ten to rhetoric, eleven to dialectic, nine to arithmetic, eight to geometry, eighteen to astronomy, and fifteen to music. But any such generalization for the entire period, or for all schools, would be unsound, although it would indicate roughly the general practice in cathedral and monastic schools. In the earlier Middle Ages, the *trivium* was stressed, while the *quadrivium* did not get much attention until after Charlemagne's revival of education.

The theological course, in the tenth century, consisted of the first part of Donatus, Bible study, church ceremonies, computing the time of festivals, civil and canon law, penances, lives of the saints, church music, and preaching.<sup>78</sup>

The period 500–1200 A.D. was the second childhood of scientific thought. Arab influence brought a scientific renaissance, in the thirteenth century, which conservatives opposed. The monk Roger Bacon, an experimental scientist, was imprisoned for fourteen years for his innovations. Emperor Frederick II, a patron of science, was denounced by ecclesiastics as Antichrist. Nietzsche says that he is another interesting man who will be absent from heaven. He stimulated an interest in Latin literature, under way before his time. That literary revival was a forerunner of the Renaissance. There was a great increase in knowledge in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and, to fill a need for a new encyclopedia, Vincent of Beauvais compiled his *Speculum Majus*, a ponderous compendium of all existing knowledge, a work which was not used as a text as were the earlier encyclopedias.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> L. F. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 96.

<sup>79</sup> E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 804 ff.; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 112–114, 124 ff., 148 ff.

**Method and Discipline.**—Mediaeval education was essentially a disciplining of human nature, supposedly corrupted by Adam's indiscretion, but little was then known about man's nature, as the accepted doctrine of man as a microcosm indicates. Mediaeval psychology was Augustine's elaboration of the faculty theory of Plato and Aristotle, but there were other considerations even more influential than psychology. Man was viewed not as a social and political, but as a moral and religious being, supernatural rather than natural, whose end was otherworldly. Man's physical nature was deemed sinful and corrupt, and the ascetics despised it. The body was but a vicious tabernacle of an immortal treasure, and its urges were to be curbed. The ideal of bodily health and grace was antagonistic to the mediaeval sense of values. Man's aesthetic nature was likewise repressed. For the soul's sake human nature was to be curbed by discipline and habits of self-restraint. Man's intellectual nature was recognized, but feared as the source of heresies. The church checked all intellectual insubordination, and its schools fostered the habit of submissiveness to its authority and to that of texts. Thus, education was a religious, moral, and mental discipline, and method conformed with these objectives.

John Chrysostom would have youths acquire habits of prayer, self-denial, humility, chastity, heroic self-restraint, and, generally, of sanctity. Fear of the rod, in childhood, and of hell, in adolescence, would provide the motivation.<sup>80</sup> Jerome expressed similar views in regard to girls.<sup>81</sup> Monastic life, during the period of asceticism, embodied these ideals. Monastic "rules" imposed the duties of toil, to the point of bodily fatigue, upon monks. One monk, Paul, burned the product of his labors at the end of each year so that he might always have work to do.<sup>82</sup>

These attitudes toward human nature affected education. Individual expression was curbed in schools, authority was stressed, and corporal punishment was frequently used.<sup>83</sup> A fourteenth-century theological dictionary, based on earlier authors, approved wife-beating and boy-beating. It sanctioned a master's use of the rod even in case of students who had received "holy orders."<sup>84</sup>

In the classroom, imitation and memorization of texts were the methods used. The conversational method, based on formal texts,

<sup>80</sup> John Evelyn, *op. cit.*, 117-118, 124-135.

<sup>81</sup> E. P. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, 60-63.

<sup>82</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 196.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 194-195.

<sup>84</sup> G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, 1928, III, 119.



*colloquia*, was used in acquiring a speaking knowledge of Latin. Students of *dictamen* imitated model letters and documents. Dialectic led to discussions and debates, but these were kept within the bounds set by dogmas, or by the teacher's *dictum*. Reliance upon a recognized authority was universal. Even the catechetical method was much used. To determine the number of teeth in a horse's mouth, men considered it unholy to seek the answer except through books.<sup>85</sup> And since the authorities appealed to were unenlightened, nothing ever checked progress so much as that method.<sup>86</sup>

**Schools. (A) CHURCH SCHOOLS UNDER CHURCH CONTROL.—**

(1) *Catechumenal Schools*. These, the forerunners of the elementary schools of Christendom, arose to give pagans religious instruction preparatory to baptism. Earlier, converts were baptized without formal instruction but, converts becoming numerous and some relapsing into paganism, a formal course was instituted to determine the sincerity of applicants and to promote Christian ideals. Early in the second century, these missionary schools arose in the East. Alexandria, in the second century, and Edessa, in the third, had such schools.<sup>87</sup> Earlier ones met in any convenient place; later ones, in the lesser nave of a church. Bishops were the first teachers of catechumens, and their instruction was in the form of sermons on religion and morals. When all adults had been Christianized, these schools survived as schools for children, for whose religious instruction parish priests were responsible. In the earlier schools, reading and writing were not taught; in later schools, they were taught to a few, since bishops came to need readers (*lectores*) and writers (*notarii*) to assist them. The seventh-century Council of Toledo ordered the establishment of, apparently, special schools for the children of the clergy, perhaps with a view to preparing them for church positions, which were earlier the privilege of no one group.

The earlier catechumenal schools were for all social classes. When, after a few centuries, baptism was made an infant rite, religious education of the Christianized masses became largely informal, and formal schooling became the privilege of those preparing for church positions. For positions open to the secular clergy, birth and social rank came to be primary qualifications.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Jerome Davis, *op. cit.*, 125-126.

<sup>86</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 82; E. P. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, 87-88; P. Abelson, *op. cit.*, 121.

<sup>87</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>88</sup> J. Shotwell and L. Loomis, *op. cit.*, 182, 189; T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 175, 179, 182-194.

(2) *Cathedral Schools*. At episcopal seats, schools were established to train secular clergy for work in parishes. The forerunners of these were the catechetical schools, the first of which was established at Alexandria about 150 A.D. The catechetical schools aimed to prepare men to defend Christianity against paganism. That the school at Alexandria arose in the shadow of a pagan university, and that among its first teachers were Clement and Origen, learned in pagan philosophy, with which they did much to reconcile Christian teachings, is significant in the history of Western thought. Origen was branded a heretic because he reconciled the two systems too well.<sup>89</sup> The Alexandrian school taught the Scriptures, theology, philosophy, Greek literature, and the sciences. Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa, Caesarea, and Rome soon had similar schools. These, our first theological seminaries, arose to disarm the learned pagan aristocracy, and were much more liberal than their successors, the cathedral schools, which, until after the ninth century, did little to enrich intellectual life. Although cathedral schools succeeded the Roman rhetorical schools, they did not, as a rule, teach the liberal arts prior to the Charlemagne revival of learning.<sup>90</sup> From the eleventh century onward, some cathedral schools became noted centers of learning, many in Northern France attracting students from many lands. Such schools as those of Chartres, Laon, and Paris became very famous.<sup>91</sup> From the ninth century onward, the *magister scholarum* of a cathedral ranked next after the bishop and the dean. After 1150, his title became that of chancellor. At first, he taught all subjects, from the 3 R's to theology, but, after the twelfth century, he had assistants to teach the rudiments. He became, in time, diocesan controller of education, licensing all teachers and opening, or approving the opening of, all new schools.

In spite of these cathedral schools, many parish priests, in the early fourteenth century, were uneducated, and some of them were illiterate.<sup>92</sup> A few church councils made apparently futile efforts to remedy this condition.<sup>93</sup>

Poor boys rarely attended cathedral schools. The son of an unemancipated slave could not be ordained, and few of servile birth ever rose above the status of personal servants in the bishop's house or above the rank of those in "minor orders."<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 389; J. Shotwell and L. Loomis, *op. cit.*, 78, 87-89, 93.

<sup>90</sup> M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 33.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>92</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 200-203.

<sup>93</sup> H. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 262; M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 151-152.

<sup>94</sup> M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 32-33.

(3) *Collegiate Church Schools*. More important, from the twelfth century, than cathedral schools were those of large endowed churches, administered by "colleges" of clergy, not by bishops, and known as collegiate churches. These secular priests lived a community life. A grammar school was apparently attached to every such church. These schools were popular with the élite who aimed at securing higher church positions.

The Third Lateran Council (1179) recommended that in these, and in cathedral schools, gratuitous instruction be provided for "clerks" and "other poor scholars," an apparently unusual practice at that time.

In schools (2) and (3) there were always a few lay students with a lay purpose, but their number increased after 1100 A.D., when other schools were established in dioceses to meet an increasing lay demand. This development led to the emergence of the chancellor as diocesan controller of education.

(4) *Monastic Schools*. More important, before the eleventh century, and thereafter less important, than the cathedrals as intellectual centers were the monasteries. They were established as spiritual refuges, but moral and religious needs made them educational agencies. Generally, outside of the British Isles, the standard of intellectual education in monasteries was very low until the Charlemagne renaissance. Had it not been for the Benedictine and other "rules," monasteries might have become intellectual wildernesses. In spite of "rules" requiring reading, the light of learning had almost gone out in Continental monasteries by the time of Charlemagne, as that monarch's capitularies show. True it is that they had their *scriptoria* and scribes, and prepared manuscripts for reading purposes, but formal schooling they neglected. As a result of Charlemagne's commands to abbots, Continental monastic schools were greatly improved. The seed of the revival was brought from Ireland, directly through Erigena and others, and indirectly through Alcuin. There came a second decline after Charlemagne's death, due largely to the invasion of Northmen, which was followed by a period of renewed intellectual activity after the year 1000.

Church councils sometimes restricted the intellectual ambitions of monks. The Council of Buda (1279), for instance, imposed excommunication upon monks for attending schools, apparently non-monastic, without a license, or for learning in such schools any subject except grammar, logic, and theology.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> H. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 3 ff., 47 ff., 258, 264; R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 12 ff.; B. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, 257-268, 291-305.



There were two types of monastic schools: (a) that for *oblati*, or those entering monastic life, and (b) that for *externi*, or children of the neighborhood, who did not intend to become monks. All monasteries had the former; only exceptional ones, the latter, which were conducted outside of the monastic enclosure. A few wealthy boys, designed for the secular priesthood, occasionally attended the schools for *oblati*, as boarders.<sup>96</sup> We read of abbots who provided instruction in handicrafts for orphans of monastic serfs, and of other abbots who fined their peasants for sending their sons to school.<sup>97</sup>

The *oblati* paid no tuition fees, although their parents often made gifts to the monks. In case of the *externi*, fees seem to have been seldom charged, but gifts, sometimes large, were not refused.

Usually at the age of six or seven, boys entered monastic and cathedral schools where they received elementary, secondary, and theological training. The length of the courses varied from time to time and from school to school.

(5) *Other Ecclesiastical Schools: a. Song Schools.* Music, particularly singing, was widely cultivated in mediaeval times. Pope Gregory the Great forbade the conferring of orders upon boys or men who could not sing. Other churchmen were of the same mind. In connection with cathedrals and collegiate churches, song schools were established, which were attended apparently only by poor boys who were given free board and free instruction in singing, reading and writing Latin, and, sometimes, in arithmetic, in return for their services in the church choir. Some of these boys were later advanced to the grammar and theological courses and became rural priests. In time non-choir boys were admitted to the song schools, but these paid fees. In the fourteenth century, similar schools, called Almonry Schools, were established in English monasteries.

*b. Chantry Schools.* Members of the lesser aristocracy sometimes endowed a chapel and one or two priests to chant prayers and masses for the donors' souls. These priests were often required, by the terms of the bequest, to keep a grammar school for the gratuitous instruction of all boys seeking admission. These schools appeared late in the period and were confined mostly to England.

*c. Stipendary Schools.* These were founded and supported in the same general way, and for the same purpose, as the chantry schools. They originated late in the period, and flourished mostly in England. They seem to have been essentially elementary in character.

<sup>96</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 180-181; M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 131-132.

<sup>97</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 78-79, 184.

*d. Morrow Mass Schools.* An occasional endowment was created for the purpose of providing masses to be attended by laborers in the early morning hours. Among the duties assigned to the priests thus supported were the improvement of roads and the keeping of grammar schools. These schools, too, were of later origin.

*e. Hospital Schools.* In connection with almshouses, then called hospitals, were schools for poor children.

Because of the charitable nature of the bequests which supported some of these schools they attracted mainly poor children. Sons of the aristocracy and boys preparing for the priesthood went, as a rule, to cathedral and collegiate-church schools, where they could receive better instruction in the liberal arts and could also pursue a theological course.

*f. Parish Schools.* In parishes, outside of episcopal towns, it seems that few priests, if any, provided any formal literary schools prior to Charlemagne's time. He, as we saw, ordered the establishment of such schools, and some were then established. Individual bishops occasionally ordered parish priests to provide instruction in singing, church doctrines, and morals. In 1257, a papal representative authorized the priests of Breslau to establish a parish school in which Latin grammar was to be taught,<sup>98</sup> but few mediaeval parishes had such a school. Episcopal admonitions are proof that many parish priests failed to provide schooling for children.

(B) SCHOOLS UNDER LAY-ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROL.—While the church was the supreme controller of education, it gradually permitted some forms of lay participation in that control, and there were some schools in the later Middle Ages which were largely under lay control. The church, however, licensed all teachers and passed on the orthodoxy of their ideas. The chancellor in each diocese performed that function. Through the jurisdiction exercised by ecclesiastical courts over wills, the church had exclusive control over schools so founded. Schools supported by the laity, otherwise than by endowments by deceased donors, were largely under lay control. Examples of such schools are:

(1) *Gild Schools.* Merchant and artisan guilds often endowed a priest to pray for the souls of deceased members, and sometimes imposed upon him the duty of providing schooling for the children of gild members.

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<sup>98</sup> L. F. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 9-10.

(2) *Private Collegiate Schools*. Great noblemen often supported a college, or group, of priests in their private churches, or chapels, and required them to provide a grammar school for noblemen's sons and for boys intending to become priests.

It should be noted that, while the laity had much to say about the conduct of these schools, the church, through its priest-teachers, controlled the instructional process and the moulding of minds.

(C) LAY SCHOOLS CONTROLLED BY THE LAITY.—(1) *Lay Grammar Schools*. Such schools never entirely disappeared from Italy. Theology did not make so strong an appeal close to a degraded papacy as it did in northern Europe. In Italy, "lay philosophers" conducted schools attended by both clerical and lay students. These schools were not professional, and churchmen considered them pagan. In 1051, Wippo of Burgundia exhorted Henry III to introduce the Italian lay system into Germany where only ecclesiastical students attended school.<sup>99</sup> In Ireland, also, there were lay schools, teaching history, poetry, and law.<sup>100</sup> Such schools, though few, represent the survival of Roman rhetorical and secular education.

(2) *Royal Schools*. The Palace School of Charlemagne's court was lay and secular in purpose, and one of its most famous teachers, John Scotus Erigena, may have been a layman. In Aquitaine, there was a group of "royal schools."<sup>101</sup> King Sigebert, of East Angles, in England, established a royal school about 700 A.D., as did Alfred the Great later.<sup>102</sup> The teachers in English royal schools were priests, but the church exercised little control over schools supported by royalty.

(3) *Schools of Chivalry*. Sons of feudal noblemen attended castle schools to be trained socially and practically for noble life. Only a modicum of literary education was provided for them. Chivalry was the established way of life of the nobility, and boys learned that way in youth through formal schooling, although chivalric life was itself an education. A noble boy, under the age of seven, was taught by his mother. Thereafter, he became a page in the castle of his father's overlord, where he was under the supervision of the ladies of the castle until his fourteenth year. They taught him the rules of love, the proprieties of personal service and family duties. These Dames also taught him morals and chivalric virtues, while men taught him

<sup>99</sup> R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 81 ff.; M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 209-210.

<sup>100</sup> B. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, 341.

<sup>101</sup> R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 29.

<sup>102</sup> E. P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, Boston: Ginn, 1908, 52-53, 63-69; F. Ogg, *op. cit.*, 235-239.



running, riding, wrestling, the use of toy weapons, and how to dress his lord for battle. Between the ages of fourteen and twenty he was a squire, and was instructed by men only, who taught him the rules of dress, cleanliness, and general etiquette, but, above all, the arts of warfare. He was required to engage in a variety of physical exercises and sports. Music, parlor games, and the recitation of poetry were taught him so that he might be a *persona grata*, particularly to the ladies. He was also required to perform many personal services as a part of his education. Reading, writing, and a little Latin and French were taught him. While the nobles were far from eminent in letters, they were patrons of vernacular literatures, when the church neglected them. This whole scheme of knightly education was lay and secular.<sup>103</sup>

(4) *Private Writing and Reckoning Schools.* To answer the growing demand for penmen and bookkeepers in business and civil administration, after the eleventh century, professional lay scribes and bookkeepers opened schools in the cities.

(5) *Burgher Vernacular Schools.* The rise of burgher schools was the result of needs growing out of increasing commercial activity. Church and private writing and reckoning schools failed to meet that need adequately. Church schools neglected vernaculars in favor of Latin. Some attention was given to vernaculars in guild schools, though taught by priests, and private masters seem to have used the vernacular exclusively, such practices marking a transition from the church Latin schools to the vernacular burgher schools. Church chancellors claimed the right to inspect burgher schools, but cities were not friendly to church control of education.<sup>104</sup>

The burgher schools were definitely secular and utilitarian in purpose. They recognized the needs of commerce and of men in a commercial world. Thomas More, Bacon, and others were soon to give eloquent voice to the utilitarian educational philosophy. The public vernacular school of today is the child of the later mediaeval cities, not of the Reformation, as often stated. It originated as a school of an urban middle class. Only about one-tenth of the people in these cities were burghers, or full citizens, and the city school served this class only. Luther merely advocated the rights of the masses to a form of education long enjoyed by burghers. The Reformation was, however, an influential factor in the spread of such schools. Burgher schools stressed practical training in the vernacular and arithmetic. They

<sup>103</sup> F. W. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 47-83; W. S. Davis, *Life on a Mediaeval Barony*, 123-124, 176-187, 200-205; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, 239-265.

<sup>104</sup> James H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 501.

were not concerned with arithmetic as a liberal art, but as a useful instrument. Church schools, of necessity, taught reading and writing in Latin, and the fundamentals of arithmetic, though most of them presupposed that entering students possessed such knowledge. Practical arithmetic, professional schools treated as an accomplishment of artisans and slaves to be learned on the job, but apprenticeship training could not meet efficiently the urgent needs of growing industry and commerce. A new type of non-professional leadership was necessary in the changing world, and its educational needs were technical and practical.

The closing Middle Ages thus saw the gradual disintegration of church control of education, and the beginnings of the lay public school, which today has largely superseded the religious school of Christendom.

**Mediaeval Physical Education.**—Roman, unlike Greek, schools neglected the education of the body, and the Roman tradition, surviving in Christian schools, was strengthened by Christian asceticism. The schools of chivalry were the only mediaeval schools that provided physical education. War was the business of the knights, all trained in these schools, who, in peace times, turned their war activities into such sports as the joust, tournament, and duel.

Largely from the sports of the nobility, popular sports arose, but the church frowned on such physical delights of common people. Dancing, the church denounced as satanical, but the people danced.<sup>105</sup> Wrestling, popular spectacles, and common men's feats of strength were also denounced.<sup>106</sup> Ecclesiastics outlawed the ball games of peasants but not the sports of the nobility. Village football was a fairly common peasant sport in the fourteenth century, but it had not yet invaded the schools.<sup>107</sup> Royalty, too, forbade tennis, football, and other games to boys because these killed an interest in archery and shooting. Priests, sometimes, set a bad example by playing games of dice and quoits.<sup>108</sup> The interest of the peasants and nobility in physical diversions probably never entirely disappeared, even in the most ascetical centuries.

**Extent of Popular Education in the Middle Ages.**—In spite of the seeming variety and number of schools in mediaeval Europe, the masses were illiterate. Mediaeval Europe had no school system or

<sup>105</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 559 ff.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 561–562.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 93–95, 480 ff., 561–562.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 480–481; G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, I, 79–82.

compulsory education. The ecclesiastical and feudal nobility viewed the servile condition of laborers as a reflection of God's will, a fact which creates a strong presumption against the literacy of the peasantry. Favorable decrees of church councils and bishops prove little with regard to actual practices, for good intentions and practices were far apart in the Middle Ages. Peasants sinned shockingly in spite of the most solemn prohibitions of God and the church.<sup>109</sup> Of the Bible, the mass, and other religious matters the masses, excepting an occasional heretic, knew practically nothing. Indeed, many of the clergy did not know the meaning of the ritual and prayers they themselves recited. The enlightenment of a nearly primitive peasantry was not easy, and churchmen knew that knowledge brought unbelief. But some priests spent time in "excommunicating caterpillars" and driving away evil spirits which might have been more profitably used in dispelling ignorance.<sup>110</sup> The church did much, but it might have done much more. Secular rulers and nobles were often greater enemies of popular enlightenment than churchmen. Rulers such as Charlemagne and Alfred the Great were exceptionally progressive, but their efforts bore little fruit.

The peasant-laborer group comprised probably 90 per cent of the European population. God must, indeed, have loved them because he made so many of them. Under feudalism they lived in little villages; never wandered far from home; knew few outsiders; had no reading matter; and felt no need for even a knowledge of the alphabet. The church was their school, and local gossip the core of its curriculum. Their lives were spent in almost unceasing labor. When the lord's tax-collectors were humane, they burned holy candles. An occasional bright peasant boy, guided by a local priest, found his way into the priesthood, and peasants spoke in wonderment of any such boy who ever rose to the episcopal rank. Generally, peasants lived and died in filth, poverty, and ignorance.<sup>111</sup> With the rise of cities, the facilities for the education of laborers improved, the improvement being greatest in Italian cities, where the rate of literacy in the fourteenth century was fairly high. In northern European cities, a high rate of illiteracy seems to have continued.<sup>112</sup>

**Women's Education.** (a) **NUNNERY SCHOOLS.**—With the adoption of Christianity by the Roman aristocracy, many noblewomen

<sup>109</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 561-562.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 265-266, 268.

<sup>111</sup> W. S. Davis, *op. cit.*, 253-273.

<sup>112</sup> James W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 457-458; James W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, University of California Press, 1939.



entered the cloister, carrying with them, no doubt, their literary interests. St. Jerome and other Church Fathers corresponded with educated women, and showed no particular prejudice against a literary education for them.<sup>113</sup> From the sixth century onward, this liberal tradition was adversely affected by the same influences which checked the progress of men's education. The "rules" for nunneries usually required nuns to read. Nuns, too, wrote and copied manuscripts, as did monks, but their need for literary training was not urgent since they had no priestly functions to perform. The seemingly universal silence regarding the study of the liberal arts by nuns creates a strong presumption against their pursuit of such learning. Instruction in reading and writing was probably provided in nunneries for girls who had not received such education at home prior to their entering the cloister. In nunneries, however, the stress was placed upon moral and religious instruction. Sewing, weaving, and other forms of manual work were taught, probably to all girls, although nuns of aristocratic birth had often their own private maids and did not engage in manual occupations.<sup>114</sup> Some groups, as the twelfth century Austin canonesses, were forbidden by their "rules" to teach, so that they might give all their time to manual work and prayer.<sup>115</sup> Many nunneries, however, seem to have kept schools not only for their own *oblats* but for those daughters of the nobility who were not privately educated at home.

(b) CASTLE SCHOOLS.—Girls of noble birth were often taught by private tutors, male and female, in their castles. While stress was placed, in home schools, upon polite manners and religious and moral conduct, bookish learning was not neglected, and many noblewomen had a reading and writing knowledge of Latin and French, and an acquaintance with arithmetic and astronomy. Ladies of the castles nursed wounded knights, and instruction in the properties of herbs and practical nursing was provided informally for girls of the nobility. Noblewomen instructed their daughters in all matters pertaining to housekeeping and in the duties of wives of noblemen. Nor was the physical training of such girls neglected, for they participated freely in the sports of the aristocracy, riding, hunting, hawking, etc.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> T. Haarhoff, *op. cit.*, 205-209.

<sup>114</sup> A. C. Flick, *The Decline of the Mediaeval Church*. London: Keegan Paul & Co., 1930, 121.

<sup>115</sup> M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 218-219.

<sup>116</sup> E. Prestage, *op. cit.*, 186-198; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 209-210; W. S. Davis, *op. cit.*, 51-64, 70-86.

(c) **MEDICAL SCHOOLS.**—The instruction of women in medicine, surgery, midwifery, and nursing at Salerno, Italy, earlier referred to, was apparently confined to this one center. Strangely, this practice does not seem to have met with church opposition. While nuns in almshouses, feudal ladies, and peasant women had nursing duties to perform, there existed neither a specially trained nursing profession nor formal schools of nursing. The Salerno school was exceptional.

(d) **NEGLECT OF SCHOOLING FOR WOMEN.**—Outside of nunneries and castles, mediaeval women were almost universally illiterate. Most women in the lower walks of life acquired the moral and religious habits of society, and their practical training in household and motherly duties, by informal participation in the activities of their own homes and of their own class. Formal educational opportunities for boys were very limited; those for girls, far more limited still.

**Support and Control of Education.**—A variety of forms of support existed. While monastic and cathedral schools were supported, in part, out of monastic and episcopal revenues, some students paid fees or made gifts to the institutions. *Oblati* in monasteries and poor students in cathedral schools seem to have been taught gratuitously. Some later schools, as we have seen, were privately endowed, for the benefit of the poor. Generally, mediaeval schools were supported by church revenues or by private philanthropy, but such support, being insufficient, was supplemented, as a fairly general practice, by fees, imposed according to the means of parents, only a few very poor being instructed gratuitously. The burghers provided the burgher school buildings, and the masters, in them, were supported by tuition fees.<sup>117</sup>

The dominating agency of educational control was the church, each bishop exercising that function through his chancellor, who licensed teachers and determined whether a locality needed a school or not. Control was thus, largely, diocesan, and each chancellor claimed the right to supervise all schools in his area. The pope exercised a special control over lay educational activities, and cities had to pay fees to the papacy for the privilege of establishing or transferring schools, as had laymen for the privilege of attending university lectures on law or physics.<sup>118</sup> Lay schools, when established, came under the jurisdiction of the chancellor.

<sup>117</sup> L. F. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 164.

<sup>118</sup> A. C. Flick, *The Decline of the Mediaeval Church*, 120–122.

Charlemagne alone attempted to establish a state system of education, but the idea of state control survived. Thomas Aquinas, influenced by Aristotle, advocated such a practice, and was a forerunner of Luther in this regard.<sup>119</sup>

**Teachers.**—Although lay teachers were tolerated, the preacher was officially the teacher prior to the Reformation. The most learned among the clergy taught the liberal arts. The rudiments were taught apparently by the junior clergy, or by priests not distinguished for their attainments. Wandering students, in university times, were sometimes employed as assistant teachers. Burgher schoolmasters had to pay the wages of their assistants out of meager incomes and they sometimes employed men of low character and little learning. With an awakening desire for learning among the poor, despicable men often opened schools in hovels and workshops for laborers' children, and the feeling grew among the masses that anyone with a knowledge of the 3 R's was qualified to keep school. Under the Roman and mediaeval systems the common people accepted degradation and ignorance as their lot. The priests who, as teachers of the 3 R's, preceded the lay vagabond teachers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were often nearly illiterate. The Middle Ages contributed nothing significant to the development and acceptance of the idea that the poor have a right to the services of a good teacher.

**Mediaeval Universities.** (a) **ORIGIN.**—There were universities in the Graeco-Roman world, but, in administration, organization, curricula, and degrees, mediaeval universities are the lineal ancestors of our modern institutions. The earliest mediaeval universities, such as Oxford and Paris, were not legally "founded" but grew up, without planning by anyone, as a result of an expansion chiefly of cathedral schools, some of which became so famous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that they attracted lay-minded students to their courses in Roman law, canon law, Aristotelian philosophy, and medicine, now added here and there to the old seven liberal arts. Great teachers, such as Abelard at Paris, attracted many foreign students. A revived interest in learning brought students from distant lands to these schools, and thus arose *studia generalia*, or schools enrolling students from different nations. Within these, the students or teachers organized themselves into a gild, called, as were all corporations then, a *universitas*. By the fifteenth century, however, the terms *universitas* and *studium generale* had become synonymous. Some universities

<sup>119</sup> R. L. Poole, *op. cit.*, 245-246; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 199-201; M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 211-213.



were of students, as was Bologna, and some were of masters, as was Paris.

(b) CAUSES.—Back of the rise of the new institutions were (1) an intellectual awakening, a result, largely, of the realist-nominalist controversy and the contact of Europeans with Moslem and Greek scholars; (2) the rise of cities and the burgher class interested in the commercial aspects of a student population, as well as in some forms of worldly learning, which universities promoted; (3) inadequacy of the old schools to meet the needs of a changing world; and (4) dissatisfaction with the old intellectual outlook and leadership. All factors, earlier enumerated, which helped to destroy the mediaeval mind, stimulated the rise of universities. A special interest in law, medicine, philosophy, or theology contributed to the rise of individual institutions.

(c) GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—The earliest universities were marked by: (1) spontaneity of association between students and teachers, intellectual interest usually bringing both together, though cupidity soon appears to have become the leading motive; (2) poverty, the teachers, as a rule, and many of the students being poor; (3) laicity, the teachers frequently being really laymen, although holding usually the very minor order of tonsure and many, if not most, students being attracted to lay professions;<sup>120</sup> (4) democracy, no interested student, able to pay the master's small fee and having some knowledge of Latin, the medium of instruction, being excluded; (5) the lack of standardization, at first, in such matters as entrance requirements, courses, degrees, the essentials of a *studium generale* being long undefined, or but vaguely defined; and (6) freedom from church and state control, although both of these soon had designs upon universities, and sought to control them, by their right to charter them, and by the gifts and privileges they lavished upon them. In time, only institutions chartered by the Holy Roman emperor, or the pope, could confer upon graduates the privilege of the *jus ubique docendi*, or right to teach anywhere. Kings, having merely local jurisdiction, could not confer that privilege. In time the papal charter became the most desired.

(d) PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO UNIVERSITIES.—Certain privileges were conferred upon them by their charters, the idea finally being accepted that pope, emperor, and king had a right to grant the charters. Among these were: (1) the freedom of wandering teachers

<sup>120</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation*, 202.

and students, and their messengers, from molestation, as they traveled between universities, and the protection of their persons from violence; (2) the right of student debtors or criminals to trial by special university courts, a privilege which made the university largely independent of church and state; (3) *cessatio* (suspension of lectures), actually the right of a university, or a part of it, for cause, to secede from the parent institution or location; (4) the right of graduates to teach, a degree being a teacher's certificate; (5) freedom from taxes upon personal property of teachers or students; and (6) freedom of teachers and students from military service. Some of these privileges had been enjoyed by the clergy since the days of early Christian Roman emperors.

(e) ORGANIZATION.—Our early universities were international, and students, and often teachers, were grouped into "nations" according to the land of their birth. Not all nations were represented in any one university. The "proctor" was the elected representative of the "nation." Teachers were divided into "faculties," those of theology, canon law, medicine, and civil law being "superior," and that of the liberal arts being "inferior." Not all universities had all of these faculties. The "dean" headed each faculty. In the organization, the chancellor represented the church. At the head stood the "rector," an elected officer, who was sometimes a student and sometimes a teacher. He was often a foreigner, and usually held office for about one year. All these officers emerged gradually, and existed in every university by 1375.

(f) PURPOSE.—The universities prepared men for the professions of law, medicine, theology, and university teaching. The "arts" course prepared the "arts" teachers, and was a prerequisite for admission to courses offered by the "superior" faculties.

(g) CURRICULUM.—Keeping in mind variations based upon time and institutional peculiarities, the studies were as follows: The arts course, an Aristotelian enrichment of the mediaeval seven liberal arts, was basic, and included grammar, philosophy, logic, rhetoric (largely *dictamen*), metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy, and mathematics. Natural philosophy covered such fields as physics, astronomy, zoology, botany, and psychology, all based upon Aristotle, whose authority was viewed as final. The ancient classics are absent. The arts course varied in length from four to seven years, the student assisting his master during the last few years. Successful completion of the course entitled the student to a master's degree. Thereafter,

he might become a university teacher, if he could find students, though faculties in time subjected him to further tests of his qualifications; a priest, if he could find a bishop to adopt him; a civil servant, if he could find such employment; or he could proceed to a study of civil law, canon law, medicine, or theology, the course in theology, often in charge of the new mendicant monks, being the longest and requiring about eight years for the highest theological degree, the doctorate of divinity. Few students were enrolled in the theological course. Most priests, however, were not university graduates, but cathedral school graduates.

The courses in law and medicine, leading to their appropriate degrees, were usually five- to eight-year courses. A fairly extensive knowledge of civil law was a prerequisite to the study of canon law, which prepared men for administrative positions in the church, and which was a popular course with ambitious young men. It was mainly through their work in civil law that the universities, though international, became defenders of the rights of national states against the claims of the papacy to be the supreme arbiter of the affairs of men. The decline of church jurisdiction over civil affairs coincided with this rebirth of interest in civil law. Rhetorical composition and, apparently, *dictamen* were stressed in the civil law course, which was based on Roman law.

In medicine, Galen was almost as authoritative as Aristotle was in philosophy. The course was a book course. Then, the best physicians, at bedsides of patients, recited learnedly in Greek and Latin the views of Galen, or Hippocrates, or of some of their Arabic commentators, and considered their obligations discharged. The influence of surgeons, long despised by medical faculties, brought, in the fifteenth century, a more practical approach to the study of diseases.<sup>121</sup> The Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers were thus being replaced as the intellectual food of many would-be scholars.

(h) METHOD AND DISCIPLINE.—There was keen rivalry between teachers, because students could select one of many, and paid their fees, the teacher's sole income, directly to them. All teachers, however, used the methods of lecture, dictation, and disputation, syllogistic argumentation settling issues even in medicine and law. Books were few, and students relied much on class notes, which they memorized. Basic dependence upon the few existing texts marked method everywhere. These methods became very formal, and many students spent their class time in hatching nefarious schemes. Examination

<sup>121</sup> T. C. Allbutt, *op. cit.*, 486-487.



questions for degree candidates were often taken from only one of the prescribed books in a course, and students committed whole books to memory. A lucky student might know only one book and get his degree, if the chancellor or professor happened to examine him on that solitary book. A reliance upon books marked all university teaching with the exception of anatomy and surgery, in which experiments on animals were occasionally used.

Mediaeval university students were not angels, as the "rules" show, but they were forced to live, after the fashion of monks, under close supervision and rigorous discipline. Imprisonment, rustication, and expulsion were the penalties for such crimes as stealing, entering a college through windows after the gates had been closed, witchcraft, forgery, wearing daggers, and taking women inside the gates. They were forbidden to keep dogs, monkeys, bears, etc., to play dice, or to visit taverns and theatres. After 1400 A.D., they were frequently flogged for crimes and pranks.<sup>122</sup>

(i) SUPPORT AND CONTROL.—The first universities had no buildings, or costly equipment, and their popular teachers lectured in the fields or in churchyards. These teachers were supported by meager tuition fees. The fee system continued even after salaries had been introduced. Rich students, with their servants, rented houses; poor ones lived in sheds, attics, or any available shelter. For these poorer students, charitable persons erected hospices or halls, our first university buildings, these becoming, in time, university colleges. In these hospices, older boys began to tutor younger boys, and soon masters rented rooms in them and began to teach there. Philanthropy was thus one of the oldest sources of university support. Emperors, kings, nobles, and churchmen were among the earliest philanthropists. Others made gifts of manuscripts to the institutions, and libraries arose in them, but very slowly. But the main source of support, from the first, was the fees paid by students. These fees were paid directly to the teachers. It is probable that some teachers exempted an occasional student from fees, but that occurrence was, no doubt, rare. The fees, in time fixed by statute, were small and varied with the subject taught.<sup>123</sup> An extraordinary and heavy expense was incurred by a student at the time when he received his degree, when it was customary for him to provide a costly banquet for his teachers and fellow students. The poor had to ignore the custom and suffer the consequent opprobrium.

<sup>122</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 56-57, 75-76.

<sup>123</sup> E. P. Cheyney, *op. cit.*, 189.

The control of the earlier universities was vested either in the students or in the masters. Neither church, nor state, nor trustees dominated them. In time, however, they lost this earlier freedom, and passed under the control of either the church or the state. In theory and, to a marked degree, in practice, teachers and students enjoyed academic freedom, and at times showed themselves resentful of any interference with that freedom. Teachers expounded both "orthodox" and "unorthodox" views on questions of philosophy and theology, and nominalist professors were no less popular with students than were the realist professors. Chancellors, and sometimes colleagues, became heresy hunters occasionally, but it was not easy to detect the thread of heresy in the web of subtle dialectical argumentation woven by professors who seldom were heretics at heart. European university tradition has been one of freedom of investigation and discussion, a freedom which reactionary forces have frequently threatened or destroyed.

(j) EXAMINATIONS AND DEGREES.—When a student, as any mediaeval gild craftsman, had produced his masterpiece, he was inducted, by formal ceremony, into the gild of scholars. The degree of this master craftsman in learning came to be called the Master's or Doctor's degree. The titles were used interchangeably. At first, there was no Bachelor's degree. It arose out of the practice of permitting advanced students to give "extraordinary" lectures on the *Organon* for a few years prior to their graduation. Such a lecturer was called a bachelor, or young man, a title long borne by younger knights in the service of older ones. In time, a formal examination was set up to test candidates for such lectureships, and soon a degree, the Bachelor's degree, was conferred upon those who passed. A few years from the beginning of his lectureship the student was ready to receive his Master's degree, provided he demonstrated his ability to defend his thesis in a private and a public examination, the latter usually held in the cathedral church, after which he was ceremoniously capped with the Master's biretta and applauded by jubilant friends to whom he was expected to give a feast. Thereafter, he had a right to wear the formal robes of a master, as previously he wore the ordinary clerical dress of a student.

(k) STUDENTS AND STUDENT LIFE.—University students were a motley group of old and young, rich and poor, studious and indolent, orderly and disorderly. St. Nicholas was the patron saint of them all. Charitable persons gave work and gifts to poor ones, not a few of whom lived by begging from door to door. Aimless ones drifted

from school to school and from teacher to teacher. Organized gangs of wandering students roamed between universities, begging and stealing as they went, until, finally, their vagabondage brought reprobation and outlawry upon their heads. Europe was restless in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and many types of *vagi* were abroad, of which student *vagantes* were but one.<sup>124</sup>

Of those enrolled in universities, we hear more of the disorderly than of the orderly ones. Extravagant ones incurred debts and bedeviled their fathers with heartrending stories of their financial miseries. Some of them exhausted the whole gamut of mediaeval vices. Many carried weapons; wounded one another frequently; and often made violent attacks upon townspeople and their property. Their vices provided preachers with material for many a blood-and-thunder outpouring. But preachers denounced, also, the thirst of students and masters for worldly learning and emoluments. Congregations were told of conceited masters whom God struck dumb, and of dead students who returned to warn teachers that their pursuit of worldly wisdom might lead to damnation.<sup>125</sup>

Yet, in spite of what preachers said, youths, in great numbers, were attracted to academic life. There was a glamour about it which made them reluctant to quit it. At Paris, only those who attended master's lectures twice a week, or oftener, were considered students and entitled to university privileges. Some influential ones, holding church benefices, settled in the university towns, especially in Paris, as non-resident students, a practice which led to many abuses.

University education was a male privilege, and women were frequently forbidden to enter the grounds, even as visitors.

The practice of hazing a freshman, then called a *beanus*, or greenhorn, was well established in the fifteenth century. This "beast" had to be properly tamed before he could be accepted into university society, and the older students tamed him well in many a ridiculous but, no doubt, impressive ceremonial, in which the rector often played a part. For a glimpse into the life of students, one will find Seybolt's translation of the *Manuale Scholarum* (1481) both interesting and instructive.<sup>126</sup>

(1) MERITS AND DEFECTS.—The universities embodied a more liberal attitude toward new knowledge than did the cathedral and

<sup>124</sup> H. Waddell, *op. cit.*; G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, II, 119-120.

<sup>125</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 49-50.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-22, 29, 31, 48-49, 53, 57-60, 63 ff., 90-91; G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, II, 119-120; III, 113-147; E. P. Cheyney, *op. cit.*, 191-192.



monastic schools. Yet, they could not free themselves from the shackles of traditional learning and scholasticism. However, in the greater freedom of discussion of any subject which masters and students enjoyed, particularly in Germany, the universities mark an era in man's intellectual progress. When the new Aristotelian intellectualism became institutionalized in them, they themselves became conservative and antagonistic, in turn, to the humanities and the sciences, particularly to the latter. Their curriculum was, on the whole, narrow, and their methods of presenting truth, or what passed for it, became highly formalized. To the discovery of scientific methods of accumulating knowledge, they contributed practically nothing. Yet, the professors, by their courageous defense of truth, as they saw it, did much to stimulate a desire for truth among educated people in an age of widespread popular ignorance. The influence of the universities in the spread of knowledge and of new ideas was, undoubtedly, great, for they were the first centers of the book trade, and their teachers and students traveled widely. Not only were they centers of intellectual leadership, but they contributed much, either directly or indirectly, to such developments as the growth of nationalism and the reform of the church. The universities of Oxford, Prague, and Wittenberg, for instance, launched damaging attacks upon the papacy, ecclesiastical corruption, and even upon dogmas. Movements for political, religious, and moral reform were strongly supported by the universities.

#### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. Since Christianity was a divine movement, it had no natural causes.
2. Since men are still close to their cave days, and are basically animals in their nature, religious ideals have had, and still have, but little effect upon their minds and conduct.
3. We shall never have the better world until men live by the basic ideals of early Christianity.
4. Christianity, even Christianity against the world, was changed by the world and became worldly.
5. Institutionalized Christianity helped to perpetuate social injustices.
6. There are sharp and significant contrasts between the mediaeval and modern mind, and the historian knows definitely how those contrasts developed.
7. In our unquestioning respect for scientific method, we may be as much in error as those who accepted the Thomistic method of discovery.

8. From the fall of the Western Roman empire until the Renaissance nothing of notable intellectual or educational significance occurred in Western Christendom.

9. The freedom enjoyed by the laity in education attests the liberalism of the mediaeval church.

10. The basic purpose in mediaeval education was the perpetuation of the ecclesiastical system through the moulding of loyal subjects of the church.

11. The so-called liberal education of mediaeval times was not liberal.

12. There are no significant differences between the universities of the thirteenth century and those of the present day.

13. Methods of teaching in mediaeval schools were in keeping with the authoritarian character of mediaeval society.

14. The world would be better if we returned to the social and educational practices of the Middle Ages.

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PART II

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE FROM THE  
RENAISSANCE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



## Chapter 7

### SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE COMMERCIAL TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

**Transition to Modern Times.**—Social changes being gradual and continuous, it is not possible to assign exact dates to the opening and closing of the Middle Ages. Significant changes were occurring in Christendom from the tenth century onward, and evidences of the decline of mediaevalism accumulated rapidly in the twelfth and following centuries. The "Commercial Revolution" and the rise of the bourgeoisie, the emergence of modern nations, the humanistic literary revival, the Reformation, and the scientific movement show the paths of progress along which society was traveling. These closely inter-related movements were but so many phases of change in a society emancipating itself from the traditions of mediaeval Christendom. On the economic side, the Industrial Revolution, and on the political side, the American and French revolutions represent a culmination of these earlier tendencies—the end and the beginning of an era.

**Economic Change.**—The five centuries prior to the French Revolution were marked by great commercial and industrial activity. When they opened, the Commercial Revolution was well advanced, and cities were thriving along the trade routes of Europe. Italian cities, because of the geographical location of Italy, and because of the Crusades and Eastern trade, were the first to rise to wealth and power. North of the Alps, the tide of commerce soon flowed rapidly. Great wealth, of a new form, resulted from industry and foreign and domestic trade. Agriculture ceased to be an exclusive basis of wealth, and its decline in importance increased progressively. Yet farmers shared in the growing prosperity, for the cities were good markets for their produce. Political and geographical developments added impetus to the expansion of commerce.

Aided by the bourgeoisie, there emerged powerful states with central governments able and willing to regulate commerce in the interest of industrial and commercial magnates. Kings protected commerce, and merchants supplied the kings with money needed to wage their wars and increase their power. Commercial and then



cultural leadership passed to such nations as France, Spain, and England where national unity was first attained. When trade supremacy passed from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, cultural leadership passed with it. England, Holland, and America succeeded Italy and Spain, first in commercial and then in cultural greatness. Commerce had now ceased to be urban; it had become national, and culture was eventually to follow a similar course.

Geographical discoveries, such as those of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, made possible by the invention of the compass, scientific cartography, and improvements in shipbuilding, widened the market; and trading companies, encouraged by governments, undertook the exploitation of new lands. While some European settlers came to the American colonies "for conscience sake," the political rivalries of the Old World and a thirst for profit inspired the capital investment which made colonization possible. Colonial America, nurtured by cupidity, was but an expansion of Europe. The thirst for gold heightened nationalistic feeling and international distrust.

The change from an urban to a national and then to an international economy was accompanied by the growth of the economic system of capitalism. Money was scarce and little used under feudalism, although the church and some individuals held vast amounts of movable treasures, an idle wealth which commerce set in motion. Mediaeval economy was a natural economy, and barter was the usual means of commodity exchange. Commerce demanded a money economy; and international commerce, requiring foreign commercial exchanges, produced the international capitalism and banking operations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Men of financial wealth turned to money lending, and great banking houses arose, always ready to lend money at interest to merchants, kings, or popes. Money thus became itself a commodity and was traded in for private gain. Industry, once controlled by guilds, passed under the control of capitalists; and commerce, once in the hands of individual merchants, tended to pass into the hands of joint-stock companies, like the German Hansa and the Merchant Adventurers of England. Fabulous wealth was thus often accumulated by men who neither produced nor marketed anything. Commerce was separated from industry, and financial magnates acquired a grip upon both of them. Graeco-Roman statesmen considered great private businesses and purely mercenary enterprises inimical to the state, and the mediaeval church inherited that prejudice, as its war on usury shows. However, the bourgeoisie and national governments soon grew tired of ecclesiastical restrictions upon private business, restrictions which

the church, as a public institution, did not consider itself bound to observe. The commercialism of the age did not leave the church untouched. To secure gold to promote its ends, the church seems to have commercialized the favors of God, and stirred up resentment by such methods of raising revenue.

In principle, Catholicism continued to oppose the materialistic tendencies of the changing world, while Protestantism, in many of its forms, promoted the new spirit of commercial enterprise. Franciscan poverty is not a Protestant ideal. Catholic idealism raised the choice of Mary above that of Martha—prayer above toil; Protestant idealism made labor a sacred thing and raised work to the dignity of prayer, thus renouncing the ideal of spiritual contemplation embodied in monasticism. Calvinists, Puritans, and the sects to their left stressed the prudential virtues and attached high ethical values to sobriety, industry, thrift, profit-seeking, prosperity, and judicious honesty. In our time, the profit system, with its encouragement of installment buying, has weakened the ideal of frugality. Thus asceticism came out of the monastery and was implanted in the world. Idleness became a deadly sin, and laborious toil, physical or mental, a safeguard against the temptations of the flesh. The new morality was a bourgeois morality which stressed the virtues that make for success in the economic struggle. The Puritans, for instance, deemed character more important for worldly success than talent. Sports and games they abhorred, for work and business were their greatest pleasure. Such an idealism, while not causal, hastened the secularization of European society. The fact that, as a general rule, agrarianism declined much more rapidly in Protestant than in Catholic countries suggests that an ideal may have a significant influence upon the economic life of a people. American rise to wealth and power has, no doubt, been stimulated by our Puritan tradition. Nor can one avoid the suspicion that our utilitarianism and our philosophical pragmatism have been nurtured partly in that same soil. In keeping with their economic idealism, left-wing Protestant groups were utilitarian in their educational philosophy. Educational dissent followed religious dissent. Catholics, and those Protestants who remained close to the old orthodox position, tended to remain educationally conservative. Educational conformity followed religious conformity.

The economic changes of the time were hastened by inventions. Textile machines, pumps, water-driven saws, magnifying glasses, gun powder, linen paper, the compass, guns and cannon, printing, glass bottles, watches, pendulum clocks, microscopes, telescopes, barometers, air pumps, the steamboat, and the lightning conductor were among

the inventions of the period. Of these, printing, the mother of many later inventions, was the most significant, for it gave wings to thought, made communication of ideas easy, and, eventually, gave power to the powerless by popularizing knowledge which is power. Without it, the intellectual and spiritual revolution which ushered in the modern world would have been long delayed. After printing, in importance, comes the clock. In an industrial world time has a great commercial value, and wasting it is a deadly sin. Once an abstraction, the clock made it concrete. Previously, only serfs and slaves were seriously oppressed by time, but few have since escaped its ravishes. Even the patriarchs have become short-lived. The clock has helped to make the world time-conscious, efficient, and restless. The educational as well as the industrial machine now runs "by the clock."

Thus the Commercial Revolution shook the foundations of the old society and completed the demolition of the mediaeval economic and social structure, with its gild system of production and social organization, its commercially autonomous towns, its meager commerce, and its curb upon individual enterprise. Developing, it released the energy of "personal initiative" which, unrestrained, became a threat to social well-being. Democratic states now restrain it by law; autocratic states, by substituting the initiative of dictatorial government for that of individuals.

Out of this economic change came the social, political, religious, and intellectual changes of the time. The old order did not pass, nor did the new triumph, without a struggle, a continuous cultural or spiritual struggle, at times marked by violence.<sup>1</sup>

**Social Change.** (a) **THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES.**—We have previously noted the rise of the bourgeoisie as a product of the Commercial Revolution and of the cities. As this new class developed, there appeared within it an upper, a middle and a lower stratum, the lower edge comprising the working masses and shading off into a new social element, the proletariat. The Middle Ages had vagabonds and beggars, scattered over wide rural areas. The new "rabble" was a product of gild and capitalistic economies, and it was born in cities. It comprised those in poorhouses, homeless beggars, and very poor folks living under leaking roofs. Below the proletariat stood the slaves, whose number actually increased in the enlightened fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Rome being the largest slave market in the

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 275-301; James W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3-19, 81-125, 224-255, 284-297, 396-429, 462, 487-490, 502-504; G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge University Press, 1931, 328-334; P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, I, 8-10, 376-378.



year 1500. Christians justified the traffic on the ground that the slaves were Mohammedans or heathens, but many of them were Christians. A greedy merchant class promoted the traffic, and Americans were soon importing their cargoes of slaves. The fifteenth century saw all our modern social elements in existence.

Until the French Revolution, the old landed nobility, a self-deemed aristocracy of birth and blood, capped the social structure. At the head of this nobility was the despotical monarch, who claimed to be the state and to rule by divine right. This "divine" luminary had his satellites, the great nobles and church prelates, who radiated his glory. As in mediaeval society, the higher clergy of the right-wing churches ranked with the lay nobility. Below this nobility stood the bourgeoisie, whose upper stratum gradually secured political recognition as the Third Estate, in France, or the Commons, in England. The landed aristocracy, the nobility, still rested on a peasant foundation; the new merchant aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, on a laborer-proletarian foundation.

Between the nobility and the peasantry lay a great gulf. Royalty bestowed such privileges upon the nobility as exemption from penalties for crime, freedom from taxation, the right to hold all high offices in church and state, large pensions, etc. The peasants had few rights which the nobles were bound to respect. Comprising about one-hundredth of the population, the nobles owned nearly two-thirds of the land of Europe. As a class, they were unproductive and worthless.

The new commercial aristocracy aped the grandeur of the landed nobility. Great merchants built houses as palatial as the castles of noblemen, and furnished them often with vulgar extravagance. They wore costly silks and furs; were secular and anti-clerical in their outlook; and built great warehouses rather than churches. Below this upper bourgeois group, as we have noted, there was a gradual shading off through various social subdivisions down to the proletariat.

The lower classes both in town and country had no political rights, and proletarian and peasant revolts occurred occasionally, and sometimes at the same time, as in France, in 1382, and in Germany, in 1525. Common grievances tended to unite the underprivileged groups. Governments served the interests of the rich. In times of labor scarcity, wages were fixed by law in order to protect employers and to make the transition from a lower to a higher social class as difficult as possible. Other laws, designed to protect privilege, prescribed the style and quality of dress of different classes, how one's hair was to be worn, when one should go to bed, what games he might play,

the songs he might sing, and the length of time he might spend in a tavern. Dress and diet requirements kept the vulgar in their place, and helped the wool or the fish trade, as the case might be. Colonial Massachusetts enacted similar laws, some of them for religious or moral reasons but many of them designed to preserve the social and economic privilege of the propertied class.

Distrust marked the relationship between the classes and the masses. In the late eighteenth century, England had about two hundred and fifty crimes punishable by death, most of them being crimes against property.<sup>2</sup> To steal a sheep, or a shilling from another's pocket was a capital offense. Everywhere in Europe, torture was used to extract confessions. Executions were public and their method was brutal, many prescribed for women being particularly cruel. Prisons were veritable hells. Much of this barbarism was inspired by the desire to safeguard the possessions of an aristocracy of birth and wealth, and some of it reflected the religious fanaticism of the time.

The eighteenth century witnessed a gradual humanizing of the laws throughout Europe. American colonial laws were generally more humane than those of England, the Massachusetts code of 1641 being the most humane of that century. Capital crimes in Massachusetts were almost entirely moral in character.

Religious developments give evidence of the social struggle. The sects, such as the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Familists, were proletarian in origin and sympathy. The Puritans, and those allied to them, were essentially bourgeois. The Catholic and Anglican churches remained right-wing churches, clinging to the old social orthodoxies as they did to the old theological orthodoxies. The sects were persecuted because they were religious and social radicals who used a dangerous weapon, that of religious faith, to effect their ends. To a less degree than the sectarian revolt, the great revival movements of the eighteenth century, led by Swedenborg, Francke, Count von Zinzendorf, Wesley, Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards, were revolts of the common man against social injustice. A democratic idealism, of various shades, permeated the left-wing religious groups, an idealism which, with the sects, centered around the lower classes and, with the Calvinist-Puritan group, around the middle class. Methodism appealed to the lower classes. It gave them some instruction and a little freedom of speech, but it robbed them of the spirit

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<sup>2</sup> C. Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, New York: Macmillan, 1930, I, 295.

of aggressiveness in political and social matters. The English middle class supported it, for it thwarted radicalism and acted as a substitute for an armed revolt such as the French Revolution.

The social struggle was reflected in literature throughout the whole period, the writers voicing various forms and degrees of social prejudice. The verbal war reached its height in the bitter, but humane, outpourings of the rationalists, the *philosophes*, of the eighteenth century. While Locke made a powerful plea for the rationalistic and humanitarian approach to social problems, it was the French rationalists, particularly Voltaire, who made the most telling attack upon the social injustices of the time. In the eighteenth century, the movement to humanize the laws became significantly strong, and particularly in France where most cruel laws were most cruelly administered. La Mettrie contended that hunger deprives man of the power to choose between right and wrong, that crime is a disease of which social injustice is the chief cause, and that a judge ought to be a skilful physician, or psychologist. The Age of Reason was an age that promised a better world.

(b) COLONIAL AMERICAN SOCIETY.—The one important difference between American colonial society and that of Europe was that, in the English colonies, there was no lay or ecclesiastical nobility. At the top of the structure here stood a fairly rich middle class, some of them landowners and some of them merchants. Below these stood smaller landowners and shopkeepers, and the hierarchy descended through skilled artisans, indentured servants and redemptioners to slaves. The social system of Europe, beheaded, was thus transplanted to North America, and our commercial and landed aristocracy struggled hard to preserve and perpetuate it. Thus a Puritan aristocracy in New England reserved, by law, titles of honor for itself, and seated persons in church and in college according to a nicely established scheme of social ranking. Everywhere in the colonies, ownership of property or the payment of a tax was a legal requirement for suffrage. McKinley, who studied colonial suffrage, found that the number legally permitted to vote varied from one-sixth of the population, in the most liberal colony, to one-fiftieth, in the most conservative.<sup>3</sup> In America, land and liberty have stood in close relationship. Here, unlike Europe, land was cheap and plentiful, and few long remained in the propertyless class. American democracy, as it

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<sup>3</sup> A. E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies of America*, University of Pennsylvania Publications, 1905.



took form in the nineteenth century, was largely a creation of those who, dissatisfied with conditions in the older settlements, sought freedom and opportunity on the frontier and, through labor, found them there.

(c) SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN.—On all social levels a woman's position was inferior to that of her male counterpart. Prior to the Industrial Revolution her sphere of activity was the home. There were very few exceptions to that rule. An occasional woman operated a small store or hotel, kept a millinery shop, made and sold medicines and aids to feminine beauty, of questionable worth, acted as a nurse or wet-nurse, or dressed the dead for burial. From the fifteenth century onward, women sometimes conducted "petty" schools for the children of the poor. In England and her American colonies, these were called "Dame" schools. The Dame was often nearly illiterate, but the poor could afford none better. With such rare exceptions, a woman's duties were those of her own home.

Increasing wealth reacted favorably upon the women of the aristocracy, who became objects of lavish expenditure. The wife of an earl or a duke had a large retinue of personal servants, costly coaches, clothing, jewelry, and an annual cash allowance from her husband sometimes equal to \$50,000 in present values. The wives of commercial aristocrats aped the grandiose life of noblewomen. Among these women of privilege, interest in literature, art, and science grew. The salons of great Parisian ladies of the seventeenth century were frequented by men famed for wit and learning. Poets and novelists wrote to satisfy the taste of a female as well as a male cultural élite. Thus, from the Renaissance onward, there were women who collected a "dowry" of education and who acquired a reputation for learning. In the art of conversation, highly prized by a feminized aristocracy, women often outshone the men. With the arts of love and political intrigue, some women were also preoccupied.

The freedom, however, which a female aristocracy enjoyed, particularly in the Latin countries, was not enjoyed by their socially inferior sisters, nor even by their equals, in Germany and England. In the North American colonies, women were accorded a respect and a freedom denied to European women. Everywhere, middle- and lower-class women were restricted to the sphere of domestic activities. Their duties, according to middle-class moralists, were obedience to husbands, chastity, frugality, bearing children, and housekeeping. Milton wrote:



Therefore God's universal law  
 Gave to man despotic power  
 Over his female, in due awe,  
 Nor from that right to part an hour  
 Smile she or lour.

Men feared women, and endowed them with the mysterious powers of witchcraft and sorcery. Since, it was felt, women are weaker than men, they fall victims more readily to Satan's blandishments. Husbands were given the legal or moral right to inflict corporal punishment upon their wives, the English law restricting them to the use of a stick not thicker than one's thumb. Some Englishmen kept the stick soaking in salt and vinegar so that the punishment might be more painful. The Massachusetts code of 1641 forbade such indignities. Protestantism contributed to a growing sanity by stressing the civil character of marriage, thus preparing the way for the legalization of divorce, a practice in which America led the world.

While the period was not wanting in women of intellect and accomplishments, most writers of the time show little respect for a woman's mentality, which they sometimes fearfully proclaimed to be inferior. Matthew Prior addressed the following words to a husband:

Be to her virtues very kind;  
 Be to her faults a little blind;  
 Let all her ways be unconfined,  
 And clap your padlock—on her mind.<sup>4</sup>

Lord Chesterfield, in the eighteenth century, voiced a general conviction when he said: "Women are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle and sometimes wit; but for solid reasoning and good sense, I never knew one that had it."<sup>5</sup>

Not only intellectually, but morally, as well as physically, women were deemed weaker than men, a dogma which was not seriously challenged until the nineteenth century. Even women of fashion accepted the view that a woman's social rôle was an ornamental one. To dance gracefully, play an appropriate musical instrument, make a home attractive for a husband, and elevate social tastes, were the rôles that the female élite accepted as peculiarly women's.<sup>6</sup>

(d) GENTLEFOLK AS A SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL IDEAL.—In mediaeval days, the saintly ascetic and the knight, with his ascetic

<sup>4</sup> Cited in P. Smith, *op. cit.*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, II, 604.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> T. Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, 1929; P. Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 528-531, 537 ff.; II, 142-143, 299 ff., 600 ff.; John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making*, 54-56, 208-218.

vows, were considered to be embodiments of ideal character. After the year 1500, the ideal of the "gentleman," an ideal entirely worldly, supplanted the mediaeval one, although the character of the "gentleman," in practice, fell far short of the ideal. The typical "gentleman" was often coarse and clownish, though quite ceremonious in his manners. In his class, the observance of formal etiquette was deemed the supreme mark of good breeding and caste. Burgher tastes and manners were uncouth in comparison with those of the old feudal nobility, but the new aristocrats were willing to improve their ways. Formal rules of etiquette appeared in many languages, after the thirteenth century. One set of rules reads in part: "Eat with three fingers; . . . don't pick your teeth with your knife; . . . don't butter your bread with your finger; . . . don't spit on or over the table."<sup>7</sup> After the invention of printing, numerous books on courtesy and etiquette appeared. Among these were such works as Castiglione's *The Perfect Courtier*, Caxton's *Book of Courttesy*, and Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*. Similar works were addressed to "ladies" such as Vives' *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1523), *The Town-Ladies Catechism* (1703), and *The Character of a Lady of Honour* (1721). The last important counselor of men was the Earl of Chesterfield whose letters on conduct addressed to his son and godson appeared between 1738 and 1770. Courtesy literature addressed to women continued to appear frequently prior to 1850.

The literature for men dealt, generally, with the conduct proper to a gentleman in public or private life. All of the books stressed the essentials of civility and politeness. The cultivation of friendships, personal cleanliness, proprieties in dress, suavity, and elegance were deemed of first importance. Profane and obscene conversation were condemned as social errors, as were moral vices that led to a social downfall. Regarding religion, "gentlemen" and "ladies" were advised to worship God, read the Bible, and attend church services. The books often dealt with the origin of natural inequalities among men. To serve the king, by filling some courtly office, ought to be the first ambition of a "gentleman." Next to this, as suitable pursuits for him, were listed the professions of law, medicine, and the office of justice of the peace. This new "gentleman" was no longer the saint, or the Christian soldier of feudal times.

As social conventions became fixed, the ideals of gentlemanly conduct degenerated more and more into a system of formal ceremonious

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<sup>7</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929, 80.

observances, compliance with which, as a badge of rank and good breeding, became a guarantee of material and social privilege.

By the eighteenth century, deceit and hypocrisy had found their way into the ideal of the "gentleman." Gentlemanly conduct, moreover, usually fell far short of even the degraded ideal. There were some aristocrats of real refinement, but the vast majority were given to intemperate eating and drinking, and to profanity and obscenity in their vilest forms. It was such a gentry, rich, lazy, and cruel to the masses, that controlled European society prior to the French Revolution.

*Population Statistics.* There is much uncertainty about European population growth prior to 1800. Available information points to a fairly steady and uniform increase from the Middle Ages onward. The number of villages in the Moselle basin, in Germany, increased from 990, in 1200 A.D., to 2,000, in 1800 A.D., and their population from 220,000 to 450,000 in the same period. The population of France, in 1328, was between 20 and 22 millions; that of England, on the eve of the Reformation, between 2½ and 3 millions. Of this only are we certain: that the population of Europe was smaller in 1400 than in 1800 A.D., and much smaller than it is today.<sup>8</sup> The population of the United States increased uniformly and rapidly in the colonial period. From slightly more than 200,000, in 1700, it increased to 3,929,214, in 1790.

**Political Change.** (a) GROWTH OF NATIONALISM.—The centuries prior to the French Revolution witnessed the rise of powerful national states. That development, as we have seen, was hastened by the alliances between kings and the new-rich.

In the Middle Ages, the church and state existed as two forms of government ruling over one society, the Christian theocracy. The church dominated the state, and in reality all European Christians lived under the single authority of the church, which claimed to rule by divine right. European society was a unity in which baptism and religious orthodoxy were required for citizenship and other privileges. Economic, social, political, and intellectual aspects of life were controlled by the church in one united Christendom. By requiring the confession of sins, it controlled the individual; by marriage laws, the family; by interdicts and excommunications, nations and kings; by price fixing and its war on usury, commercial and industrial practices; by its schools and universities, and by its persecution of heretics,

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<sup>8</sup> G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 415-418, 440-443.

the cultural and intellectual life of men. So all-encompassing was its power that the state might be said to have been non-existent.

(b) ROYAL ABSOLUTISM.—In the thirteenth century, strong political, national states were again emerging, and political theory, earlier subordinated to revealed ethics, or theology, began to receive separate consideration. National patriotism, as an ideal, began to pervade literature. In the sixteenth century, Machiavelli, Luther, Cervantes, and Shakespeare appealed not to the universal consciousness of a united Christendom, but to national feelings. By that time, strong national states, as a vehicle of culture, had replaced the universal state of Christendom, with its international culture, based upon mediaeval Latin. Other factors, economic, political, and ecclesiastical, accentuated the differences between national states. Humanism, as an international ideal, with its demands for the creation of an international intellectual élite, possessing a common culture, based upon classical Latin, failed chiefly because grammatical perfection discredited Latin and thus stimulated the growth of vernacular literatures.

The rise of sovereign national states accompanied the rise of national literatures. At the head of each stood an autocrat, who exercised sovereign power, symbolized national unity and bent all institutions to his will. The nobility and the merchant plutocracy bowed to that will. Both Protestantism and Catholicism became vehicles for the expression of national patriotism. Christian universalism was gone. By the principle "*cujus regio, ejus religio*" (whose kingdom, his religion), accepted at the Treaty of Augsburg (1555), Christianity itself was officially nationalized. Kings, as formerly did the popes, now claimed to rule by divine right. Monarchy, said James I of England, "is the supremest thing upon earth . . . as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power."<sup>9</sup> "I am the state," said Louis XIV of France, whose despotism culminated in the Revolution. A bitter struggle against royal autocracy and absolutism in England ended with the accession of William and Mary and the King's acceptance of the Bill of Rights, in 1689. That change represented the triumph of the doctrines of the supremacy of law, the sovereignty of the nation, and the supremacy of parliamentary power in England. The English masses, however, had no legislative voice before 1867.

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<sup>9</sup> F. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1916, 24 (by permission).



England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark had become strong national states by the year 1600. The unification of Germany and of Italy was not achieved until the late nineteenth century. The rise of the American republican nation shall be dealt with in connection with the rise of democratic states.

Leading the forces opposed to royal despotism stood the new-rich bourgeoisie. They deposed two English monarchs (1649 and 1689), and forced their kings to accept the principle of the omnipotence of Parliament. In France, the combined strength of the monarchy, nobility, and clergy checked the bourgeoisie until 1789. Then came the triumph of new wealth over the "old régime."

Royal tyranny rested on the theory of the divine right of kings. Opposing theories were often advanced. Among these was the view that government originated not in heaven but in a social contract, a binding agreement between rulers and their subjects, and that it has no other grounds to stand on. Aeneas Sylvius, about 1450, and other later writers such as Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke advanced that theory. Hobbes used it to justify royal absolutism; Locke and his disciple, Rousseau, to overthrow royal absolutism by force.

(c) THE DISFRANCHISED MASSES.—Under the royal despots, the masses were politically voiceless. Outside of England, even the bourgeoisie, of all grades, were completely dominated by the monarchy. In England and her American colonies, where a degree of democracy existed, ownership of a considerable amount of property was essential for voting and for holding political offices. Universal suffrage was unknown before the nineteenth century. In the American colonies, as we have seen, more than half the adult male population was disfranchised. Everywhere, the mere idea of woman suffrage was well-nigh inconceivable.

**Religious Change and Its Causes.**—Spiritual and intellectual unrest accompanied the social changes we have described. One of the results of these changes was the Protestant revolt. The Reformation was but an adaptation of religion to the demands of the new European social order. Economic, political, social, and ecclesiastical factors operated to bring it about. It had no racial cause. It was not a Nordic revolt, because there was no pure Nordic race in the Europe of the Reformation age.<sup>10</sup> It was a bourgeois revolt and, as such, was European. It had the support of many lower-class Germans because they had suffered most from the abuses of the old system.

<sup>10</sup> J. Davis, *Readings in Sociology*, 184-190.

A large proportion of the Teutonic peoples opposed the revolt and remained Catholic. The greater success of the revolt in some countries than in others was due not to racial but to other causes.

(a) ECONOMIC CAUSE.—The basic cause of the Reformation was the Commercial Revolution. Previously, the papacy was the greatest financial institution in Christendom, its wealth, by the year 1500, being a byword in Europe. Besides, the church used its great power to restrict the economic freedom of individuals, while the luxury and extravagance of the papal court had become a scandal. Rivers of gold flowed into the papal treasury. Pope Leo X, in 1517, brought 500,000 ducats into it by creating thirty-nine new cardinals and, before he died, he had borrowed nearly 500,000 ducats more from Italian bankers and cardinals. The values of church lands having diminished, the papacy devised many forms of taxation in an ecclesiastical and religious sphere which the states could not touch. The sale of indulgences was the most lucrative of all of these schemes, and it was such a sale which was the occasion of Luther's protest and of the Reformation itself.

The most popular grievance against the church was its charge for indulgences, from which the very poor were, however, exempted, and for prayers and masses for the dead. The means of salvation had become unfair, for the rich could pay for such favors, while the poor could not. A commercialism, which became offensive to many, had pervaded the spiritual realm. But this was not all.

Kings and merchants looked with envy upon the great wealth of the church whose vast land holdings were exempt from taxation, and whose ever-increasing horde of clergy, who poured their dues into the papal treasury, enjoyed many immunities from state taxation. Foreign ecclesiastics, stationed in England, are said to have drawn annually from the nation three times more revenue than the king.<sup>11</sup> The confiscation, by the states, of church and monastic estates, in process for two hundred years, culminated in wholesale confiscation in Protestant countries after the Reformation. An urge for national wealth and power, rooted in the Commercial Revolution, thus hastened the revolt. Protestant Europe was largely commercial and industrial, while Catholic Europe was agricultural and feudal.<sup>12</sup>

(b) SOCIAL CAUSE.—The Reformation was predominantly a bourgeois revolt. It was chiefly to the new commercial class that

<sup>11</sup> J. W. Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, 267.

<sup>12</sup> James W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, 81-125, 284-297, 415-429.

Lutheranism and Calvinism appealed. The new theology and ethics pleased the bourgeoisie. Against Calvinist ethics, with its rigorous principles, of high economic value, stands, let us say, Jesuit ethics, indulgently easy in principles, an ethics which must have brought solace to many an aristocratic sinner. "Behold," said their enemies, "the fathers who have taken away the sins of the world."<sup>13</sup> Jansenism, or Catholic Puritanism, opposed the more lax aristocratic ethics of the Jesuits, but it made little headway against it, and Pope Urban VIII condemned the Jansenists' doctrines of reprobation and predestination upon which their moral ideas rested. The Reformation met the demand of a worldly class for a sterner morality and for the virtues which make for worldly success. It represented, moreover, a protest of that class against ecclesiastical restrictions on its economic liberties.

Where its success was greatest, the Reformation had the support of the masses. Luther stirred them to revolt by advocating the freedom of Christ's men, but when they asked Luther to support their demands for social justice, they found that their trust had been misplaced. In his tract "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," he denounced them as "rebellious thieves, robbers, murderers and blasphemers," and said that they ought to be shot like "mad dogs." Said he, "I think there is not a devil left in hell; they have all gone into the peasants."<sup>14</sup> In the hope that a change might bring them some relief, the peasants, where conditions permitted, stood with the Reformers. Poor folks could hope for little under the old system; the new at least had possibilities. While ignorance and superstition had long been their lot, the intellectual developments of centuries and the invention of printing had not left them untouched. Some pre-Reformation heresies spread among the poor,<sup>15</sup> and, after the Reformation, it was the sectaries, predominantly proletarian, who moved farthest away from the old religious orthodoxy. The class alignments of Europe were reflected in the religious struggle.<sup>16</sup>

(c) POLITICAL CAUSE.—The ideals of a universal empire and a universal culture, and of the unity of mankind and of church and state dominated mediaeval Christian thought. In practice, the unity of Western Christendom after 750 A.D. was ideal rather than real,

<sup>13</sup> P. Smith, *op. cit.*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, I, 367.

<sup>14</sup> *The Works of Martin Luther*, Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Co., 1931, IV, 249 *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, 245.

<sup>16</sup> P. Smith, *op. cit.*, I., 357-375, 380-381, 392-394; F. M. Stawell and F. S. Marvin, *The Making of the Western Mind*, 151-161; James W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 378-386, 403-404; G. G. Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, 540-541, 547-555.



for many factors, as we have seen, brought disintegration. The protest against a church-imposed universalism expressed itself, among other forms, in national political opposition to papal interference in temporal matters. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, kings successfully challenged the church's temporal power. Philip the Fair, of France, and Edward I, of England, demanded taxes from the clergy, and Pope Boniface VIII, in protest against the French impost, issued, in 1302, the bull *Unam Sanctam*, stating therein the doctrine of papal supremacy even in temporal affairs. The French nation, appealed to by Philip, denied the doctrine of papal supremacy over the state. In England, the result was the same. Rival nations, too, accused the popes of partiality in national disputes, to the detriment of papal temporal influence. The demand was soon heard that the control of the papacy even over spiritual affairs within nations be destroyed. The *cujus-regio-ejus-religio* clause of the Peace of Augsburg made religion itself a state function.

Thus had the Reformation a political aspect. Back of the political dispute lay a struggle for wealth. The princes of Northern Germany took advantage of Luther's religious quarrel with the church to free themselves from the Holy Roman empire, the bourgeoisie providing the money needed for that purpose. Luther escaped the fate of Huss because of the political support he received. After the Reformation, Lutheranism stood as the handmaiden of monarchism; Calvinism, of national republicanism; while Catholicism continued to advocate internationalism, although it, too, has been significantly nationalized.<sup>17</sup>

(d) THEOLOGICAL CAUSE.—The theological controversy was rather an occasion than a cause of the revolt against the old régime. While the moral, theological and religious issues were, no doubt, a sufficient reason for the revolt, they would have been ineffectual were not the time, from an economic, social and political standpoint, ripe for a change. Ever since the church in the world had become worldly, the need for reform existed, and many attempts were made to reform it. Among them were monasticism, and such heresies as the Albigensian, the Waldensian, the Beghard, and the Hussite. The heretics of the thirteenth and following centuries attacked orthodoxy in belief and in church government. Groups of mystics in the same period,

<sup>17</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 357-375, 378-390, 395; II, 546-566; P. Smith, *Erasmus*, New York: Harper, 1923, 210-211; Alexander C. Flick, *The Decline of the Mediæval Church*, I, 30-46, 54-56, 243-245, 347-355; G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 383-429; F. M. Stawell and F. S. Marvin, *op. cit.*, 151-161.



such as the Brethren of the Common Life, opposed the orthodox position in many respects.

For centuries, scores of heretics were burned to death "in holocausts 'very great and pleasing to God,' " <sup>18</sup> but the weakness of the Roman church saved the Reformers from that fate.

There were certain central positions which nearly all later heretical groups held in common. The most important of these were that the Bible is the basis of religious truth and ought to be accessible to the laity in the vernaculars; that religion is an internal experience; and that external acts, such as almsgiving, the sacraments, and acts demanded for indulgences, are foreign to true religion. Confession of sins and transubstantiation were held to have no Scriptural foundation. Papal claims to temporal power, the supremacy of the pope in church affairs, the holding of secular offices by the clergy, the greed of ecclesiastics, clerical immorality and celibacy were commonly denounced. Many of them were denounced both by friends and foes of the old system. Erasmus, who would preserve Christian unity by retaining Catholicism, was as bitter in his denunciation of ecclesiastical abuses as was Luther, who lost all hope of reforming the church from within.

While, for years, the legal, theological, philosophical, and ecclesiastical practices of the church aroused resentment in him, the direct cause of Luther's revolt was the doctrine of indulgences. In 1519, when Tetzel preached an indulgence to help the archbishop of Mainz pay his debt to the banking house of the Fuggers and to the pope, a debt incurred by the acceptance of his office, Luther published his ninety-five theses in which he challenged the theory and practice of indulgences. The theses were moderate, but the circumstances of their publication greatly offended the pope, who excommunicated Luther. In one month, it was said, the theses had been heard throughout Christendom,<sup>19</sup> and, in one year, the Reformation had become an accomplished fact, for Christendom was ready for a change.

The kernel of Luther's views appears in his doctrines of "justification by faith," and of "private interpretation of the Scriptures." In addition, he taught that the Scriptures make no distinction between laity and clergy, and that the spiritual ought to be subordinate to civil power. His view that it is the right and duty of every individual to read and interpret the Scriptures for himself was the foundation of his system, but he lived to deny that privilege to Calvin and Zwingli.

Theologically, the Reformation brought no important intellectual

<sup>18</sup> C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929, 223.

<sup>19</sup> G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 425-426.

revision. A trinitarian God, the incarnation, redemption, resurrection, miracles, prophecies, angels, demons, witches, etc., were among the beliefs retained by both Protestant and Catholic churches on a dogmatic basis, a fact which seems to indicate that, on the religious side, the Reformation was a revolt against moral and ecclesiastical abuses rather than against traditional theology.<sup>20</sup>

(e) THE COUNTER-REFORMATION. — (1) *Christians against Christians*. Protestant action brought Catholic reaction. This led to reform within the Catholic system and to attempts to win back Protestants to Catholicism. Both violent and peaceful methods marked the reaction. Kings, no doubt, found the religious dispute a convenient motive to promote their own ambitions. For over a hundred years, Europe was wrecked by "religious" wars in which the masses were butchered ostensibly for the glory of God and the kingdom of Christ. Christians, forgetting the ideals of the Master, still showed their capacity to hate.

The Counter-Reformation was largely reactionary. The Roman and Spanish Inquisitions judged heresy, witchcraft, blasphemy, and other offenses, and turned convicted ones over to the executioner. In Spain, great church festival days were chosen for the spectacular public butcheries. Moors and Jews also were barbarously treated. In France, the Protestants were persecuted. Where Protestants were in power, as in some German states, England, and the American colonies, the Catholics were subjected to persecution and legal disabilities. War, bloodshed, and persecution thus accompanied the Counter-Reformation, both groups being about equally fanatical. The Catholic church, however, adopted other forms of counter-attack.

The Council of Trent (1543-1563) was convened by the pope, who dominated it, for the purpose of defining Catholic doctrine and regulating morals. Reactionary in its spirit, it made no concessions to discontented ones either on matters of theology or church government. It stressed the need for catechising children in the old beliefs. Supplementing these other measures, on the Catholic side, was the establishment of new religious societies such as the Jesuits, Oratorians, and the Christian Brethren. Such groups engaged in missionary, charitable, and educational activities. They were not contemplative in their purpose as were earlier monastic societies.

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<sup>20</sup> William S. Lilly, *Renaissance Types*, London: Unwin, 1901, 103-174, 231-307; P. Smith, *Erasmus*, 33-48, 52-58, 119-127, 159, 192-195, 209-229, 242-246, 372-382, 386-388, 421-441; P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 357-375, 378-397; II, 265-272, 546-566; F. A. Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, 474-477; G. B. Adams, *op. cit.*, 406-432, 442-445.

(2) *The Jesuits.* The Jesuit Society was incorporated by the pope, in 1540, to promote Catholicism, evangelize heathens, extirpate heresy, and educate children and ignorant persons in Christianity. The document canonizing Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society, declared that he had been sent by God to combat Luther, "foulest of monsters."<sup>21</sup> The Jesuits attained great power by dominating, through their schools, the minds of influential Catholics, and by their political shrewdness. They were feared by their rivals and hated by their enemies. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society, chiefly for the good of the church. It was re-established early in the next century, after the world had forgotten the "pious frauds" that their enemies had accused the Jesuits of. Though easy in their ethics, they did much to preserve Catholic orthodoxy. They did not aim to develop in their students free minds, critical of authority. It was rather their aim to make them intellectual adherents and defenders of official Catholic orthodoxy, and harmlessly virtuous, though history shows a few notable cases in which they failed to make their students orthodox. Obedience to authority was, for them, the crowning virtue. The Society was itself founded on that principle.

Supplementing their educational work were their foreign missionary activities. Both Protestants and Catholics struggled to dominate heathen minds. Cultural conquests abroad were good for business, although merchants rather than the missionaries realized that. Numerous and reliable authorities, however, have observed in Jesuitism a combination of astute worldliness and religious piety. The *gloria mundi* allured them little less than the *gloria dei*. With the laboring masses, always unimportant if ignorant and obedient, they were but little concerned. Through their influence with the powerful, they themselves became powerful, to the advantage, for a time, of the Catholic church.

(3) *The Christian Brethren.* Inspired by a spirit of charity and deep concern for the well-being of the degraded Catholic poor, whom he wished to keep within the Catholic church, Jean Baptiste de la Salle founded, in 1682, the Christian Brethren. Originating in France, the Brethren carried their work, in time, into many other countries. They were not a society of priests but of lay "brothers," whose primary purpose was the religious indoctrination of poor Catholic children. The members were trained elementary school teachers. As such, they strengthened the position of Roman Catholicism among the socially underprivileged, as did the Jesuits among the

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<sup>21</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 364.



Catholic aristocracy. Unlike the Jesuits, whose schools were of secondary and higher rank, the Brethren long devoted themselves to the field of elementary education.

(4) *Other New Catholic Societies.* From the late sixteenth century onward, many other Catholic societies were established mainly for charitable, missionary, and educational purposes. There were about thirty of these established between 1525 and 1700, about half of them being congregations of women. Among these were the Fathers of Christian Doctrine (1593), the Brothers of Charity (1538), the Ursuline Nuns (1535), the Oratorians (1558), the Sisters of Charity (1634), the Passionists (1725), and the Redemptionists (1732).<sup>22</sup> The establishment of these groups was prompted by the need of aggressive methods in combating Protestantism. Charitable needs existing under our economic system have been used by both Protestant and Catholic churches to extend their influence. The assumption of charitable functions by lay agencies and governments has weakened the influence of the churches.

(f) **THE REFORMATION AND THE MODERN WORLD.**—Out of the Protestant revolt came a variety of sects, and the destruction of the theological and religious unity of Christendom. It thus hastened the growth of nationalism. Instead of the old united Christendom, we have now a Christendom divided into nations, each with its own traditions and literature. While many ideas and attitudes are common to them all, there are enough differences between them to make each one a separate cultural group. The increasing political stress in many countries upon the cultural exclusiveness of racial or national groups acts as a check upon the economic forces that point toward internationalism. Even the idea of economic nationalism has found many eloquent advocates.

**Intellectual Change.** (a) **THE HUMANIST MIND.**—Intellectual change accompanied the other changes we have described. The period opened with the protest of Renaissance thinkers against scholasticism and Aristotelianism, and it ended with the Enlightenment which, rejecting traditionalism in thought and postulating the infallibility of reason, represents a complete negation of mediaevalism. The chief steps in the intellectual development were the Renaissance, the Reformation, the scientific movement, and the rise of the philosophies of rationalism, empiricism, and skepticism.

As a progressive force, the Renaissance was the least important

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<sup>22</sup> P. J. Marique, *History of Christian Education* (3 vols.), New York: Fordham University Press, 1924-1932, II, 128.



of these steps. It was a gradual spiritual awakening which can be dated back, with certainty, to the twelfth century. Intellectually, the achievements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were far greater than those of the fourteenth and fifteenth. The commonly accepted view that the "rebirth" of the human spirit occurred in the latter centuries is indefensible in the light of our present knowledge of the intellectual activities of the preceding centuries. The Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought the completion of the rediscovery of the ancient classics, and some development in art. The humanists studied the classics, but few of them caught the Hellenic spirit, and their minds, with a few exceptions, remained uncritical and conservative. Their contribution to the modern outlook was indirect. Advocating humanism, or the philosophy that man, as a human being, and his worldly problems are of primary concern to men, they helped to stimulate the growth of secularism and of scientific curiosity, which mark the modern mind. Their primary interests, however, were aesthetic and mystical rather than realistic. Linked to the Reformation, humanism became the servant of supernaturalism and theological orthodoxies, and its little influence as a progressive movement was thus further impaired. Both humanists and Reformers were so preoccupied with golden ages of the past that they made, at best, but a small contribution to human progress. The humanists worshipped classical antiquity so well that man's intellect, which they would emancipate, became enslaved by the words and thoughts of ancient writers, particularly Cicero, as earlier it had been enslaved by Aristotelianism. The free intellect is critical of all authority. Erasmus, in his *Ciceronianus*, denounced the degenerated humanism of scholars whose goal in life was the formal imitation of the literary style and thought of Cicero. Humanism, which earlier gave some promise of individualism and intellectual freedom, had thus become but a new oppression.

(b) THE PROTESTANT MIND.—For individualism and intellectual freedom, the Reformation, while reactionary in its worship of the "golden age" of early Christianity, is more important than the Renaissance. Though often intolerant and unreasonable, the Protestants created conditions which eventually forced men to become more tolerant and reasonable than it was possible for them to be under Catholic authoritarianism. All authority and all beliefs were weakened when the Reformers disrupted the unity of Christendom. Protestantism, though without intent, made it increasingly difficult to stifle freedom of thought and speech. In the evolution of dissent

from mediaeval orthodoxy, there arose so many sects that unity of belief could no longer be enforced upon Christians. Thus, indirectly, Protestantism promoted intellectual progress. The Catholic reaction was, however, a disastrous result of the revolt. For three centuries, the Catholic church had displayed a growing spirit of tolerance, as its attitude toward secular learning and critical scholars, such as Erasmus, indicates. Forced by Protestantism to defend itself, it became again a most intolerant defender of otherworldliness and of dogmas which enlightened Catholics were apparently viewing less seriously. Three centuries of scientific enlightenment have not entirely obliterated the intellectual and cultural stupidities which the Catholic and Protestant fanaticism of that day have bequeathed to us.

(c) THE SCIENTIFIC MIND.—From the twelfth century onward, interest in the natural world and its physical truths slowly returned. That awakening culminated in the scientific renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when intellectual interest, once centered in the supernatural and then in the human world, came to center in the physical world and its laws. The greatest discovery of the period was science itself; the greatest invention, that of a new method of discovery, namely, observation and experiment. All the great changes in thought and social institutions which distinguish the modern from the mediaeval world are traceable to science, whose influence is even felt in the fields of education, religion, and morals. Above all, it gave to the world a new mind, born in an agonizing clash between new and old ideas.

Some minor spiritual shocks resulting from the geographical discovery of a new earth prepared men for the greater shock of the astronomical discovery of new heavens. The importance of man, in the scheme of nature, faded with the importance of the earth, now pushed out of the dignified central position in the cosmos which pre-Christian scientists and their Christian debtors had given it. Among the final results of the scientific exploration of the heavens were the substitution of a new infinite complex cosmos for the old one of Genesis, Aristotle, and Ptolemy; a weakening of Scriptural and theological authority; and the partial liberation of the Western mind from the tyranny of ancient wisdom and of herd beliefs.

Though the old cosmology was pagan, fundamentalist theologians, Protestant and Catholic, persecuted its opponents. Bruno was martyred for his interpretations of astronomy, and Galileo was forced to recant his cosmological views as "contrary to holy Scripture."

Even the skeptical Montaigne, and Francis Bacon condemned the Copernican system for reasons then considered philosophically profound but which now appear childish. The universities, enslaved by Aristotelianism, long opposed the new knowledge. Professors in church-controlled universities were required to take an oath not to teach the Copernican system.<sup>23</sup> The telescopic method of investigation was denounced by theologians because they held that the only true method was that of reasoning theologically from the Scriptures, and because Aristotle had said nothing about the planets now visible, for the first time, through the telescope. Some believed that there was a devil in the telescope that deceived the eye. Books teaching the Copernican theory remained on the Catholic *Index Expurgatorius* of forbidden books until 1835.<sup>24</sup>

Despite opposition, scientists organized societies to conduct experiments in such fields as physics, chemistry, geometry, astronomy, geography, anatomy, medicine, navigation, statics, magnetics, mechanics, etc.<sup>25</sup> By the seventeenth century, visionaries, aware of the great progress that had been made in the fields of discovery and invention, were predicting the coming of scientific Utopias. Campanella, Andreae, Bacon, Hartlib, and Comenius envisaged a world made perfect in every way by science. These enthusiasts believed that, by scientific research, men would soon possess all knowledge, the *pansophia* of Comenius, and thus acquire the power to remedy all the ills of life and society. "Knowledge," said Bacon, "is power."

(d) THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METHOD.—The method by which the scientists had come to a knowledge of a great variety of startling new truths was that of observation and experiment. It was not the traditional, syllogistic method of scholasticism. That old deductive method of logic, Aristotle formulated in his *Organon*. The new method, as formulated chiefly by Bacon in his *Novum Organon* (1620), was the inductive method. It was but an aspect of the new theory of knowledge, which taught that the only realities are the material things and laws of the physical world. That theory is a negation of Platonic realism, long approved by ecclesiastical authority. To the scientist, the physical world is not one of shadowy unrealities but one of actual measurable realities, wherein things happen according to immutable and discoverable laws. Prior to Galileo's time, natural laws were usually sought by a process of rational speculation. Galileo substi-

<sup>23</sup> A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, I, 128.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 156-157.

<sup>25</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 164-172.



tuted experiment and exact measurement of natural phenomena for that process. Using the deductive method, men jumped to generalizations from a few observed particulars or, ignoring particulars entirely, set up their generalizations on a purely speculative or *a priori* basis. From these generalizations they derived conclusions about unobserved phenomena which were as unreliable as the generalizations themselves, because the generalizations were not verified experimentally. That such supposedly self-evident "first principles" might have no basis in actuality was not suspected because they were a part of men's cultural heritage, but the house built upon them was built upon sand. Bacon would have men end with generalizations, not begin with them. He would have them collect and observe as many facts of nature as possible and, from these, abstract all similarities and express them in generalizations. This is the inductive method. Its first step is not a speculative generalization but the collection of all available facts. Bacon failed to see that men might observe things in the assembled facts that were not there, for similarities may be illusory. It was his revolt against the old method rather than his suggested technique that was and is significant. The modern scientist does not begin his study with a random assembling of facts, but with an hypothesis which he thinks may explain a specific phenomenon whose cause he seeks. If, when tested, it does not explain it, he sets up another, and continues the process until he finds an hypothesis which does explain it. Then he concludes that he probably has discovered the cause of the phenomenon.

In the pursuit of truth, men were admonished by Bacon to clear their minds of all prejudices and preconceptions, for these, he taught, are the chief obstacles to the attainment of that end. The old web of knowledge, woven metaphysically out of men's own minds rather than out of the materials of the outside world, must, he said, be abandoned, if men wish to build a new and lasting edifice of truth. The ends at which he aimed were mainly the practical ones of increasing human comforts, and the improvement of life through the mastery of nature. Yet his ends were not entirely utilitarian. The pure contemplation of the truths and beauties of nature, he wrote, is nobler and more delightful than the use we make of such things. Men, said he, should read the book of nature for its poetry as well as for its utility. His *The New Atlantis* (1627) depicts a Utopian kingdom made perfect by the devotion of its people to the study of nature, pursued in the laboratories of Solomon's House, whose scientists are represented as having discovered, among other marvelous things,

such modern devices as submarines, airplanes, and the broadcasting of music.

(e) DEVELOPMENTS IN PHILOSOPHY.—The scientific movement had its philosophical reverberation in empiricism, rationalism, and skepticism. Of these, empiricism is preëminently the philosophical counterpart of science. Its basic principle is that all knowledge has its roots in experience. The empiricists restated the old position that "there is nothing in the mind which was not first in the senses." The rationalists insisted that, while the senses are instruments in attaining knowledge, there are truths which are attainable by pure reason independently of all sense experience. The skeptics denied entirely the possibility of knowledge. Thus, intellectual disturbance marked the early age of science. The claims of science clashed not only with those of theology but with those of morals and metaphysics as well. Leibnitz would weaken its claims by creating a cleavage between its pure and empirical aspects; Berkeley would destroy them by denying the existence of matter; and Hume, the skeptic, would destroy the claims of both science and philosophy by denying that man can know anything either about his own mental states or the outside world. But the testimony of the senses to the existence of material things was too real to be pushed aside by any logic, and science triumphed intellectually in the philosophical overthrow of philosophy in favor of science by Condillac and Holbach, in the eighteenth century. The view that metaphysics is dependent upon physics and that science furnishes the bases of philosophy has, since then, steadily gained ground.

The threat of science to revealed religion alarmed some of the philosophers, and accounts, in part at least, for Berkeley's view that the only reality is a spiritual, ideal reality. Some advanced the doctrine of innate ideas to safeguard religion, but the empiricists and skeptics denied its validity. John Locke, the first influential empiricist, claiming that all knowledge, even our knowledge of the deity, has its roots in experience, advanced the cosmological argument for the existence of God.

Locke taught that the mind, at birth, is but a blank tablet upon which ideas are impressed by sensation. Knowledge, he held, is sensation, or ideas, plus the perception of relationship, or the agreement or disagreement, between sensations, or ideas. The outer world, we know by external experience; the inner world of our own consciousness, by internal experience; and the existence of God we infer from

the existence of finite things which must have a cause. With Locke, empiricism triumphed over scholasticism and rationalism. Yet, while empiricism had the largest influential following, rationalism and skepticism were also significant. All three schools represent the emancipation of philosophy from its earlier servitude to theology, thus marking the beginning, as the Kantian system, and its nineteenth-century progeny mark the closing chapter thus far of modern philosophy.

(f) THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE—DEISM.—The spiritual and intellectual struggle appeared in the spread of Deism and in the religious revival movements, particularly Methodism, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Great evangelists, such as Whitefield, Wesley, and Edwards, checked the spread of religious indifference among the masses. It was easier for these champions of Christianity to save the masses from science than to refute the philosophy of an intelligentsia whose God was no longer the God of theology but the God of nature. The new religion of the devotees of science was Deism. When kings were claiming to be above the law, Deists taught that even God was bound by law, the immutable laws of nature, with which He must act in harmony. Revelations and miracles are, said the Deists, incredible because they negate established laws, and thus destroy truth, which is the essence of God. Thus, they went to the Bible of nature and discovered the truths of natural religion, many of them, but not all, similar to fundamentalist beliefs, such as the existence of God, immortality, and divine rewards and punishments.

To have taken the irrational element out of Christianity, as the Deists attempted, would have destroyed its hold upon the masses and weakened it as a social force. However, only a small intellectual class knew or accepted the tenets of Deism. In America, it had a number of influential advocates, among them Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson.

(g) THE ENLIGHTENMENT.—The whole intellectual revolt culminated in the rationalism of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, who aimed to bring all social institutions into harmony with reason. Against the old supernaturalism of the Catholic church, Voltaire directed his most scathing attack. But the Enlightenment, as this movement was called, was aristocratic, and its dogma of the infallibility of reason brought forth a telling reaction, led by Rousseau, who saw not in reason, with its intellectual uncertainties, but in human feelings and emotions the most enduring basis of social well-being. In the building of democratic states, philosophers appealed



not to reason but to nature as revealed in the hearts and sympathies of common men. Yet science and the Enlightenment gave to the world a faith in the inevitability of progress and the perfectibility of man and human institutions. By the Prophets of Reason the world was not viewed as cursed, nor evil as a permanent thing. That they ignored man's emotional nature was their most serious error. The heart knows truths which reason cannot comprehend, and human feelings must be considered in any attempt to reform society.

(h) BEGINNINGS OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY.—In the general drift toward secularism, the question of man's nature was not left untouched. Juan Huarte, Descartes, Locke, Christian Wolff, Frederick Hoffman, la Mettrie, and Diderot, among others, discussed the question. The view that man is a natural, not supernatural, being whose mental states and activities are subject to natural law came to be widely accepted. The dualistic conception of man, or the view that body and soul are separate entities, was first seriously challenged by Hoffman (1660–1742), who taught that life is a physical, mechanistic process, which can be explained without reference to a soul. La Mettrie (1709–1751) said that man does not differ essentially from animals and plants and that even his thinking is but a reflex action explicable without any appeal to a soul. Diderot (1713–1784), also, urged a mechanistic theory of life. The discovery (c. 1751) of reflex action by Robert Whytt encouraged the mechanists.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding the learning process, the associationist psychology of Hobbes and Locke had a considerable following especially in the eighteenth century. It viewed mental life as an association of ideas, considered as mechanical units originating in sensation and having their own power of association. The associationists linked social well-being with the direction of the mental process, and their influence was felt in movements to educate the masses, particularly in the English charity school movement. Their theory of association they reconciled with traditional faculty psychology. In harmony with the notion of inborn faculties, with a traditional view of human nature, and with political and ecclesiastical domination of the individual was the conception of education as a discipline of man's nature in all its aspects, and that was the conception that prevailed until the late nineteenth century. The psychology of the period was introspective, not experimental, in its method, although a few men such as Whytt caught a glimpse of the scientific approach to the study of human nature.

<sup>26</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 110.

## FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The story of the Commercial Revolution lends strong support to the doctrine of economic determinism and to the claim that it alone provides an acceptable explanation of history.

2. The differences between the theological and ethical ideals of Catholics and Protestants reflect the economic and social struggle of the age of the Reformation.

3. The subjection of women in past centuries cannot be attributed entirely to the influence of St. Paul and of mediaeval ecclesiastics.

4. History provides convincing proof of the validity of the Marxian doctrine of "the class struggle."

5. Because of national traditions and cultural differences, the ideal of "peace on earth, good will toward men" is unattainable, and it is futile and unrealistic to teach it.

6. The Reformation was more democratic than the humanist movement, though early Protestant leaders did not intend it to be so.

7. The Marxian claim that institutionalized religion has been aristocratic and a drug for the masses has historical evidence to support it. But, if it was ever true, it is true no longer.

8. For the teacher and school administrator in the modern world there is but little, if any, value in a study of the cultural and social struggles of centuries long past.

9. Intellectual freedom is the most important of all freedoms and, because it offered no threat to established institutions, men have seldom been denied the privilege of exercising it.

10. There is no return from science to otherworldliness; no return from biology, chemistry, history, etc., to the debates of scholastic philosophers, for men have never returned to the outlook and ways of the past. The direction has always been forward.

11. The transition from the supernaturalism of the Middle Ages to the naturalism of today is easy to trace and understand.

12. It is desirable that instruction in sectarian religion be required in the public schools of the United States.

13. The uncertainty and disagreement existing among historians regarding the causes of historical events prove that an exact science of history is impossible.

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## Chapter 8

### EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE, 1400-1800

#### Some Steps in the Growth of Educational Theory

**The Scholar Ideal: 1. In Italian Thought.**—In the changing world which we have examined came the gradual restoration of the old ideas, attitudes, feelings, and sense of values which prevailed in the Graeco-Roman world. The rediscovery of the literary repository of that old culture hastened the process. During the Renaissance, pagan and Christian cultures met again and blended. Worldliness, however, had begun to triumph over otherworldliness.

On the educational side, humanist writers revived the pagan ideal which they named *humanitas*, or humanity. We have since called the studies most valuable to that end the "humanities." Intellectual power, literary taste and eloquence, polished manners and elegant deportment were thought by the humanists to be the noblest attainments possible for the noblest of beings, man, whose nature they viewed as most admirable. "What a piece of work is a man!" said Shakespeare, "how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! . . . in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!" This was not the ascetical conception wherein the notion of human wickedness loomed large. Out of the conviction that man's nature is noble in its many aspects, intellectual, physical, emotional, etc., and out of the conviction that the individual is a citizen as well as a man grew much of the educational thought of the humanists. That thought was largely a restatement of the Graeco-Roman philosophy. Its basic ideal was scholarship, not, however, for its own sake but for the sake of public service. The details of the new theory were colored by that ideal.

(a) **THE NEW AIM.**—The purpose of education was said to be the liberal education of men, intellectually, physically, and morally, for social leadership. That was a practical aim in a broad social sense, but not in a vocational or professional sense. The humanists would train leaders not for professional life but for a life of public service. The educational content which would lead to that end would also prepare an individual for his leisure activities. The full development

of man as an individual was thought to be essential to his development as a leader in society.

(b) *THE NEW VIEWS REGARDING STUDIES.*—Adopting one Greek conception of a liberal education, the humanists thought of the needs of free men, not of those whom economic necessity condemned to a life of toil. "We call those studies *liberal*," said Vergerius, "which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practise virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains and develops those highest gifts of body and of mind which ennoble man. . . . For to a vulgar temper gain and pleasure are the one aim of existence, to a lofty nature moral worth and fame."<sup>1</sup> That was an aristocratic conception, and in keeping with it the humanists selected their studies.

(1) *Intellectual Studies.* While many other studies were recommended, the view that the ancient classics are of paramount importance runs through all humanistic thought. That literature was considered the most excellent source of practical wisdom for social leaders. Latin, because it was still much in use by diplomats, professional men and scholars, and Greek, as essential to a mastery of Latin, were universally recommended. Grammar, composition, logic, and rhetoric, were usually mentioned by name. Poetry, music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, history and civil government, ethics and natural history were usually listed as liberal, either because they ennoble man and give him personal delight, or contribute to his social usefulness. The writings of early Churchmen whose style was pure were sometimes recommended. Guarino's list of studies represents the early humanist view. It includes reading and speaking, grammar, prose composition, Latin and Greek verse composition, Latin conversation, translation of Latin into Greek, memorization of Virgil, Greek language and literature, Homer, Cicero, Statius, Ovid, Seneca, Terence, Juvenal, Plautus, Horace, Pomponius, Mela, Solinus, Strabo, Aristotle, Plato, Roman Law, and the "Historians." These authors would be studied not only to improve the student's literary style but to give him an understanding of the subjects about which they wrote.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Religious and Moral Studies.* The humanist emphasis was moral rather than narrowly religious, and the theorists felt that moral lessons might be derived from both ancient and Christian writers. To them the perfect citizen must show regard for the Christian faith

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, Cambridge University Press, 1897, 102 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 163 ff.

and ideals. Christian authors who expressed these ideals in good literary style ought to be read. The active virtues of a man of the world rather than the contemplative ones of the religious recluse were stressed. The moral value of music, viewed as a recreation for the human spirit, was rated highly by many humanist writers.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Physical Education*. To give health and strength to the body as well as to train the ruling class in the arts of war, the humanists recommended the use of a variety of physical and military sports and exercises in the education of young men. Such activities they regarded as a part of a liberal education. A Greek rather than a Roman tradition inspired that philosophy. As did the Greeks, the humanists considered the education of a freeman's body as important as that of his mind, for disease and bodily infirmities destroy his happiness and restrict his public usefulness.

(c) *THE NEW METHOD AND DISCIPLINE*.—Methods of teaching were discussed at length by the theorists. They advised teachers to be guided by the mental and physical differences prevailing among students. Find the natural bent and follow it, said the theorist. The interests and capacities of students should determine both the method of teaching and the studies to be pursued. Interest in the classics and ability to master them were, however, apparently thought by many writers to be a mark of higher intelligence. Recommending praise and emulation as worthy stimuli, the writers condemned corporal punishment as an indignity to freemen, and as detrimental to learning and to the building of good character. While a wide reading of many authorities was deemed essential to an understanding of a subject, the theorists laid stress upon a mastery of the literary style of authors. Yet none of them justified the extreme formalism which became a practice of the schools, and which Erasmus satirized in his *Ciceronianus*.

(d) *ORGANIZATION*.—In the home, the school of childhood, the basis of morality and refined tastes should be laid. Here Latin ought to be spoken. At the age of five, the boy should be sent to school to begin the grammatical study of Latin and Greek, not the vernacular. An elementary school, as distinct from the secondary school, was not thought of by the humanists. Nor did the earlier writers consider the classical school as preparatory to the university. Rather was it considered as providing a complete education in itself. Contempt for scholasticism and for the professionalism of university education,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.



together with the fact that the courts of princes and the homes of the wealthy were the nurseries of the humanist ideal, explain the opposition of the theorists to the universities, and their desire to provide a complete liberal education in a new institution, graded according to the age and capacity of students. There the student would remain until he had read nearly all classical literature, had acquired a finished style in Latin and Greek prose and verse composition, and could speak Latin and Greek correctly and eloquently. The length of the course was not discussed but, obviously, some fifteen or more years would be needed to complete it.

(e) CONTROL AND SUPPORT.—The writers are practically silent in regard to control and support of education. One point is clear: they would accord the laity a prominent place in directing education. Vergerius considered education a concern of the state, and Erasmus preferred the lay school to the religious one. That education should be free to everyone was not, however, a humanist idea. In practice, an occasional poor European boy of talent was admitted as a free student into the humanists' schools. Yet, the view that such an education was the exclusive right of a social élite, that could pay its own way, was almost universal. The leaders whom the humanists would educate were not born among the socially underprivileged. That fact explains, to a large degree, the silence of the theorists on the question of educational costs.

(f) TEACHERS.—The selection of teachers of the highest qualifications was considered of primary importance. That view was stated at a time when the poor felt that teachers who were nearly illiterate were good enough for their children. Nor did the humanists bewail the lot of the poor. The ideal teacher of the humanists is a profound scholar, of excellent morals, who studies his students' interests and capacities and adapts his teaching to their individual tastes and aptitudes.

(g) STUDENTS.—The humanists thought almost entirely of the educational needs of socially privileged classes—of the needs of princes, prelates, and leaders in the arts of war and peace. Those whom a social system condemned to a life of physical toil did not fall within the humanists' educational purview. While some of them expressed liberal views regarding girls' education, they did not suggest that positions in church and state should be opened to women. Therefore, a liberal education, since it was defined in terms of social leadership, was not considered a woman's prerogative.

**2. The Scholar Ideal in Northern Thought as Typified by Erasmus.**—In contrast with the individualistic emphasis in Italian thought stands the social and moral emphasis in northern theory, the spirit of which, at its best, may be seen in the writings of Erasmus. He revered scholarship, but for the sake of social reform; and he poured biting vituperations upon the humanistic schoolmen of his day who had ceased to look beyond books out into the living world and its realities. He loved classical literature not so much for its style as for the thoughts in it, and he believed it could be made the basis of an international culture possessed by the élite of all nations. The international ideal in humanism found its clearest expression in his writings. He believed that a world élite, drawing its wisdom from the classics, and speaking and writing in classical Latin, would not only create international understanding but would also reform the prevailing vicious social and religious evils of which ignorance was the fruitful mother. That faith remained unshaken till his death. He spared neither ecclesiastics nor laity in his war on ignorance. No one ever denounced the futilities of scholastic and theological intellectualism more bitterly than did he.

Chief Christianizer of the Renaissance though he was, Erasmus, as did humanists generally, entertained a low opinion of the masses. Though a republican at heart, he would not endow the "vulgar" masses with political power.<sup>4</sup> Yet he would not deny them instruction in "the teachings of Christ," and he would have the state and church remove the hindrances imposed by poverty upon the talented poor.<sup>5</sup>

As an educational theorist, Erasmus was chiefly interested in the questions of curriculum and method. He considered the study of Greek and Latin of preëminent importance for human enlightenment and social regeneration. "Within these two literatures," said he, "are [*sic*] contained all the knowledge which we recognize as of vital importance to mankind."<sup>6</sup> To these he would add philosophy for the sake of rational and efficient living, since experience, he felt, is no substitute for philosophy.<sup>7</sup> While he advised teachers to be guided by the "native bent" of their pupils, some of whom have no more desire for some studies than has a "donkey to play the violin,"<sup>8</sup> he would exempt no one seeking a liberal education from a study of the classics. The current emphasis of the schools upon literary style, he

<sup>4</sup> P. Smith, *Erasmus*, 201.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, Cambridge University Press, 1904, 209–210.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Cambridge University Press, 162–163 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 191–192.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 195–196.

denounced in his satire *Ciceronianus*. The Ciceronian humanists had made Cicero an infallible authority in the correct use of words and literary style. Erasmus makes his Ciceronian say: "For seven whole years I have touched nothing except Ciceronian books. . . . There is not a word in all the books of that divine man which I have not set in order in an alphabetical lexicon." This lover of Cicero remained unwed lest wife, children, or family cares separate him from his one and only love.<sup>9</sup> Erasmus objected to the current cult of Cicero on the grounds (a) that there must be other writers worthy of some imitation, (b) that Cicero did not deal with all fields of knowledge, and that he was himself but an imitator of others, and (c) that his eloquence, useful in his own time, now merely gives delight, and thus ceases to be eloquence, because true eloquence is a useful thing. If we are to imitate Cicero, said Erasmus, we ought to imitate his ideas and his judgment, not his style.

Erasmus, however, was more than a critic. For every existing practice which he condemned he recommended a substitute. In keeping with the humanist conception of a liberal education, he made lengthy proposals for the physical, moral, and intellectual training of youth to the end that they might become "scholars and men competent to affairs."<sup>10</sup> His concern for the health of the body is especially noteworthy. Of greatest importance, however, are the questions of methods of instruction and of discipline. The pupil's progress is determined, he says, by *nature* or native capacities and interests, by *training* or instruction, and by *practice* or the free exercise of capacities as improved by training. Since reason is the highest native capacity, instruction ought to aid man "to live the life of Reason."<sup>11</sup> The method ought to be pleasurable. Things ought to be taught before words, and pictures ought to be used where objects are unknown to the students. Rules, with a few exceptions, ought to be learned informally. Make instruction simple, interesting and practical, said Erasmus, and boys of average ability will become, in a short time, creditable scholars in Latin and Greek. Corporal punishment he condemned, for "teaching by beating is not a liberal education."<sup>12</sup> Through scholars thus educated for a life of public service, Erasmus believed that the ills of the world could be cured. His is the humanistic ideal at its best. It is an expansion of the

<sup>9</sup> D. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* (translated by Izora Scott), New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908, 23-25.

<sup>10</sup> W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus Concerning Education*, Cambridge University Press, 202 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 192 (by permission).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 208 (by permission).



earlier Italian ideal, which stressed personal distinction more than human enlightenment and public service. And it survives today among the few who, looking beyond the limits of racialism and nationalism, still think in terms of a common humanity, and who believe that the way to a better world lies through the enlightenment of men and the free play of the critical, intelligent human spirit.

**The Gentleman-Scholar Ideal in Educational Thought.**—In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, certain writers expressed dissatisfaction with the humanist proposal, aristocratic though it was, on the ground that it was not suited to the gentry of the world, a gentry supposed by them to be, by birth and native ability, the rightful leaders of men. Such leaders, they held, needed more than literary scholarship in the humanist sense. They must possess as well the manners and graces of polite society. "We must," said Defoe, "distinguish between a man of polite learning and a meer schollar: the first is a gentleman and what a gentleman should be; the last is a meer bookcase, a bundle of letters, a head stufft with the jargon of languages, . . . a creature buried aliv in heaps of ancients and moderns, . . . all sense but no wit, in a word, all learning and no manners."<sup>13</sup>

The purpose of education, according to the new theorists, is to mould the accomplished gentleman. The raw material to be thus moulded was not sprung from base-born men but from the ruling aristocracy. If Vergerius and Erasmus were not friendly to the masses, still less were Montaigne and Milton, whose anxiety centered around a wealthy gentry, or Castiglione and Elyot, who voiced the needs of the nobility of the courts of kings. The last two represent most completely the aristocratic educational ideal. They worshipped nobility; they hated democracy. They would keep the aristocrats of birth in power by educating them for leadership. For them, they would add to instruction in the classics instruction in many sciences and arts, in modern languages and civilizations, and in the manners becoming to their class. If the gentry shall continue to hold the leading professional, military, and courtly positions of the world, which are viewed as theirs by natural right, then they must be educated for such positions.

Some of the new theory attacked degenerate humanism, and the wasting of many years upon the study of the classics. Said Montaigne: "We labor, toyle, and plod to fill the memory, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie." Said Milton: "We do amiss

<sup>13</sup> Cited in J. E. Mason, *op. cit.*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 191.

to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.”<sup>14</sup> To Defoe the classical scholar is “a Learned Fool” who knows nothing about men or things.

On the constructive side, the new theorists demanded a more useful education than that of the classical schools. Milton’s “compleat and generous education” would “fit a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war.” In his proposed “academy,” he would have taught all such general studies as would be appropriate to a Master of Arts, including many ancient languages and Italian, mathematics, and a wide array of sciences with their practical applications, law, medicine, theology, logic, rhetoric, church history, politics and economics, physical and military exercises, to the end that the student might acquire a “universal insight into things.” The vernacular would not be taught in the “academy.” In regard to method, he advised that teachers proceed from the easy to the difficult, from sense impressions to abstractions and, where the nature of the subject permitted, that the student learn by his own observation and experience, traveling abroad being recommended, however, only for those over twenty-four years of age. While many of those writing of the needs of the gentry recommended tutorial instruction and foreign travel, Milton recommended a school of about 150 pupils as the ideal plan.

While Milton thought of the needs of gentlemen of various higher degrees of dignity, Elyot thought only of noblemen of courtly rank, and he dedicated his treatise, *The Governour*, to Henry VIII. His advice covers the whole period of education from birth to manhood. Moral and physical training, the arts useful in war and leisure, English grammar, Latin and Greek, logic, rhetoric, history, cosmography, philosophy, and all physical and military exercises needed by a “gentleman” in times of war or peace are included in Elyot’s curriculum. The tutorial plan of instruction is the only one thought suitable to develop the gentlemanly character and furnish the accomplishments worthy of a nobleman. To scholarship he would join manners, according to the ideal of his group, “Manners maketh a man.” Elyot said nothing of the needs of the masses for whom he shows not a little contempt.

Many others, including the influential John Locke, in addition to the few we have mentioned, urged the ideal of the gentleman-scholar in a changing world, where “gentlemen” were finding it difficult to

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<sup>14</sup> *Tractate on Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1895, 5 (by permission).

justify their existence or the privileges they enjoyed. That the theorists proposed a more useful education for them is evidence of an anxiety for their interests, as a class, probably more than for the interests of society as a whole.

**The Scientific Ideal in Educational Thought.**—To understand and master the physical world for the benefit of mankind was fixed, by the early devotees of science, as the most worthy end of human effort. Knowledge of physical truths, rather than of ideas, divine or human, became the educational goal of the scientist. "Knowledge is power," said Francis Bacon, but the knowledge he had in mind was the knowledge of nature and its laws, now no longer viewed as shadowy unrealities but as perfect realities. The gospel of this new realism was not one of escape or despair, but one of courage and hope. It called upon men to face realistically the actual problems of life in the real world of visible, concrete things. This new outlook became the basis of a utilitarian emphasis in the educational thought of the time, the best representative of which was the Moravian bishop Comenius (1592–1671).

(a) **COMENIUS AND HIS WORKS.**—A Christian, desiring social justice and the well-being of the masses, Comenius saw in science an instrument of social regeneration. In his *Pansophiae Prodrromus* (Forerunner of Pansophy) and his *Didactica Magna* (The Great Didactic) he gave expression to his ideal of *pansophia* (all knowledge), which was his fervent hope. He strove to bring education into harmony with the laws of nature so that all men might acquire all knowledge. He would make it scientific by organizing it upon the basis of immutable natural laws. In the *Didactica Magna*, he presented educational principles and, in the many textbooks he wrote, he attempted to apply them. His most significant texts are the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (The Gate of Languages Unlocked) and the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (The World of Sensible Objects Pictured). The texts embody an effort to teach things rather than words. "Why," said he, "should we learn the works of Nature of any other master rather than of these our senses? Why do we not, I say, turn over the living book of the world instead of dead papers? . . . If we have anywhere need of an interpreter, the Maker of Nature is the best interpreter Himself."<sup>15</sup> The idea of using pictures in teaching is found earlier in the writings of Campanella and Andreae, while even as early as 1484 an illustrated religious primer of Sarum Use

<sup>15</sup> Cited from *Natural Philosophie Reformed*, by R. H. Quick, in *Essays on Educational Reformers*, New York: Appleton, 1897, 149.



was published in London.<sup>16</sup> It was Comenius, however, who popularized the practice.

(b) **COMENIUS AND THE CURRICULUM.**—To perfect the natural powers of learning, virtue and piety within man, so that he may master himself and all things and conform with God's design is, says Comenius, the end of education. Therefore, he would teach all things to all men, and would stress the vernacular and the things of nature rather than the classics and words. His revolt against verbalism was complete. Languages he would retain, but for the practical end of understanding the things of the visible world. Harmoniously with his idea of an encyclopedic or pansophic curriculum, he would have every mother teach her infant children the first elements of metaphysics, physics, optics, astronomy, geography, chronology, history, arithmetic, geometry, statics, mechanics, dialectic, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, economics, politics, morals, etiquette, and religion. On this curriculum of the so-called School of the Mother's Lap he would build the encyclopedic curricula of the vernacular school, the Latin school and the university, which he would have established. And all instruction would have in view the application of knowledge to the various needs of life.

(c) **COMENIUS AND METHOD.**—Methods of teaching, Comenius viewed as of equal importance with the curriculum. "Follow nature" is his fundamental rule of method. Traditional teaching failed, says he, because it ignored that rule. Among his principles of method are the following: (a) approach learning through the senses; (b) teach things before words; (c) proceed from the easy to the difficult, from the known to the unknown; (d) organize subject matter according to its difficulty; (e) harmonize instruction with the age, interests, and capacity of the pupil; (f) let children learn to do by doing, by their own activity and experience; (g) make schools cheerful and equip them with illustrative materials; (h) let teachers be sympathetic; and (i) let merit be rewarded. The inductive method of Bacon he would bring into the school: "As far as is possible," said he, "[men must] be taught to become wise by studying the heavens, the earth, oaks, and beeches, but not by studying books; that is to say, they must learn to know and investigate the things themselves, and not the observations that other people have made about the things."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1934.

<sup>17</sup> *Didactica Magna* (translated by M. W. Keatinge), London: Black, 1896, XVIII, 28.

(d) **COMENIUS AND SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.**—More significant even than these other reforms was his proposal to reform the traditional school organization of Europe. He would create a Christian democracy by providing equality of educational opportunity for all boys and girls regardless of their social status. Three hundred years had to elapse before America led the nations toward a realization of that dream. The Europe that Comenius knew had a dual school system, a very defective vernacular system for the masses, and a system of socially exclusive and expensive secondary classical schools for the classes. Such an arrangement, reflecting strongly entrenched economic and social interests, has survived, in Europe, to a marked degree, even to our own day. Free secondary education makes the transition from a lower to a higher social class easy, and therefore European conservatives have opposed it. Such a dual system, Comenius would abolish. In its place, he would establish a single-track system of schools, from the lowest grade to the university, for all youths, male and female, of every nation, in which all, to the age of twelve, regardless of wealth or rank, would pursue the same studies, students thereafter being selected for the secondary school and university on the sole basis of ability and merit. Education, as a natural right of everyone, he would provide, on equal terms, for all children of God, who is no respecter of persons.

From the Mother's School of every home, youths would go to the vernacular school at the age of six, attendance at which, for six years, would be universal and compulsory. Above this school stands the six-year secondary school and, then, the six-year college, admission to both of which would depend on a student's natural capacity for further education. This ladder-plan of organization, then but a Utopian dream, was first realized in the United States.

Out of the pansophic ideal of Comenius came his plan to have established, somewhere in the world, a "School of Schools or Didactic College," wherein learned men would coöperate to advance science, and spread wisdom throughout the world, by supplying to the world's schools the knowledge which would guarantee their vitality and the well-being not of any race or nation but of all humanity. That all humanity has a right to the benefits of knowledge and science is an ideal often ignored under the stress of exaggerated nationalism. Science, too, has often been perverted to ignoble ends, and the tree of scientific knowledge threatens to become a tree of ruin and death. Such a perversion of science has been contrary to the intentions of all true scientists. Comenius did not even dream of such a perversion.

(e) **COMENIUS AND STUDENTS.**—The idea of equality of educational opportunity for all boys and girls is implied in the thought of Comenius. Such opportunity would be limited only by the native capacities, or incapacities, of individuals. All would be instructed in the same schools, for all have been born for the same purpose, namely, that of becoming human and rational creatures. Yet, unable to escape all the prejudices of his world, while admitting the intellectual equality of women and men, he would instruct a woman in “all that enables her to look after her household and to promote the welfare of her husband and her family.”<sup>18</sup>

(f) **FRANKLIN AND OTHER UTILITARIANS.**—Thus was stated by Bacon and Comenius, among others, the utilitarian ideal in education, in opposition to the humanist emphasis on scholarship, literary culture and intellectualism. Among the English Puritans utilitarianism had many supporters, of whom Locke, Samuel Hartlib, William Petty, and Hezekiah Woodward were among the most prominent. William Petty taught that children of all classes should learn some trade, and that all lower schools should provide such training.<sup>19</sup> Franklin was the most influential early advocate of the new ideal in America. In the Philadelphia Academy, opened in 1750, which Franklin proposed, young men were to be educated for a useful life. “As to their *Studies*,” said he, “it would be well if they could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos’d that they learn those Things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*. Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended.”<sup>20</sup> Like others of the utilitarian school, Franklin stressed the study of the vernacular language and literature; and the English School of the Academy became his most cherished creation. Thus, the scientific discoveries and the intellectual outlook of the age did not leave the American colonies untouched, and the growing realization of the import of science for man and his institutions had a profound influence upon the educational thought of eighteenth-century America.

**The Beginnings of the Citizen Ideal in Educational Thought.**—The Greek idea that the primary end of education is the moulding of virtuous citizens and the well-being of the state found advocates

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 7.

<sup>19</sup> W. Boyd, *History of Western Education*, London: Black, 1921, 286.

<sup>20</sup> B. Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1749, 11.



from the late Middle Ages onward. Thomas Aquinas, following Aristotle, recommended the establishment of state school systems for civic ends. The state, however, that he had in mind was of the city-state variety, rather than the modern nation. The rise of national states and the bourgeoisie gradually brought the conviction that the masses must be instructed in their civic duties. The emphasis upon civic instruction today is rooted in the needs of nations and of owners of property, whose interests governments have tried to serve. For centuries the realization grew that the people, particularly those who live by wages, have to be made conscious of their civic duties in the interest of society and its economic and social institutions. The stability of political systems, also, was gradually seen to depend on the loyalty and obedience of the masses. The Reformation brought to the fore the idea of education for citizenship, fortified by a concern for the salvation of souls. The religious motive of the Reformers for instructing the masses in the rudiments of learning was not, however, in itself sufficient to produce the free, universal systems of elementary education of modern nations. As the civic movement in education gathered momentum, a humanitarian concern for the poor and for social reform supplemented other less worthy motives in promoting the citizen ideal. While the greatest stress upon it dates from the closing decades of the eighteenth century, it found a succession of advocates from the time of Aquinas onward.

Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Veit Ludwig, Seckendorf, William Dell, Samuel Hartlib, Andreae, Campanella, Comenius, Thomas Budd, and an increasing array of writers, especially in the post-Reformation period, advocated state establishment and control of schools for the masses.<sup>21</sup> The idea that the state ought to make elementary education free, compulsory and universal is stated, or implied, by many of these writers. The idea that a vocational education is especially necessary for the poor also appears frequently. In the American colonies, the plan (1685) of Thomas Budd, an English Quaker, of public education for New Jersey and Pennsylvania ranks with the best thought of the period on the question. Like Comenius, he would provide the poor with the same educational advantages as the rich, both groups being required to help defray the cost of their schooling by working on the lands belonging to the schools.<sup>22</sup> His labor idea was similar to that embodied in the manual labor movement of the early nineteenth century.

<sup>21</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 346-347.

<sup>22</sup> *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America*, Philadelphia, 1685, 42 ff.

(a) LUTHER AND THE CITIZEN IDEAL.—Prior to the French revolutionary radicals, the citizen ideal had no stronger advocate than Luther. In 1524, he wrote that not only had God imposed upon rulers the duty of instructing youth, but that it was also to their own best interests to do so. He advocated compulsory attendance of boys at school for two hours daily, and of girls for one hour, and the instruction of boys in trades and of girls in household duties, although he did not suggest the establishment of vocational schools. "There is . . . an urgent necessity, not only for the sake of the young, but also for the maintenance of Christianity and of civil government, that this matter be immediately and earnestly taken hold of, lest afterwards, . . . we shall . . . feel in vain the pangs of remorse forever."<sup>23</sup> And he remarked further: "Though there were no soul, nor heaven, nor hell, but only the civil government, would not this require good schools and learned men more than do our spiritual interests? . . . For the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, this consideration is of itself sufficient, namely, that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well-trained men and women."<sup>24</sup> But he did not stop with his recommendation for educating the masses.

In every well-ordered state, he said, there must be a sufficient number of men trained in the Scriptures and learned languages, who will fill the pulpits with preachers, the schools with teachers, and civil offices with worthy officials. While the schools for the masses would be vernacular schools, those for church and civil leaders would be of the broader humanistic type. Vernacular schools for poorer city folk and for youths aiming to become penmen in business houses had been common in cities since the thirteenth century, but they were schools for the lower bourgeoisie rather than for the proletariat. Luther would universalize such instruction, and at public expense, for religious and civic reasons. His doctrine of private interpretation of the Scriptures assumes that every individual must be able to read, and he would make the study of the vernacular Bible a part of compulsory education.

(b) THE CITIZEN IDEAL IN COMENIUS.—While citizenship, in a narrow nationalistic sense, is foreign to the idealism of Comenius, he was aware that his suggested educational reforms could not be accomplished without government support. His reforms, he said,

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<sup>23</sup> F. V. N. Painter, *Luther on Education*, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928, 201.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 194-196.

would bring great blessing to governments, for it would supply states with great-minded men, who would compensate them for their outlay by bringing them both prosperity and security.

Thus the idea that education must have regard for the nature of man as a citizen found many advocates. Vergerius, an early humanist, called upon states to educate their citizens, and declared that the man of mere literary and intellectual accomplishments is a useless citizen. Stressing individualism and a liberal education, the humanists, as a group, identified the "complete citizen" with the fully educated man. Social and intellectual change, however, tended to divorce the ideal of scholarship from that of citizenship. Luther's masses would be socialized through the most rudimentary instruction, and even Comenius would limit the education of the great majority to six years of elementary instruction. Yet, both Luther and Comenius recognized the capacity of all for citizenship, whereas the humanists, with a few notable exceptions, were preoccupied with the task of educating the few for social leadership. The humanists' Republic of Letters was an international society, and social leadership was, for many of them, a world, not a national, leadership. While Erasmus, the humanist, considered education "a public obligation as much as the training of an army," his internationalism stands opposed to the nationalism of Luther, the Reformer. The one was influenced by the common cultural element in European tradition; the other, by the cultural peculiarities of the various national groups. Science, literature, and art belong to the Republic of Humanity, a fact often lost sight of under the stress of exaggerated nationalism.

### Development of Educational Institutions

**Vernacular Elementary Schools.** (a) CITY LAY SCHOOLS.—From the thirteenth century onward, city Latin grammar schools and vernacular schools, embodying the lay spirit, arose. The Latin schools were attended by children of merchant aristocrats, who aimed to become gentlemen, not businessmen. These were preparatory to universities or to church and civil positions, and had no connection with the vernacular schools, attended by socially inferior groups.

In these vernacular schools were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic as a preparation for minor positions in industry and commerce. Arithmetic long continued to be considered an advanced and difficult study of post-elementary character. Special writing and reckoning schools arose offering training for business, and the teachers of these subjects organized a guild to safeguard their interests. These vernacular schools were, then, vocational, not cultural in their



ends. Some of them were municipal in control, but most of them were conducted by private teachers as a source of livelihood.

(b) **THE FOLK-SCHOOLS.**—In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the vernacular schools, chiefly in the cities, increased in number. Many of them were “Dame’s Schools,” taught by women. Others were known as “petty” and “hedge” schools. These were usually private schools attended not by the destitute but by the near-destitute, who could afford to pay a few pennies for instruction. The teachers were usually poorly qualified in learning and character, and taught but little for their little fees.

The invention of printing, the multiplication of books and newspapers in the vernacular, and increasing interest in the Bible contributed, slowly but surely, to the growth of vernacular schools for the common people, national and religious motives for their establishment supplementing the earlier vocational motive. The religious motive, intensified by the Reformation, was seized upon by governments to advance the education of the masses for civic and national ends. Before the Reformation, the city proletariat and the peasantry were almost completely neglected. When their worth to states, churches, and industry was realized, organized movements to educate them began. The folk-school represents the extension of the city vernacular school to the proletarian slums and the peasant hamlet.

**Lutheranism and Elementary Education.**—Since Luther made one’s salvation depend on his ability to read the Bible, it became incumbent upon the new ecclesiastical authority to equip the people with that ability. The interests of society being also involved, Luther asked the state to help the new church in educating the masses. The economic obstacles in the way of free, universal education appearing insurmountable, he would limit popular instruction to two hours each day and to a study of the German Bible, the catechism, music, and physical exercises. While he says nothing about the vernacular tongue, instruction in it is implied in his proposal.

While public action was taken earlier in sections of North Germany, Württemberg (1559) was the first state to provide for free “German schools” for the masses in rural villages, in which reading, writing, religion, and music were to be taught. Secondary and higher pay schools for the socially superior, as Luther suggested, were planned at the same time. In 1642, the state of Gotha established a system of state schools, in which were taught the Bible, the Lutheran catechism, prayers, the liturgy of the Lutheran church, and “the natural and useful sciences,” according to the suggestions of Comenius.

Thus did Lutheran Germany begin to lay the basis of its state system, but progress was slow. All Lutheran church regulations proclaimed education to be a church function, but the church itself was a state institution deriving its educational authority from the states, whose educational power was supreme. Before 1700, nearly all German states had made legal provision for popular education, but the laws were poorly enforced, and the folk-schools remained very inefficient until the nineteenth century, largely because of the opposition of property owners and of parental indifference. Lutheranism, however, promoted the governmental acceptance of the principle of free, universal, elementary education, and the laying of the legal basis for such education.

**Calvinism and Elementary Education.**—Farther to the left of the old orthodox position than Luther, stood Calvin, who abolished all religious doctrines and practices lacking Biblical warrant. To the laity he gave much ecclesiastical power. To everyone, he said, God has given the spark of reason in order to discover and understand truth. From Geneva, its center, Calvinism exerted a mighty influence upon education, particularly in Holland, Scotland, and America. Calvin would have everyone instructed in the vernacular, grammar, and arithmetic; and civil and church leaders, in the languages and sciences. Following Calvin's system of Geneva, the state, in Holland, Scotland, New England, and New Amsterdam was a church-state partnership, in which the church dominated.

(a) **IN HOLLAND.**—The church synods of Holland delegated educational authority to Calvinist civil magistrates, who acted as their agents. Here, religious vernacular schools, free to the poor, were established everywhere, under teachers of tested Calvinist orthodoxy. The vernacular, the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and prayers comprised the elementary curriculum, while national patriotism was inculcated as a result of bourgeois influence.

(b) **IN SCOTLAND.**—John Knox's democratic plan of schools (1560) from the elementary to the university, with its liberal scheme of free education for the poor, was rejected by the Scotch Parliament (1567). The Parliament, however, in the latter year made church officials the supervisors of schools and, in 1592, the authority for licensing teachers. In 1640, the presbyteries were given legal power to levy a tax for parish schools and, in 1646, every parish was legally required to maintain a teacher. These laws lacking enforcement, elementary education was provided mainly by private teachers until

the eighteenth century, when a general system of parish schools was established.

(c) IN COLONIAL NORTH AMERICA.—While the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were active in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and parts of the South, it was the Puritan founders of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire who made the chief Calvinist contribution to education in the New World. Massachusetts was founded as a Biblical commonwealth, exclusively for Puritans, non-Puritans enjoying only the freedom to stay out of it. Puritan exclusiveness, however, soon broke down, because the worldly business of the Puritans made it impossible for them to escape the influence of the world. In the state, as founded, only Puritans could vote or hold public office. The state was Puritan, and its towns were Puritan towns. Its laws were Puritan laws, passed by Puritans in their civil capacity. Its town schools were Puritan schools, supervised by Puritan ministers, taught by tested Puritan teachers, and the religion of the schools was Puritan, or Calvinist. Though the state and its schools were denominational, this Puritan state was a state; this Biblical commonwealth, a commonwealth, whose laws were civil laws, albeit they bear the stamp of Puritanism.

To make children Puritans, the General Court of Massachusetts (1642) required, by law, the selectmen of towns to see that all children were properly employed and were able "to read & understand the principles of religion, & the capitall lawes of this country," and to apprentice children neglected by their parents. In 1647, the Court ordered every town of fifty families to employ a teacher of reading and writing, whose fees should be paid either by the parents or the town community. Connecticut legislated similarly, in 1650, as did New Hampshire, in 1680, when it ceased to be a part of Massachusetts, although the latter law was ignored until 1719, when more careful provision for schools was made.

Through Calvinism came the New England town elementary school, public in character, although that public was, in the beginning, a Puritan public. That school survived (although pioneer conditions and social change militated against it) as the influential forerunner of the public, elementary, secular, common school of our modern American states.

(d) THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER.—Widely used in the schools of New England and in those of Dissenters everywhere was the religious text *The New England Primer*. First published about 1690,



it was republished and reprinted for nearly 200 years,<sup>25</sup> and, for 150 years, had an average sale of 20,000 copies yearly. The alphabet, illustrated and in rhyme, syllables, words of one to six syllables, moral and religious lessons from the Bible, the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*, and usually John Cotton's "Spiritual Milk for American Babes Drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments," the martyrdom of John Rogers and his last poetic advice to his children, and a lengthy "Dialogue between Christ, a Youth and the Devil" were included in it. Even with the alphabet, the child drank from the religious spring:

A. In <i>Adam's</i> Fall	R. Young pious <i>Ruth</i>
We sinned all.	Left all for Truth.
B. Heaven to find	. . .
The <i>Bible</i> Mind.	T. Young <i>Timothy</i>
. . .	Learnt sin to fly.
N. <i>Noah</i> did view	. . .
The old world & new.	Z. <i>Zaccheus</i> he
. . .	Did climb the Tree,
	Our Lord to see. <sup>26</sup>

All blessings and powers come from God :

The Praises of my Tongue  
I offer to the Lord,  
That I was taught and learnt so young  
To read his holy Word.

God has decreed our final end :

I in the burying place may see,  
Graves shorter there than I,  
From death's arrest no age is free,  
Young children too must die.  
My God may such an awful sight,  
Awakening be to me!  
Oh! that by early grace I might  
For death prepared be.

Among "Easy Questions for Children," the grammatical structure being familiar, we find:

Who created you?—God.  
Of what was you made?—Of the dust of the earth.  
What doth that teach you?—Humility.  
For what end was you made?—To glorify God.

<sup>25</sup> *Vide* reprint of the 1777 Draper edition by Joel Munsell Sons, Albany, 1885.

<sup>26</sup> From the Edward Draper edition, Boston, 1777.

This primer rapidly disappeared from the schools of America after 1800, due to the growth of the secular, national spirit. That secularism has now almost completely triumphed over denomination-ism in education, although a militant reaction against it has recently appeared. The modern state spends money to make citizens and craftsmen, but not a cent for the salvation of souls. Nor is it clear that the present growing demand in America for religious education, as a part of our public school program, is actuated by an otherworldly motive.

**Anglicanism and Elementary Education.**—In Anglican England, where the aristocratic church had great power, attempts, though ineffective, were made to impose the official orthodoxy upon everyone. The school was particularly watched. Unorthodox teachers were forbidden to teach, under heavy penalties, and their employers were fined, under a law of 1580. The Act of Conformity (1662) required all teachers to sign a declaration of loyalty to church and state, and forbade them to teach without a bishop's license, the latter being a legal requirement since 1603. "The Five Mile Act" (1665) added further restrictions. Teachers of certain endowed schools were exempted from these legal burdens, and about 1100 endowed elementary schools were founded before 1730.

The Anglican church, being a national church, was the state's educational agent, the state itself performing no direct educational function until the late nineteenth century. Yet, by the Poor Law of 1601, the state directed Overseers of the Poor to apprentice pauper children and to provide workhouses for those not apprenticed. This law took beggars off the streets and forced them into the army of laborers, where competition kept wages low to the profit of employers. This enforced apprenticeship system for the poor and orphans was carried to the American colonies, the laws providing for their instruction in the rudiments.

The Anglican Reformation, because of the perversion of church property for secular ends, nearly destroyed the elementary schools of England. Philanthropists, however, began anew to endow charity schools for the poor, private masters providing cheap schooling for the lower bourgeoisie. But destitution, ignorance, and crime increased among the lower social elements. In 1698, the Anglican church organized the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S.P.C.K.) and, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S.P.G.). From the start, these two

societies established schools for the limited end of teaching reading, writing, and the Anglican catechism. The enrollment in the schools of the S.P.C.K. reached a height of about 50,000, in 1750.

In the North American colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, New Jersey, parts of New England, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the S.P.G. conducted schools similar to those of the S.P.C.K. in England. Anglican indoctrination of the poor was the primary motive of these educational activities.

**Non-conformist Charity Schools.**—The Dissenters in England also established charity schools for the poor, but these were few in comparison with those of the S.P.C.K.

**Quakerism and Elementary Education.**—Of the smaller sects, the Society of Friends was probably the most active in education, that being one of the chief cares of their various Meetings. In the British Isles and America, they provided for the “guarded education” of their own children and for the free education of the poor of Quaker and other faiths. In New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and parts of the South, they conducted schools. Many of their schools are still among the most excellent in America. The curriculum in their early elementary schools comprised religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and probably bookkeeping. Becoming conduct, everywhere and always, was constantly enjoined upon their pupils, as was the use of the “plain language” for Quaker children.

**Catholicism and Elementary Education.**—The charity school movement among Catholics centered in France, the most notable achievement being that of the Brethren of the Christian Schools, founded by Jean Baptiste de la Salle, in 1682. In 1684, he opened his teacher training seminary at Rheims. In 1792, the Brethren had 127 houses and were instructing some 36,000 boys. Their schools, designed for the poor, were free, but, in time, paying students from the lower middle class were admitted to them to pursue advanced commercial studies. The Catholic religion had a prominent place in the curriculum of all the Brethren's schools. In addition, in most of their schools, only reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic were taught, but always with a practical emphasis. Occasionally, boys were taught a trade. The Brethren's discipline was, for a long time, severe, and the school atmosphere repressive. When whipped, a boy was compelled to kneel and thank the teacher for his kindness.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, II, 431.



Among the pedagogical contributions of La Salle were the substitution of class instruction for the usual individual recitation; the careful organization of subject matter to facilitate group instruction; and the individual and orderly promotion of students from one unit of subject matter to another.

**Elementary Education for Girls.**—In spite of Protestant solicitation for girls' souls, and the actual legal provision made for them in such states as Württemberg and Gotha, girls were but meagerly cared for in most Protestant countries, Anglican England almost wholly neglecting them. The Quakers and Moravians deviated notably from this rule. Catholic states showed no interest at all in the problem but, from the sixteenth century onward, congregations of nuns and of lay women made some provision for a few Catholic girls. The Catholic schools were of the convent type where, with the rudiments, girls were taught to stifle their natural desires and to neglect their bodies, "destined to serve as food for worms."<sup>28</sup>

**School Life and Discipline.**—Thus were the masses cared for prior to the rise of national school systems. Their portion, where accessible, was instruction in the 4 R's: religion, reading, 'ritin, and rudimentary 'rithmetic. Private masters and dames, poorly qualified in learning and character, were numerous, but taught little for their little fees. The churches, and their societies, did something for the poor, conditions being best where the church and state coöperated to educate the masses. Denominational indoctrination characterized education. The school atmosphere was Biblical and sepulchral. Children everywhere shared the ponderous religiosity of their elders. James Janeway in his *Token for Children*, in which he tells stories of their conversion, holy lives and "joyful deaths," tells how Elizabeth Butcher, born in Boston in 1709, asked herself, when two and a half years old, "What is my corrupt nature?" to which she made answer, "It is empty of Grace, bent unto Sin." At the age of seven, her happiest day was "catechizing day." In John Wesley's rules for schools, we read: "As we have no play days, so neither do we allow any time for play on any day; for he that plays as a child will play as a man."<sup>29</sup>

In school and out, the rod was the means of discipline. A well-known case of school torture is that of the Swabian teacher who, in fifty-one years of teaching, gave 911,527 blows with a rod, 124,010

<sup>28</sup> E. P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920, 282.

<sup>29</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, II, 422.

blows with a cane, 20,989 taps with a ruler, 136,715 blows with the hand, 10,235 blows on the mouth, 7,905 boxes on the ear, and 1,118,800 blows on the head. He made boys kneel on peas 777 times, and on a three-cornered piece of wood 613 times, while he made 3,001 students wear the dunce's cap.

The life of the teacher was not pleasant either. Said Goldsmith: "If you are for a genteel, easy profession, bind yourself seven years apprentice to turn a cutler's wheel, but avoid a school by any means."<sup>30</sup>

**Developments in Secondary Education: 1. The Latin Grammar School.** (a) **IN ITALY.**—The rediscovery of Graeco-Roman literature and the revival of interest in classical and, with the Reformation, in Biblical antiquity led to the establishment in Europe and America of schools in which Latin and Greek, especially Latin, came to comprise almost the entire curriculum. These first arose in Italy, the most famous one being that of Vittorino da Feltre, who aimed to mould learned Christian gentlemen through an education embodying the classical, Christian, and chivalric ideals. A classical education, based upon pagan and early Christian authors, he provided to that end, the immediate aim being to give a youth eloquence, an ornate literary style, and sound moral and intellectual experiences. Vittorino stressed the content of the classics as well as their form and, in the curriculum, added to them music, mathematics, and physical exercises. His school embodied the humanist conception of a liberal education. In its literary emphasis, it was a re-creation of the grammar and rhetorical schools of pagan Rome. That old tradition being again re-established, it has been difficult for men to accept the view that any non-literary education can be liberal. Thus the introduction of science into the curriculum was bitterly opposed. When an industrialized world needed a new type of leadership, and when democracy demanded that a liberal education be defined in terms of individual needs and capacities, the older conception began to be changed, but its advocates are still numerous and influential. They deny the view that a job-centered education can be liberal.

The early Italian classical schools were private and usually endowed by city dictators. Though admitting an occasional talented poor boy, they were the schools of the commercial and landed aristocracy who, seeking social distinction for their sons, despised the loaves-and-fishes education of the writing and reckoning schools and of the universities.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, II, 425.

(b) THE LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN NORTHERN EUROPE.—The humanists and Reformers of Northern Europe accepted the classics as an instrument of enlightenment and of social and religious reform, and Catholics viewed them as bulwarks of orthodoxy. They were found useful in defending many theological and Scriptural positions. The humanists, the social reformers, the more conservative churches, the courts, and the aristocracy supported the new education.

(c) THE GERMAN GYMNASIUM.—By 1500, the Brethren of the Common Life, a religious society, active and influential in education in northwestern Europe, since 1376, had introduced the classics into their schools, which numbered over 150 by the year 1550. Among their students were Erasmus and John Sturm, the latter the reorganizer, in 1537, of the Strassburg municipal Latin school, to which he gave the name *Gymnasium*. Earlier classical school types, organized by Luther's friend, Melancthon, did not survive, but the nine-class *gymnasium* became the classical secondary school of Germany. It was but the old mediaeval city Latin school, reorganized and made humanistic in purpose. It taught Latin grammar, not as preparatory to logic, but as an instrument of correct expression; and it taught classical literature for the sake of liberal training and the moulding of church and civil leaders. Following Luther's views, the education of church and state leaders continued to be a purpose of secondary education stated in school and church ordinances in Germany throughout the sixteenth century. The *gymnasium* embodied that purpose. In it, students studied, almost exclusively, Latin and Greek, emphasis being placed upon grammar and the style of Cicero, whose works comprised a large part of the curriculum. In Sturm's school, logic, rhetoric, and the elements of mathematics received a little attention in the upper grades, but the mathematical studies were given the barest recognition. Greek had a minor place as compared with Latin. Physical education was neglected entirely. The writing and speaking of Latin were the chief work of the school.

In the control of the *gymnasium* church and state participated until the influence of the church was weakened by events since World War I. While publicly aided, it was an expensive school which catered to the privileged upper class. Prior to 1919, all German secondary schools were for groups enjoying different degrees of privilege. For the masses, there was the free folk-school system, from which transfer to the secondary schools was practically impossible because of cost and curricular differences. The transition from a



lower social class to a higher one was also well-nigh impossible in Germany as elsewhere in Europe. Born a common man, the European almost certainly remained one.

(d) THE ENGLISH LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—About the year 1510, Dean Colet, assisted by Erasmus, refounded St. Paul's School, London, on the humanistic plan. Its stated purpose was the attainment by its students of wisdom, good manners, and eloquence. The curriculum consisted of the catechism in English, the Greek and Roman classics, and the works of Christian authors who wrote in "clene and chaste latin." English secondary education has, with some modifications in recent times, borne that general character ever since.

The British state did not establish or control these secondary schools of the humanistic period. They were founded by individual philanthropists and private organizations for the intellectual, religious, and moral development of the individual youth rather than for the moulding of church and civil leaders. The earlier schools were generally free and open to all classes though intended primarily for the poor. The poor, however, were soon robbed of their gift. In Holinshed's *Chronicle*, for 1573, we are told that Oxford and Cambridge "were erected by their founders at the first only for poor men's sons, . . . but now they have the least benefit of them by reason the rich do so encroach upon them. . . . In some grammar schools likewise which send scholars to these universities it is lamentable to see what bribery is used; for ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribeage is made, that poor men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received."<sup>31</sup>

While the control of these English classical schools was vested in a private board of trustees, the Anglican church licensed the teachers, tested their orthodoxy and supervised the religious instruction they offered. Allied to Anglican orthodoxy, the classics became firmly entrenched in the secondary schools of England as well as in the Anglican universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for which many of them, particularly the Great Public Schools, became almost exclusively preparatory.

(e) THE JESUIT SCHOOLS.—The studies of the Jesuit secondary schools were almost exclusively classical. After nearly sixty years of teaching experience, the Jesuits published, in 1599, their *Plan of Studies*, which fixed authoritatively the curriculum and methods of their secondary schools and colleges until its revision, in 1832. In

<sup>31</sup> Cited by R. B. Morgan, *Readings in English Social History*, Cambridge University Press, 1923, 297-298 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their schools were excellent. Their teachers were well trained, and their work was carefully organized and efficiently performed. Students entered the secondary school between the ages of ten and fourteen, having received their elementary instruction elsewhere. There were five classes in each school, but students spent two or, sometimes, three years in the last, or rhetoric, class. There, Jesuit secondary education ended but, above it, was organized, in a college or university, the two- or three-year philosophical course, a theological course of five or six years capping the whole organization. No one was permitted to teach in the classical school until he had completed the philosophical course. That was a guarantee of his orthodoxy. Besides, for some time, the work of the beginning teacher was supervised by older men. The *Plan of Studies* was every teacher's guide, and the whole system rested upon the principle of authority. New opinions on questions already settled by others were officially condemned, and new questions pertaining to religion might not be asked by anyone without the permission of designated officials. Obedience to rules and approved practices was required. The authoritatively approved methods of memorization and repetition were everywhere used. Effort was stimulated by competitions, emulation, and prizes. Corporal punishment was practically unknown in Jesuit schools.

In moulding Catholic minds, the Jesuits used the combined influence of humanism and religion. The philosophical-theological discipline imposed upon their teachers guaranteed the result. The Jesuits gained a monopoly of secondary and higher education in Catholic lands, beginning with France. In 1773, when they were temporarily disbanded, they had over 700 schools and about 200,000 students. Though catering to a social élite, they constantly sought youths of exceptional ability, whether rich or poor, for membership in the Society. Their schools were free and, therefore, of great propagandist value.

While other Catholic groups, such as the Oratorians and Jansenists, conducted secondary schools less hamstrung by the classical tradition, the Jesuit schools were the bulwarks of humanism and orthodoxy in Catholic countries.

(f) THE LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN AMERICA.—In America, our first secondary schools were imported European Latin schools, all alike in purpose and curriculum. In methods of control and support, they differed because of national or religious tradition. In Puritan Massachusetts, following the practice of Calvinist countries,

the church and state coöperated to establish the schools. In Anglican Virginia, as in England, the work was left to private effort.

The Virginia settlers, in 1621, subscribed funds for a "publique free schoole," but adversity prevented its establishment. In 1635, the citizens of Boston voted to appoint a town schoolmaster and, in 1636, Daniel Maud was appointed the "free schoolmaster" of the town. Thus arose the Boston Latin School, the first secondary school in the colonies. The citizens of Boston established it by vote, but only those could vote who held much property and were members of the Puritan church. The support came from voluntary subscriptions until, in 1650, a compulsory town rate was adopted. The state granted land to aid in supporting the school.

Other Massachusetts towns followed rapidly the example of Boston and, in 1647, the General Court legalized the practice by passing the "Old Deluder Satan Act," whose preamble reads: "It being one of the chief projects of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors." To these ends, the Court ordered every town of a hundred families to appoint a grammar master capable of preparing boys for the university, a fine of £5 (raised gradually to £30 by 1718) being imposed upon towns violating the law. Thus did the Puritan state create Latin schools "to advance learning," says *New England's First Fruits*, "and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." That is not the purpose of our modern high schools, for our society has changed and our schools have changed with it.

Generally, the Massachusetts Latin schools were controlled by the selectmen of the towns, and were inspected by Puritan ministers who passed upon the orthodoxy of the teachers. Boston, in 1709, appointed laymen to accompany the ministers on their rounds of inspection, and the ministers protested, but in vain.

Connecticut and New Hampshire adopted the plan of Massachusetts. The New England town Latin school, however, was not popular, for it was not suited to the economic life of a population pioneering under difficult conditions. Latin had little to contribute to one's success in farming, industry, or commerce. The Latin school was the school of the rich, although an occasional talented poor boy



was admitted to it. The marked class distinctions of society pervaded the schools of the Puritan state. Harvard continued to list students, not alphabetically, but by their social rank until the eve of the Revolution. Significant social change brought eventually the free high school for all the children of all the people, regardless of wealth, rank, or belief. Yet the Puritan Latin school, in its public aspect, contained an essential element of the idealism embodied in the high school of today.

(g) **LATIN SCHOOLS OUTSIDE OF NEW ENGLAND.**—The Dutch, in New Amsterdam; the Quakers and other religious groups, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; and the Anglican English settlers, in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas established Latin schools, similar in purpose and curriculum to those of New England, but differing from them in matters of control and support. In keeping with Quaker utilitarianism, a higher English school existed from the start side by side with the Latin school in the Quaker system of Pennsylvania. William Penn's plan of public schools was not realized, and colonial secondary schools in Pennsylvania were provided by denominational groups and private schoolmasters. In 1696, Maryland provided by law for the establishment of classical schools, to be supported by gifts and duties on merchandise. Only King William's School, now St. John's College at Annapolis, resulted from that law. In Virginia, bequests were made for schools by Benjamin Symms (1635), Thomas Eaton (1646), and by others later, and a few "free schools," or classical schools, resulted from such philanthropies. In 1724, the ministers of twenty-nine parishes reported to the Bishop of London the existence of three schools of apparently classical character, one of which was the grammar school of William and Mary College. Private effort in Virginia accomplished much less than public effort in New England. In South Carolina, in 1710 and 1712, and in North Carolina, in 1745 and 1764, the governments aided and encouraged the establishment of secondary schools. In the South Carolina school, under Anglican control, practical mathematics, bookkeeping, navigation, and surveying were taught in addition to the classics, a practice followed also in a school authorized by the New York legislature, in 1732. Ministers of various denominations, the Presbyterians being most active, established Latin schools in connection with their churches, the practice being quite prevalent in the Carolinas and Pennsylvania.

(h) **GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**—In aims and curriculum, our early Latin school

was the European humanistic school carried to the New World. The immediate aim was college preparation; the remote, the training of leaders for church and state. Our colonial colleges, with the exception of the College of Philadelphia, and to a degree of King's College, were essentially theological seminaries. Latin and the rudiments of Greek comprised nine-tenths of all colonial grammar school instruction. In the cities, the private master appeared in answer to a popular demand for practical studies. Until 1745, when arithmetic was first required, Latin and the rudiments of Greek were the only requirements for admission to colleges.

In the Latin schools, the morals of boys were rigorously supervised and their spirits suppressed. Corporal punishment and expulsion were usually inflicted for graver offenses. The school day began at six or seven in the morning, and ended at four or five in the afternoon. The enrollment was low, the average school having about thirty students. Generally, the teachers were laymen or men preparing for the ministry. Denominational orthodoxy was a prime requisite for teaching. Teachers' salaries, with a few exceptions, were very low in present-day values. Girls were not admitted to the Latin schools, for they were barred from colleges, pulpits, and public offices. From 1700 onward, the Latin school slowly declined and, first in Europe and then in America, the *Realschule* and academy began to replace it.

(i) HUMANISTIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR LIMITATIONS.—Thus arose the classical secondary school of Europe and America. In Lutheran and Calvinist countries, the church and state coöperated in providing it. In England, private agencies, supervised by the Anglican church, provided it. In Catholic lands, religious societies, authorized by the pope, were its chief supporters. Seldom was the school free from sectarian domination. Generally its basic aim, though not always stated, was the training of an intellectual élite for the service of church and state. Latin grammar was its fundamental study, and to it was added the acquisition of a useful Latin vocabulary, Latin conversation, Latin prose and verse composition, the reading of Latin authors, especially Cicero and Virgil, Latin declamations, performance of Latin plays, elementary Greek, religion, and, occasionally, rudimentary mathematics, such other studies as history, geography, etc., being taught incidentally in connection with the classics. Students, generally, were forbidden to speak the vernacular. While dead, or rapidly expiring, Latin was used in the schools as a living tongue, because it had been useful in ecclesiastical and civil affairs

when vernacular literatures were in a formative state, and because a classical education was a badge of social distinction.

When humanized schools first arose and, again, when religious controversies revitalized them, the spirit and ideas in literature were exalted above its forms. But instruction in all of them eventually degenerated into the barren formalism which Erasmus called Ciceronianism. The graduate knew words; their significance for life and the world, he did not know. His intellect had been enslaved by a worship of the words of the new tyrant of the intellect, Cicero. Said Voltaire of his Jesuit training: "The fathers taught me nothing but Latin and nonsense." And the same might be said of all classical schools of the time. The true spirit of humanism—life, and thought and knowledge—had departed from the schools.

The Latin schools, though occasionally free, were the schools not of the people but of the social élite. Even today, the poor cannot always afford to accept free education. Still less could they accept it from the fifteenth till the eighteenth century.

Though their schools degenerated, the ideals of the humanists have lasting values. To understand life and human problems for the sake of building a nobler world; to unite mankind by a common culture; and to free man's soul from fears, his intellect from ignorance, and his body from infirmities were ideals of lasting worth. And, with all their faults, the humanistic schools promoted an exact scholarship in the literary field that inspired directly the creation of scholarly works in the humanities and history, and, indirectly, in other fields.

**2. Rise of Real Schools and Academies.** (a) **ORIGIN.**—An education stressing mere words and forms ignored the realities and needs of life. Men needed practical training for political office and for industrial and commercial life. By ignoring vernaculars and the sciences the Latin school did not keep pace with social progress. Criticisms of it were numerous. There thus arose new schools stressing modern studies, such as the vernacular, modern languages, history, geography, and a long array of practical sciences. These first arose in France and Germany to prepare young gentlemen for courtly life. In France, in 1638, the Oratorians, at the request of Louis XIII, opened such a school. Somewhat earlier, academies for nobles, *Ritterakademien*, were established in Germany. Courtly academies did not develop in England largely because of the conservatism and power of the Anglican church in educational affairs. About sixty academies, however, were established by non-conformist ministers after 1662,



when the Act of Conformity was passed. In these, modern studies were stressed. They were a protest against religious and educational orthodoxy, and were supported by the progressive middle class. In France, the Oratorians and the Jansenists introduced French, geography, history, mathematics, and the sciences into the curriculum, but the Jesuits opposed modernization. Humanism, however, has remained strongly entrenched in France even to our own day.

(b) THE GERMAN REALSCHULE.—In Germany, the striving for a school preparing youths for real life culminated in the establishment of Hecker's *Realschule*, in Berlin, in 1747. That school embodied the spirit of science as man's servant in his economic struggle. Like the English academies, it was also the child of religious dissent, for its creators were Pietist dissenters from Lutheranism. Its forerunners were the *Pädagogium* established by the Pietist minister, Francke, at Halle, in 1696, and the Mathematical and Mechanical Real School, established by Semler, another Pietist, in 1706. Hecker, in his *Realschule*, aimed to prepare middle-class boys for practical pursuits. It was not a trade school. It provided instruction in writing, arithmetic, Latin, French, German, history, geography, drawing, geometry, mechanics, manufactures, economics, and architecture. It was the educational counterpart of the economic, social, religious, and intellectual changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it embodied much of the educational philosophy of which Bacon and Comenius were the leading representatives. It looked toward the encyclopedic goal of Comenius.

In their attempt to do too much, schools of the new type often did little well. They were the result of the economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual forces of the time, all of which, in a greater or less degree, helped to bring into education the new utilitarian purpose, the new inductive method, and the new curriculum which mark them off from the humanistic schools.

(c) THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.—While the academy became the American secondary school only after the Revolution, it had its beginning earlier. The view that Franklin's Philadelphia Academy, proposed in 1743 and 1749, and opened in 1750, was the first academy here is only partly correct. Certainly, many modern and practical subjects were taught, particularly by private schoolmasters, from about 1700 onward. Besides, regarding support and control, many post-Revolution academies show a long advance toward the public high school beyond that of Franklin. While we shall

look only at the Philadelphia Academy here, the social changes out of which it grew lie back of the whole academy movement.

The Philadelphia Academy, as were all our academies, was a product of our rapidly changing society. Back of it lie the Commercial Revolution and the rapid economic expansion of the New World; the rapid increase in our population and the emergence of a strong middle class; the growing heterogeneity of our population from the standpoints of national origins and religion; the spread of religious dissent and the breakdown of established churches and denominational exclusiveness; the growth of democracy which, in its earlier stages, was an aristocratic democracy; and the scientific movement abroad, of the influence of which there is an abundance of strong circumstantial evidence.

(d) THE PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY.—Franklin's school was not a town or a church Latin school, or a private school, or, when established, a college preparatory school. While designed especially for the racially and religiously heterogeneous population of Pennsylvania, all Americans were welcome to use it, if they could pay the tuition fees. It was, in a degree, a national institution. In support, it was semi-public. In its control, its faculty and its students, it was non-sectarian from the start in practice and, after a struggle, in spirit. Its purposes, as stated by Franklin, were utilitarian from a social, professional, and vocational standpoint. He urged in his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, its establishment because "a proportion of men of learning is useful in every country" and because "those, who of late years come to settle among us, are chiefly foreigners, unacquainted with our language, laws and customs." The Germans were then the dreaded foreigners. Addressing the City Council of Philadelphia, Franklin stated the following as purposes of the Academy: (a) the education of civil officials in a country swarming with foreigners, and (b) the training of rural teachers. The latter remained a purpose of our academies throughout the nineteenth century. The original trustees defined the purpose in terms of social well-being and political unity, and one of them, Richard Peters, said the Academy would preserve civil and religious liberty. Franklin defined its purpose in terms, also, of the preparation of youths for useful living. He would have them taught the things that are "*most useful and most ornamental*," attention being paid to their future vocations. Franklin said that the purpose of the English School was preparation for business and civil life.

As organized, the Academy had a Latin and English School, a teacher of mathematics being employed to teach apparently in both. A mathematical school emerged later. With the granting of a college charter (1755), the Latin School was combined with the college, the English and mathematical schools remaining as the Academy. In 1762, Provost Smith said that the boys in the Academy proper were preparing for "Merchandize, Trade, Navigation, and the Mechanic Professions." The English School, with its utilitarian goal, was permitted by the trustees, during Franklin's long absence, to become but a shadow of its creator's ideal. As an old man, Franklin complained bitterly of that neglect of duty.

**Developments in Higher Education.** (a) **CHANGING CURRICULUM.**—The universities, long strongholds of scholasticism, were forced by popular demand to give a grudging recognition to the classics. University officials long considered Greek to be heretical, and the church feared that the new learning might be used to interpret the Scriptures. By the sixteenth century, however, the classics had a place in the universities, although the old studies of theology, philosophy, law, and medicine continued to stand first in dignity. The theological struggle of the Reformation age brought, indeed, an increased emphasis upon the Bible, theology, scholastic philosophy, and moral philosophy, while Greek and Latin declined in some institutions. Philosophy and science remained in bondage to Aristotle and a few other ancients, such as Galen and Hippocrates in medicine, until the end of the seventeenth century. The teaching of anatomy by dissecting corpses, dating from the early sixteenth century, was a new approach to the study of medicine.

(b) **THE UNIVERSITIES IN BONDAGE.**—Political and ecclesiastical tyranny robbed the universities, in post-Reformation days, of their earlier freedom. Catholic governments required professors to take oaths of loyalty to the church and its dogmas. Censorship of books and lectures was so effective that heresies in Catholic universities were almost unknown. The Spanish Inquisition forbade the study of anatomy. The once powerful and free University of Paris fell a victim to religious fanaticism and Jesuit opposition. The French government imposed religious and intellectual orthodoxy upon its professors. In 1624, the Parlement of Paris forbade, under penalty of death, any questioning of Aristotle. So conservative was the University forced to become that it refused to license the greatest scientific works of the time.



In Protestant states, a similar bondage was imposed upon universities. The state-supported University of Leyden was compelled to uphold the Reformed faith, and to accept Aristotle as the sole authority in philosophy. The law forbade even the mention of the name of Descartes, the rationalist, in the institution. In Lutheran Germany, the universities fell under the domination of the several states, which appointed and paid the professors, the church making its will felt through state action. The practice of having one university in each state, which state residents were required to attend, became so general that eighteen universities were established between 1500 and 1700. In all of them, Aristotelian intellectual tyranny and Lutheran orthodoxy were imposed upon faculties and students.

In England, Henry VIII and Edward VI recast the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge in order to purge it of Roman Catholicism. Anglican orthodoxy was imposed upon professors and students by state law, as was, after 1640, the dogma of the divine right of kings.

Thus, everywhere in Europe political and ecclesiastical despotisms destroyed the freedom of universities. In chains, they could provide no light to guide men and societies to greater achievements. In medicine only could they experiment. By 1700, the student enrollment ran from about 2000, for a few large ones, to about 300, for a few smaller ones. The students were drawn mostly from the aristocracy and the upper and middle plutocracy, a poor boy very rarely securing admission. The richer boys lived riotously. Indeed, the universities offered little that would stimulate any youth to intellectual effort. Milton remarked that they take "from young men the use of their reason by certain charms compounded of metaphysics, miracles, traditions, and absurd scriptures."<sup>32</sup> Toward the sciences, they were as unfriendly as formerly they had been toward the classics. Except in medicine, research was practically unknown in them. For science study, they lacked laboratory equipment. A few astronomical instruments, and terrestrial and celestial globes comprised the scientific interests of most of them before 1700.

In the eighteenth century, the universities drifted toward rationalism and secularism, and governments began to challenge the right of churches to dominate human minds. First in Germany, the universities ceased to be theological seminaries. There, royal patronage lent new dignity to the professoriate which, freed from church domination, began to stress research and new intellectual adventure. The

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<sup>32</sup> Cited in P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, I, 344.

University of Halle was the first center of an intellectual revolt, led by Thomasius, the rationalist, and Francke, the Pietist. Here, original research, even in theology, and free from the bondage of authority, was substituted for bookish intellectualism. The search for new truth was substituted for the worship of old errors, and the principle of academic freedom was defended in theory and respected in practice. But Halle was Pietist and, therefore, in a degree, propagandist. Freedom of research and teaching became even more complete at the University of Göttingen, chartered in 1734 by the state of Hanover. Here, German was exclusively the language of instruction and, as at Halle, science was stressed as much as literature. These changes were an expansion of liberal education. In the later eighteenth century, higher technical schools, such as the Collegium Carolinum of Brunswick, were established in Germany to prepare youths for the new professions like that of engineering.

Outside of Germany, university progress continued to be checked by church and state, and by the heavy hand of tradition. In Italy, Spain, France, and England, universities were custodians of official orthodoxies. Oxford and Cambridge excluded all non-Anglicans. Puritanism, however, attained a foothold, especially in Cambridge. In both, the aristocracy enjoyed most of the privileges. All Souls College, Oxford, required only that its Fellows be *optime nati, bene vestiti, mediocriter docti* (excellently born, well dressed, and moderately educated). One student passed a Latin examination by stating the pedigree of a horse. Another, in 1770, was awarded the bachelor's degree for giving the Hebrew word for skull and for naming the founder of University College.<sup>33</sup> Such cases, while significant, do not tell the whole story of Oxford's learning.

(c) THE RISE OF AMERICAN COLLEGES.—In the New World, imperial Spain founded the first universities: in 1551, in Peru; in 1551, in Mexico; in 1622, in Argentina; in 1619, in Chile; in 1624, in Bolivia. Latin America had twelve universities and many classical secondary schools, most of them in charge of Catholic religious societies, before the English colonies in North America had established a single higher institution of learning. In the English colonies, Harvard College, founded by the Puritans, in 1636, was the first higher institution. To advance and perpetuate learning and to supply the Puritan pulpits with learned ministers were the chief motives for its establishment. In 1642, the admission requirements were a mature knowledge of Latin and an elementary knowledge of Greek; and the re-

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 402 ff.

quirements for degrees were: for the B.A., good character and the ability to read "the Originalls of the Old and New Testament in the Latin tongue, and to resolve them Logically"; and for the M.A., the writing of "a System . . . of Logick, Natural and Morall Phylosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy," and a defense of "the Theses or positions," plus a "godly life and conversation." Established to meet the civil and religious needs of New England, Harvard, in its earlier years, was the cradle of Puritan theological orthodoxy.

Elsewhere in the colonies, other denominational colleges arose: in Virginia, the Anglican College of William and Mary (1693); in Connecticut, the Congregationalist Yale College (1701); in New Jersey, the Presbyterian Princeton College (1746); in New York, the Anglican King's College (1754); in Rhode Island, the Baptist Brown College (1764); in New Hampshire, the Congregationalist Dartmouth (1769); and in New Jersey, the Dutch Reformed Rutgers College (1770).

With the sole exception of the College of Philadelphia, chartered in 1755, though a college since 1752, all our pre-Revolution colleges were denominational in control and, almost entirely, in spirit, though that spirit was weakening here and there. Yale was established as a protest against the impiety and, what Cotton Mather called, the "foolosophy" that had begun to taint Harvard. Franklin's College of Philadelphia was the only college in the colonies whose control was non-sectarian.

Theology and the classics were the core of our colonial college curriculum. Around these were grouped logic, rhetoric, ethics, politics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and, occasionally, Hebrew. Here we have the mediaeval liberal arts, modified by Aristotelianism, humanism, and the Reformation. In King's College, and still more in the College of Philadelphia, the spirit of progress invaded our higher institutions. The course proposed for the Philadelphia College, in 1756, comprised Latin, Greek, mathematics (including trigonometry, conic sections, and fluxions), logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, botany, zoology, physics, astronomy, and French. That represents a recognition of the new scientific elements in culture and of some of the needs of our changing civilization. It is at least worthy of note that the trustees of the College of Philadelphia communicated with the authorities at Halle and received from them their plan of education.

With minor differences, the universities of Europe and America, prior to the nineteenth century, were all alike. They all possessed the faith that they were the guardians of truth, and that the highest



truths are attainable only by theological and philosophical speculation. Likewise, a common interest in man and his institutions, a bequest of humanism, characterized all universities. As our period closed, science and rationalism were beginning to transform the older notion of truth, and the universities were beginning to admit the new scientific intellectualism which was destined, for a time, to preserve their common character. The changing world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has, at last, destroyed the unity of purpose and of knowledge which long marked the universities of the world.

**Post-elementary Education for Girls.**—The expansion of the middle class and its increasing wealth brought a demand, particularly from 1700 onward, for an education in the accomplishments for girls. The daughters of aristocrats had long been in receipt of their “dowry of education,” characterized by much of the “polite” and a modicum of the “solid” studies. It was provided as a rule by tutors. The daughters of the new rich and near-rich soon began to seek their dowry of education. In the eighteenth century a host of writers, both men and women, pleaded the cause of women’s educational rights. Among them was Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, whose views represent an advanced position near the close of the century. Franklin, earlier, had written on the question, and stood for an instruction for girls in French, music, religion, morals, and the domestic duties of women. Rush would adapt their education to “the state of society, manners, and government of the country in which it is conducted,”<sup>34</sup> and he recommended for them a fairly full program, for the time, of liberal and useful studies. Among European theorists Fénelon took an advanced position. Everywhere, thinking on the question was influenced by traditional conceptions regarding women’s ability and their proper sphere. The forces at work in the revolutionary period brought some animated protests from women against the disabilities imposed upon them. Priscilla Mason, a student at the Philadelphia Female Academy, addressing the commencement audience in 1793, said:

Our high and mighty Lords . . . have denied us the means of knowledge, and then reproached us for the want of it. . . . The Church, the Bar, and the Senate are shut against us. Who shut them? *Man*. . . . But Paul forbids it! Contemptible little body! The girls laughed at the deformed creature. To be revenged, he declared war against the whole sex: advises men not to marry them; and has the insolence to order them to keep silence in the Church—: afraid, I sup-

<sup>34</sup> *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, Philadelphia, 1798, 75.

pose, that they would say something against celibacy, or ridicule the old bachelor.<sup>35</sup>

In practice, but few girls received an education beyond the rudiments prior to the nineteenth century, and practice was confined usually to instruction in religion, morals, domestic arts, and the "accomplishments." Singing, instrumental music, dancing, and such arts as embroidering stool cushions with puppy dogs, and decorating mirrors with humming birds, had a prominent place in their education. Proprietary schools, found usually in cities, gave them a chance to study "solid" subjects. Other schools, mostly under church influence, clung to the "orthodox" training of girls. Catholic nunnery schools for girls, sepulchral in atmosphere, stressed religious and moral training. The Quakers and Moravians were the most liberal of the sects in providing a broader and useful curriculum for girls. Universities and colleges had not yet begun even to dream of the female specter within their halls. Until the nineteenth century, girls' education bore the mark of Kingsley's familiar view of the ideal woman:

Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever;  
Do noble things, not dream them, all day long;  
And so make life, death, and that vast forever  
One grand, sweet song.

By 1800, a secondary school, usually called in America the "female seminary," had appeared. It was for girls what the academy was for boys, and furnished the stepping-stone to the women's college of the nineteenth century.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The economic, social, political, and religious forces are not reflected in the educational theory of the fifteenth and later centuries.
2. The educational ideal of the humanists is embodied in the secondary and higher schools of the United States today.
3. The utilitarianism which marks the educational thought of the period 1400-1800 is different from the utilitarianism which characterizes most of the education of the modern world.

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<sup>35</sup> J. Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, 1933, 389.

4. An examination of the views of educational theorists reveals the evolutionary character of educational thought.

5. A social bias is apparent in the views on methods of teaching expressed by educational theorists prior to the nineteenth century.

6. Educational goals must change as the world changes.

7. Humanitarianism was the basic motive back of the establishment of systems of free, universal, compulsory, elementary education for the masses.

8. The Reformation is to elementary education as humanism is to secondary.

9. History seems to indicate that religious intolerance has been a blessing for the masses and, perhaps, even for religion itself.

10. Classical education was neither liberal nor humanistic because its goal had been made the preservation of social and theological orthodoxies.

11. The academy was much more democratic than the Latin school especially in its curriculum, which met the needs of a wider clientele than did that of the Latin school.

12. The literary, classical tradition has been a great obstacle to social and educational progress.

13. Resolved that universities cease to be the servants of national states, as they now are, and become again, what they once were, the servants of humanity.

14. The causes of the neglect of girls' education in past centuries are difficult to determine.

15. In the modern world, which has become a "one world," it is imperative that the culture of all peoples be included in the curriculum.

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PART III

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE FROM THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION UNTIL RECENT TIMES





## Chapter 9

### SOCIAL CHANGE BETWEEN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

#### The Rise of Political Liberalism

**The Social Heritage.**—Prior to the American and French revolutions, great changes had occurred in Western society. Geographical discovery and commerce had created a middle class hostile to the old feudal nobility. Exclusive trade privileges enjoyed by great merchants restricted the freedom of others. Trade had been nationalized, and mercantilism prevailed. The religious unity of Christendom had been destroyed. Great nations and colonial empires, ruled by “absolute monarchs,” had arisen. An intellectual revolt, rooted chiefly in science, had occurred, and interest was drifting rapidly from theology and philosophy to the natural and social sciences, the conviction that society itself is governed by natural law growing constantly stronger. Glaring social injustice had brought a demand for sweeping social reform. In reason and science the faith of the intelligentsia had come to center. From the “golden ages” of the past, minds were turning to the “golden age” of the future when the ideal society, a gift of science, would appear. The foundations of the modern world were thus being laid. Science and democracy, and their allies, naturalism, nationalism, and the Industrial Revolution, have been the most potent forces in the building of the modern world.

**The World in Revolt.**—The late eighteenth century witnessed the dawn of a new era. In America and France, the middle class revolted successfully against the old tyranny. A bloodless revolution had accomplished a somewhat similar purpose in England, although the English masses were denied political rights until the late nineteenth century. The principles embodied in the English Bill of Rights, accepted by William of Orange in 1689, were: (a) the sovereignty of the nation, (b) the omnipotence of parliament, and (c) the supremacy of law. Parliament was not, however, a truly popular body until 1867, and its own disregard for the liberties of the American colonists brought the Revolution and the rise of the American nation.

**The Revolutionary Environment.** (a) **ECONOMIC ASPECTS.**—The governments of Europe long pursued the economic policy known as mercantilism in order to increase the gold and silver holdings of their nations. To that end, they restricted trade by putting high taxes upon manufactured imports and low taxes upon imported foods and raw materials. They encouraged home manufactures and hindered those of their colonies. Thus, the American colonies were forbidden to manufacture any article which England could manufacture, and they were required to buy all their imports in England and to export many of their products to England alone. In these restrictions lay the basic cause of the Revolution. While the principle of civil and religious liberty was found useful in stirring up revolutionary ardor, the struggle in America was basically one against the practice of taxation without representation, against restrictions upon freedom of trade, and against the whole mercantile system of economics. It was a bourgeois revolt against privilege.

In France, the pre-Revolution economy was essentially feudal. The king, nobles, and church owned each one-fifth of the land while the cities and peasants owned, or had the use of, the other two-fifths. The peasants and bourgeoisie supported the unproductive royalty, nobility, and clergy. The peasant had to buy his salt from the state at a fixed price. He could not weed his fields lest he injure his lord's partridges. He had to have his grain ground at his lord's mill and his bread baked at his oven, and the charges were almost prohibitory. Death was the penalty for violating many such laws. The feudal aristocracy, including the higher clergy, lived luxuriously at the expense of the toilers whom they taxed almost to starvation. In the French cities of 1789 lived, by commerce, 2,000,000 people, or about one-tenth of the national population. In Paris, particularly, many merchants had become very rich through their control of industrial guilds, or through foreign trade, or speculation in grain under government protection. Legal or *de facto* monopolies existed in many commercial fields, and restricted freedom of trade for the great mass of the merchant class. Wars and royal extravagance had brought France to the verge of financial ruin. She had struggled with England for colonial empire and world mastery, and she had lost, to the alarm of her bourgeoisie. But the whole internal economic system was unjust. The nobility and clergy were exempt from many heavy taxes which the poor had to pay. The privileged few enjoyed many exclusive rights in land, game, property revenues, and commerce, while the masses had few rights but many heavy duties. Many pre-Revolution lists of grievances (*cahiers*) were protests against such injustices.



The social reformer, Turgot (1727–1781), Louis XVI's Minister of Finance, established free trade in grain and abolished many private monopolies, but the privileged groups thwarted his designs, thus hastening the Revolution, for the Third Estate eventually saw no other course open.

(b) SOCIAL ASPECTS.—As we have seen, the Commercial Revolution created a middle class whose wealth and power steadily increased. Except for less than a dozen noblemen, the North American colonists were drawn from the European middle and lower classes, a fact highly significant in the growth of American democracy. Our colonial aristocracy was one of wealth, not of birth, and colonial fortunes were modest as compared with those of the European aristocracy. The superabundance of unoccupied land, and the growing industry and trade of the colonies produced a rapidly increasing middle class, owning property in varying amounts from small holdings to fairly large estates and fortunes. Colonial society extended downward from greater landowners and merchants through smaller farmers and shopkeepers, free artisans, indentured servants, and redemptioners to chattel slaves, and the social boundaries separating these groups were fairly clearly marked. The upper two classes, bourgeois, capitalist, and practical in ideals, directed American destinies in the revolutionary and early national period. Economic, social, political, and religious differences marked the several colonies, but the threat to their common economic interests soon welded them into a unity strong enough to overthrow the old tyranny.

French society, following the economic order, was composed of a hierarchy of classes. At its base stood the unemployed rabble, many of them criminals by necessity. Above these stood the laboring class—peasants, servants, apprentices, journeymen, and unskilled laborers. To these two classes belonged three-fourths of the total population. Above them stood: (a) the lower middle class—small merchants, lower ecclesiastics, poor nobles, and prosperous peasants; (b) the upper middle class—professionals, civil officials, great merchants and manufacturers; and (c) the upper class—the royal family, the nobility and great ecclesiastics, numbering less than 500,000 out of a population of 20,000,000. Privilege and underprivilege, power and helplessness, wealth and poverty marked, in glaring contrasts, the society of France. Discontent was widespread, as many historical records indicate. The *philosophes* attacked privilege in church and state, the oppression of the masses, the occupational and professional restrictions imposed upon men and classes, and the enforcement of reli-

gious orthodoxy. In the Revolution the Third Estate, the bourgeoisie, directed events, proclaimed the Declaration of Rights, and drafted the first French constitution. Sieyès, a conservative revolutionary, asserted, in 1789, that the bourgeoisie, among which he included all laborers, performed all the necessary work of the nation. He wrote: "If the privileged order should be abolished, the nation would be nothing less, but something more. Therefore, what is the Third Estate? Everything; but an everything shackled and oppressed. What would it be without the privileged order? Everything, but an everything free and flourishing. Nothing can succeed without it, everything would be infinitely better without the others. . . . The Third Estate embraces then all that which belongs to the nation; and all that which is not the Third Estate, cannot be regarded as being of the nation. What is the Third Estate? It is the whole."<sup>1</sup>

(c) POLITICAL ASPECTS.—In an earlier chapter, we have noted the despotism of kings prior to the republican era. In spite of growing liberalism in England, reactionary forces were at work. The Tories clung to the dogma of the divine right of kings, while the Whigs upheld the idea of popular sovereignty. Under the Tory Government of George III, there was no actual nullification of the Bill of Rights in England, but the king ruled the colonies according to the principle of absolute autocracy, thus provoking the Revolution which resulted in the establishment of the American republic. Thomas Paine and other revolutionary leaders, including James Otis, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, and Thomas Jefferson, opposed the Tory rule of the colonies on the political ground, among others, that it denied the colonists the constitutional liberties of Englishmen. In the making of obnoxious colonial laws, contrary to the spirit of *Magna Carta* and the Bill of Rights, the colonists had no voice. The stubborn denial of British liberties to the colonists brought the demand for independence. Politically, the Revolution was a struggle for the "rights of man," that of freedom from political oppression being one of his fundamental rights. Liberty and equality became the catchwords of the Revolution, but liberty was the strongest idea-force in the movement. The framers of the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that the Creator endowed the individual with certain natural rights which, because they are natural, neither he himself can renounce nor another rob him of without violating the laws of nature. All political absolutism, including

<sup>1</sup> Oliver J. Thatcher, Ed., *The Library of Original Sources*, Milwaukee, Wis.: University Research Extension Co., 1907, VII, 397-398.

British colonial misrule, was viewed as opposed to fundamental natural laws with which social life ought to conform.

In France, also, the political issue loomed large. French monarchical despotism had been more wickedly intolerable than elsewhere in Europe. Fénelon, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and many other individuals attacked the evils of the old régime. The "protests" of eighteenth-century *parlements*, or provincial law courts, attacked monarchical autocracy and urged the equality of their own power with that of the king as well as the idea that supremacy resides in the nation. Similarly the *cahiers* of the clergy, nobility, and commoners attacked royal despotism. The commoners of Nemours asked the king to draft a "declaration" of citizens' rights after the Estates General had determined what man's natural rights are. Other *cahiers* demanded the limitation of royal power and the democratization of government on the principles of liberty, and equality of rights of all citizens. Thus the demand for political reform in France was widespread.

(d) RELIGIOUS ASPECTS.—The revolutionary spirit of the eighteenth century was anti-clerical. The world had grown tired of ecclesiastical privilege, dogmas, superstitions, and religious intolerance and strife. The nations, generally, had their established churches, dissenters from which were, at most, but grudgingly tolerated. Thus the Anglican was the legal church of England; the Roman Catholic, of France. The American colonies, with a few exceptions, had their established churches. Everywhere these privileged churches tried to use the power of the state to enforce upon all their "orthodox" beliefs. Dissenters were compelled to support these churches in the same way as were conformists. Worse still, they were frequently persecuted, expelled from the state, or forced to conform. The American colonies witnessed sectarian strife, orthodox fervor at times reaching the point of barbarism. Anglican divines denounced dissenters, and dissenters hated Anglicanism and feared its representatives, who sought to introduce into America the episcopal system of England. Fear of Anglicanism helped to create enthusiasm for the cause of independence. Prosperity and opportunity hastened the secularization of the colonial mind, while witch-hunting in Massachusetts and the cupidity of Anglican clergy in Virginia, among other causes, resulted in a questioning of clerical leadership and a weakening of clerical influence. Though never so marked as in France, American anti-clericalism thwarted the designs of established churches and prevented the Anglican church from dominating religious life



in the colonies. With the revolutionary demand in Europe and America for civil liberty went the demand also for religious liberty for the individual citizen. Thomas Paine considered "the free exercise of religion, according to conscience" the most important of all liberties. The Revolution ended every dream of ecclesiastical privilege in America.

In France, Protestantism never secured a firm foothold and, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), the Catholic religion alone was recognized by the government. The church, allied to the state, was rich and powerful. The king appointed the bishops, nearly all of them being of noble rank. The lower clergy, drawn mostly from lower bourgeois stock, had but little voice in shaping church policy. The bishops upheld the king in his most vicious acts. While the church owned property then worth the large sum of 4,000,000,000 francs, and had an annual income of 200,000,000 francs, many of the lower clergy were as poor as the hungry people whom they served. The bishops, however, lived as luxuriously as the lay nobility. In return for royal gifts, they upheld the despotic power of the king, and the church was thus a partner in his despotism, while it also exercised a despotism of its own, and was guilty of abuses which aroused the antagonism not only of intellectuals but even of the unenlightened masses.

The church was attacked not only for financial reasons but still more because it restricted religious liberty, persecuted heretics, stifled freedom of thought and speech, tampered with purely secular affairs, demanded privileges denied to the laity, and claimed a power superior to that of the state. The grievances against the church may be gleaned from Voltaire's *Law* (1764) and from the *cahiers* of the Third Estate. "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy" adopted by the revolutionary National Assembly, in 1790, reflects the mind of the bourgeoisie on church reform. It required the election of bishops and priests by the vote of all citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, and that their salaries be fixed and paid by the state. It further required that papal authority be restricted to matters of religious belief. Most of the legislators felt that priests should teach not dogmas but practical morals as a basis of citizenship, and that, therefore, non-Catholics ought to have a voice in their appointment. Only one-third of the priests and only seven of the 138 bishops took the required oath of allegiance to this "Constitution." This and other laws of the Assembly indicate the nature of popular discontent with the church. The bourgeoisie, in power, would prevent the church from injuring the nation in its own interest. They would abolish religious distinc-

tions between citizens; they would grant freedom of conscience to all and would prohibit the exercise of arbitrary authority over the human mind; they would make the church the servant, not the master, of the state; and they would not permit the state to perpetrate atrocities, such as the burning of heretics, at the behest of a superstitious church. The new secular bourgeois liberalism was thus challenging the liberty of the church to dominate the lives of citizens.

(e) **INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS.**—Political change is a reflection of economic, social, and intellectual change. Prior to the French Revolution, a significant intellectual revolt had occurred. Though partly of ancient origin, it was rooted mainly in science. Old beliefs were challenged, and an optimistic secularism was substituted by the new Sophists for a gloomy supernaturalism. Reason was made the final authority in all matters, and written authority was rejected. The new philosophers sought absolute truth (the existence of which they did not question) not in the Bible or the classics but in nature's laws as revealed by science, then the new revelation. But that was not all. Philosophy they subordinated to science, and theology to history. History, it was found, furnished significant facts about man and society. The new intellectualism spread quickly among the upper bourgeoisie, but the unenlightened masses did not share in it, perhaps fortunately, for mass emotionalism, when aroused, can destroy the spirit of intellectual adventure. The period was rich in social theory.

**Economic Theory.**—It is unpleasant for rich men to reason about their wealth, but sometimes they are compelled to do so. Seventeenth-century theorists, generally, defended mercantilism, although Locke and a few others dissented from that view. Locke's theory that labor is the basis of property and property rights was further developed by the French physiocrats, in the eighteenth century, who held that soil is the source of wealth; and labor, of property. They advocated a laissez-faire policy of government in trade affairs, thus representing the demands of the bourgeoisie although a few of them, anticipating socialist and communist demands, wrote in the interest of the proletariat.<sup>2</sup> The theory of free trade was rapidly accepted in England after the publication of Hume's *Political Essays*, in 1752. Goldsmith bewailed governmental neglect of the masses, whom he saw

Forced from their homes, a melancholy train  
To traverse climes beyond the Western main.

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<sup>2</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, New York: Holt, 1930-1934, II, 218-219.

In *The Deserted Village* he wrote:

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Adam Smith gave final expression, in England, to the new economic theory in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Holding that labor and natural resources are the basis of wealth, he opposed government interference with man's freedom to labor. While in matters of education and national defense the government, said he, may interfere, in economic matters, it ought to abolish all obstacles to free competition between individuals. Had he written twenty years earlier, the American Revolution might have been averted. Thus, in the revolutionary era, the bourgeois economic theory of *laissez faire* was convincingly urged and quickly accepted.

**Political Theory.** (a) **INTELLECTUAL SETTING.**—The new worldly intellectualism embodied the belief that man and society, like inanimate nature, are governed by scientific laws, which can be discovered by the method employed by physical scientists. History, politics, psychology, education, ethics, religion, and all other social studies were soon to be viewed as sciences embodying natural law. The first aim of the revolutionary intellectuals was to harmonize society with reason as grounded upon accurate knowledge of facts. Back of this practical social-reform aim lay an almost religious belief in the natural goodness (not the Biblical depravity) of man, the perfectibility of human nature and the inevitability of progress, beliefs that must be kept in mind by anyone who would understand the spirit of the new intellectualism. Instead of dreading scientific discoveries, as many now do, the revolutionary philosophers saw in them the promise of a better world. They demanded freedom of thought and speech, so that truth might not be stifled; the rationalizing of religion and the substitution of natural religion for Christianity; the secularization of morals; and the humanizing of law. In politics, many of them preferred an enlightened despotism to democracy, but, while conservative, they prepared the way for the arch-reformer of the time, one who trusted the heart as man's guide and distrusted the intellect, who trusted nature and distrusted science, and whose faith in the goodness of common men was such that he would bring government into harmony with their will. That man was Rousseau (1712–1778). In him the political spirit of the time reached its maturity and, through his voice, it spoke in prophecy of a new era approaching its dawn.



(b) ROUSSEAU'S POLITICAL FORERUNNERS.—Rousseau would establish a society in harmony with nature, that is, a society, as he finally viewed it, in which government exists by the consent of the governed. The idea was not new. Athenian citizens had such a government. Capitalism, the source of modern republicanism, and its ally, Calvinism, had already created republican states. Thus the Mayflower Compact and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut were freemen's contracts that embodied republican ideas. A Puritan republic was established in England under Cromwell; and Puritans, like Milton, espoused the cause of liberty, though others felt that Puritan liberty was a tyranny. The idea that political despotism is natural and rooted in a social compact was advanced by Thomas Hobbes, and he justified despotism on that ground, as Rousseau later justified the democratic state on the same ground. Search for a universal law of nature, underlying human conduct everywhere and superior to the laws of separate states, is as old as the Stoics. That idea was embodied in the Roman *jus gentium*, and later in the Christian "Law of God." The idea, modified by circumstances of time and place, survived. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political philosophers, influenced mainly by science, turned to nature as a justification of existing governments, or as a basis of ideal government. The view that government arose by a social contract, designed to protect life and property, had thus influential advocates, among them Hobbes and Locke. Locke asserted that the motive for the social contract and the surrender of some of our liberties to government was, and is, the protection of property. Liberty, property, and labor are, he held, natural rights which no one can surrender, and labor gives a man a moral right to property. In America, John Wise (1652–1725) taught that, by nature, all men are free and equal and that the people are the source of civil power. Franklin, however, was the most influential defender of the social-contract theory in colonial America. In France, the principle of popular liberty was eloquently sponsored by Montesquieu. All of these, and others, were forerunners of Rousseau.

(c) ROUSSEAU AND SOCIETY ACCORDING TO NATURE.—In his *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau wrote that, by a contract, men renounced certain liberties they enjoyed as savages but gained, in return, civil liberty and the right to private property. Born free and equal, men surrender their natural liberties only for their own good. Prior to the contract, each was the sole defender of his natural liberty; after the contract, the whole community defended his civil lib-

erty and his ownership of property. A clash of individual interests made the contract necessary, but individuals accepted it voluntarily. That contract, embodying the collective general will, is the basis of sovereignty, and popular consent is the basis of true, natural government. Those who, by becoming citizens, agree to the contract must submit thereafter to the rule of the majority, for that, determined by vote, is the general will, the minority being mistaken in regard to it. Every act of government must be in accord with that general will, for government holds its power by contract with the people. The only law, however, which must have unanimous consent is the social contract itself, the consent of the majority being sufficient in other cases. The government must treat all individuals exactly alike, for no individual or class has a right to special privileges. The law may decree privileges but not for any pre-nominated man or class. The contract, he said, would thus increase and enrich individualism.

Having discussed civil liberty, Rousseau went on to define equality. It meant, he said, that no one should have enough power to become violent nor enough wealth to buy another; nor should anyone be so poor as to be forced to sell himself. Within these limits there would be degrees of wealth and power. Politically, however, all men are equal by the social contract. While they might, by contract, set up other governments than the democratic, legitimate government must always be the people's servant. The perfect democracy is the ideal to be sought, although difficult to attain. "Were there a nation of gods, they would doubtless have a democratic government. Such a perfect system is, however, beyond the reach of men."<sup>3</sup>

(d) NATURALISM.—Allied to the whole democratic movement was the conviction that nature is good, and that social ills arise from man's ignorance of nature or his refusal to conform with it. Rousseau was an admirer of natural ways as opposed to the social artificialities of his day. Science and necessity directed men to seek in nature the cure for social ills. Thus international law, embodying the Stoic and Christian notions of a natural law common to all humanity, was forced upon commercial nations when the Reformation destroyed church authority.<sup>4</sup> Interest in the natural way of life was intensified, in the eighteenth century, by the accounts of travelers who depicted savage life as natural, noble, innocent, and carefree. In contrast with the "noble savage" civilized man was depicted as vicious and irra-

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Rousseau, *Social Contract* (translated by the author), Bk. III, Ch. IV, Paris: Garnier Frères, n.d.

<sup>4</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 214-221.

tional. Others found the ideal life in the Orient and made, for a time, the Chinese sage a rival of the "noble savage" as a philosopher of life. The revolt against civilization in favor of natural living reached its height in the earlier writings of Rousseau. In an essay written in 1750, he advanced the view that the arts and sciences had demoralized mankind. Science, he said, was a curse, and civilized man's legion of vices has resulted from his abandonment of his original "happy state of ignorance." All the sciences originated in vice, and all of them have magnified the vices, out of which they sprang, and have produced a multitude of others. That earlier view, Rousseau modified considerably in his *Social Contract*.

(1) *Naturalism and the Doctrine of Equality.* In his essay on "The Origin of Inequality" (1754), Rousseau deduced, from supposed principles of nature, a notion of equality, which he later modified. In it, he opposed the natural man to the civilized man. Self-preservation and compassion for his fellows are man's primary natural urges. A study of man's nature would, he said, reveal the permanent natural foundations upon which society should rest. Although nature created some inequalities, as in health and strength, social inequalities are man-made and unjust. While, at this time (1754), he condemned private property as the basis of all social inequalities, in the *Social Contract* (1762) he approved it as essential to equality. Throughout his essay on inequality he denounced all social institutions and customs which helped to substitute the inequalities of the civilized state for the equality of the natural state. Among these institutions were governments, all of which were established to protect the unjust claims of the richest and strongest. Monarchical despotism he denounced, as he did later in the *Social Contract*, on the ground that no man can alienate his natural rights to life and liberty. Property and other required rights he may transfer, but he cannot surrender his natural rights. Governmental usurpation of men's natural rights has been a fruitful cause of social inequalities and corruption. In contrast with the primitive state, "the real youth of the world," in which "men were meant to remain," we have, said Rousseau, the civilized state in which men are slaves. The naturalism of the early democratic era, of which Rousseau was but one of many voices, expressed itself politically in a quest for the natural and inalienable rights of man, as the revolutionary documents of France and America reveal.

(2) *Naturalism in Literature.* The spirit of an age finds its way into literature, and naturalism found expression in the literature of



the republican era. Rousseau said that cities are the graves of human-kind, and Byron caught that spirit in the lines:

I live not in myself, but I become  
Portion of that around me; and to me  
High mountains are a feeling, but the hum  
Of human cities torture.

In Wordsworth, among English poets, the naturalistic spirit reached its height. Of the French Revolution he wrote:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven.

For him, the Revolution was the beginning of a better social order and, like Rousseau, he regretted the calamity of civilization in which man alone, of all living things, knows no hope or joy. Unlike Milton, who sang of gods and angels and of "knights and barons bold," Wordsworth sang of simple, natural people like Lucy Gray, Simon Lee, and the Solitary Reaper. Like Rousseau, his sympathy extended to all feeling things, and he besought us "never to blend our pleasure or our pride with sorrow of the meanest thing that feels."

Beyond the lake country of England the *zeitgeist* found a receptive soul in Bobby Burns of Scotland to whose national poetry it gave, at times, the universal touch of naturalism. Nowhere in literature is the feeling that man has sinned against nature so appealingly expressed as in his lament at seeing a terrified mouse flee at a plowman's approach:

I'm truly sorry man's dominion  
Has broken nature's social union,  
And justifies that ill opinion  
Which makes thee startle  
At me, thy poor earth-born companion,  
And fellow-mortal.

A thought revolution separates the romantic poets from the author of *Paradise Lost*, a revolution which exalted the natural above the supernatural and gave man and his works a place, not among angelic throngs, but among the things of nature. The ideas that everything natural is good, that existing society is unnatural and vicious, and that the bond between man and nature must be re-established, found frequent expression in the literature of the period.

(e) COMMON-MAN IDEALISM.—Linked to these other social yearnings of the time was a growing respect for the common people,



the folk, who, it was said, had most nearly escaped the "blight of civilization." A common-man idealism, which glorified the lowly toilers and the poor, and endowed them with dignity and nobility, pervades much of the literature of the early democratic era. Rousseau, Wordsworth, Burns, Carlyle, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray, Emerson, Whittier, and later writers, such as Whitman, Tolstoy, Shaw, and Anatole France, have thus idealized the common people. This glorification of common folk is closely related to the development of nineteenth-century nationalism.

(f) **THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIAL INTERESTS.**—While interest in the physical world, predominant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, continued, an interest in man and his social problems has, since then, come to dominate the thought of the world. Embodying the belief that man and society, like the physical world, operate according to immutable laws of nature, and using the scientific method of discovery, the social sciences have come to occupy the foremost place in the intellectual field. Their advance was stimulated by the theory, older than Darwinism but greatly strengthened by it, that social institutions have grown up by a process of evolution. That men can, consciously and intelligently, direct that process, if their knowledge of social facts be accurate, is a fundamental postulate of the faith of the social scientist.

### **The Intensification of Nationalism**

**Democracy and Nationalism.**—If the discovery of the common man has been the most significant social phenomenon of the modern world, the intensification of nationalism, a phase of that discovery, has been next in importance. Patriotism, as a mass phenomenon, became a great emotional force in the nineteenth century, when political power was transferred from the classes to the masses and national school systems were perfected for nationalistic ends. Voiceless, powerless, and hungry, the masses of the pre-democratic régime felt no urge to national loyalty. Accorded an increasing modicum of privilege, provided with free vernacular schools, and systematically indoctrinated with national ideals through the press, the theater, national games, and a host of other devices, of which the radio has been the most recent, they have become the sinews and souls of the nations. Improved means of communication, which focused attention upon social evils; an increase in wealth, which made the rich more generous; and the softening of social barriers, which was hastened by growing wealth, better education, and greater freedom of

the masses themselves, contributed to the social elevation of the common people. In empires, monarchies, and democracies alike, the common people, in the nineteenth century, took on a new importance in varying degrees. That is the most significant fact of the new nationalism.

Nationalism was a movement which strove, among other things, to build political states out of groups having a common language, a common history, and a common culture. In the process there emerged the nationalist mind based upon a fusion of patriotism and cultural differentiation and prejudices. A common language and literature, and common institutions are the distinguishing marks of a nation. We have noted earlier that out of a once united Christendom there had been emerging from the twelfth century onward strong, autocratic, national states. Each of these came to have its own language and literature, its own traditions, its own economic interests protected by its army and navy, and its own national church and religious ideals. Nationalism is one phase of that secularization of the world which has replaced the supernaturalism of the Middle Ages. The Commercial Revolution, the Reformation, the scientific movement, rationalism, and naturalism as expressed in science, in natural religion, in natural government and law, and in natural rights, negated supernaturalism and fostered nationalism.

As a mass phenomenon, nationalism originated in the American and French revolutions. These revolutions gave rise to the belief that any people with the same history, culture, and institutions have a right to self-government. The American nation was the first one founded on these ideas. Fostered by the bourgeoisie for materialistic ends, nationalism was made the greatest ideological force in modern times. Patriotism, though related to commercial rivalries, was made the motive of all the revolutions of the nineteenth century in Europe and Latin America. Where monarchy survived the democratic storm, kings became gentle fathers, as in England, or benevolent despots, as in Germany. Everywhere, the common man was exalted in varying degrees. Humanitarianism, the belief in man's perfectibility and in the inevitability of progress, and a faith in the doctrines of liberty, equality, and every man's right to happiness were among the unselfish ideals of early democratic social reformers. Slavery, intemperance, poverty, unemployment, old age, crime and prison systems, war, and the emancipation of women occupied the attention of these social leaders.<sup>5</sup> While the spirit of benevolence loomed large, there were

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 592 ff.

those who would make the idealism of the age serve the ends of the national state.

The principle of national democracy, based upon that of popular sovereignty, and advanced by such men as Locke, Rousseau, and Jefferson, had its first triumph in America and France. France furnishes an excellent example of the contribution of democracy to nationalism. The French republic made the church subservient to the state. It stimulated the worship of the soil—*la Patrie*—which has become the basis of French patriotism. National flags, anthems, and holidays originated in the revolutionary atmosphere of France. Here it was first suggested that all citizens be compelled to speak the national language. Elementary education, free, compulsory, universal, and secular, became the educational formula of the revolutionary radicals. It was neither Communists nor Nazis who first demanded the secularization of education, but it was the French and American republicans, who were actuated in their demand by the desire to put an end to ecclesiastical power and privilege in the interest of the secular state. The French revolutionary educational formula, except in regard to secularization, was accepted by the Western nations in the nineteenth century. America and France secularized their public schools. Other nations such as England and Germany retained religious instruction in their public schools, either to appease popular feeling or to mould citizens of the God-fearing type. Everywhere, the inculcation of national ideals became a fundamental goal of public education. Even the 3 R's assumed a national significance, for the faith of the illiterate citizen is hard to nurture. Literate, his economic value to the nation was increased. When the masses were made literate and patriotic, cheap newspapers and magazines catering to their tastes and prejudices appeared everywhere. Democracy hastened these developments.

Where the people rule, the state must educate its rulers. Popular government presupposes popular education, and the framers of democracy in Europe and America realized that.<sup>6</sup> While some other governments may flourish without popular education, democratic government is almost inconceivable without it. In the nineteenth century, democracy was defined mainly in terms of political liberty, although women were not enfranchised until after the First World War, and then only in a few democracies, and Russia. In the twentieth century, philosophers of democracy have stressed the idea of equality of opportunity for all citizens so that the nation may have

<sup>6</sup> A. O. Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Macmillan, 1926.



the service of its best brains without regard to the social or racial origin of individuals, or to sex differences. While the democracies led in fostering nationalism, aristocratic and authoritarian states, such as Germany and Russia, emerged in the nineteenth century as strong national units with their own national ideals.

**Monarchism and Nationalism.**—Democracy and nationalism, though natural allies, are not the same. Democracy is, among other things, a governmental policy; nationalism is a feeling which unites all classes and parties within the nation. That feeling was developed under despotical as well as under liberal governments. Germany furnishes an excellent example of that development.

Among the intellectuals of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, both within and without Germany, there were many whose hopes and desires were cosmopolitan. Among Germans, Kant and Fichte saw the universal state as the final goal of political organization. Others denounced nationalism. Said Lessing: "Love of country is at best but an heroic vice, which I am quite content to be without."<sup>7</sup> The Napoleonic threat to the independence of European nations stifled such yearnings for a cosmopolitan world. After the defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Jena (1806), Fichte, once ardent in his cosmopolitanism, became a most eloquent advocate of the nationalistic state, not, however, as a final goal but as a necessary step toward a world state. In his day, he defended most forcefully the educational rights and duties of the national state, which he viewed as a divine institution leading the world toward perfection. Giving the state a divine purpose, he made patriotism a religious duty. But he went farther. He proclaimed the Germans to be the only pure European race, with a pure language and culture, who, being the most religious of peoples, have preserved in its purity the divine will and are thus alone capable of real patriotism and of furthering the divine plan among men. This deification of race, culture and the state culminated in the anti-Semitism and the worship of blood and soil of the Hitler régime.

Between Fichte and the philosophers of National Socialism stands Hegel, the philosopher of the "absolute state." He taught that only through the national state can the individual become a moral personality, the state being the transmitter of God's will to men. Only by destroying liberalism and individualism could the Prussian state achieve its divine destiny. The state "is the absolute reality," wrote

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<sup>7</sup> C. J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, New York: Macmillan, 1926, 43 (by permission).



Hegel, "and the individual himself has objective existence, truth and morality only in his capacity as a member of the State."<sup>8</sup> History, which is but the working of the spirit of God, knows not the individual Ego but only the national Ego. The state is the greatest of God's creations, and to it the individual must be subordinate and obedient; indeed, the state is God made visible to men. Once kings ruled by divine right; now Hegel bestows that prerogative upon the national state. Following the lead of earlier writers, such as Leibnitz, Spinoza, Lessing, Herder and Fichte, Hegel taught that, in the evolution of human institutions, there is a struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Karl Marx was influenced by his idea that history is a process of struggle and change, the progressive force of one stage of social evolution becoming reactionary in the succeeding one. The victory of one state over another is, for Hegel, a proof that the victor has become the bearer of the divine spirit which passes, at times, from one national Ego to another. The Prussian absolute state he viewed as the highest embodiment of the divine will, because its government was not constitutional and it welded the anarchic mass of individuals together into the state based upon Absolute Reason.

From such teachings it follows that any scheme of internationalism is a negation of God's designs, and that any world plan which would end the life principle of struggle would frustrate the designs of God. War thus becomes a necessity, and God its author. War is the very life of the national spirit. Without it the nation dies. It alone teaches the individual to subordinate his selfish interests so that God's purposes, identical with those of the national state, may not be frustrated.

Following Hegel, many German patriots have believed in the divine mission and destiny of their nation. Mussolini made Hegelianism the basis of his totalitarian régime, and National Socialism was a practical realization of the basic ideas of the philosopher of the absolute state, though the régime itself was marked by a contempt for intellectualism as opposed to action.<sup>9</sup>

After the triumph (1870-1871) of Bismarck, Germany became a united nation, under the leadership of Prussia, and as nationalistic in its spirit and policies as its neighboring democracies. National rivalries, and their underlying commercial rivalries, brought the First World War (1914-1918) and the more exaggerated nationalism and international ill-will of the post-war era.

<sup>8</sup> John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics*, New York: Holt, 1915, 110.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

**The Industrial Revolution and Nationalism.**—While nations have become economically interdependent, the Industrial Revolution has tended to stimulate nationalism; and even the doctrine of economic nationalism has its votaries. Improved transportation and means of communication, both products of the machine age, have brought the masses into that close physical and spiritual contact which is indispensable for nationalism. From the West nationalism has been carried to the East through religious, intellectual, and commercial channels. China, Japan, and Turkey, for instance, have thus been Westernized.

**Romanticism and Nationalism.**—The literary movement called romanticism gave a great impetus to nationalism. It glorified the common people and fostered an interest in folklore and folk culture. Each nation was viewed as having its own folk, whose culture and folkways were made the basis of nationality. There are similarities and differences in national cultures, but nationalistic writers have accentuated the differences, thus stimulating the growth of national sentiment.

**Nationalism as a Religion.**—Love of the national state became, in the nineteenth century, an emotion similar to that of the Christian martyrs or the devotees of Islam. Should his church oppose his state, the patriot will oppose his church. He has renounced the ideal of humanity and human brotherhood for that of national brotherhood. Thus, Rousseau would substitute civil religion for supernatural religion, and French statesmen introduced many forms of state worship, such as civic baptism. Indeed, French extremists would substitute the state for God. While such extreme practices were abandoned, loyalty to *la Patrie* was retained as a form of cult. Similar developments occurred outside of France. Each nation has its heroes, revered like the saints of Christendom. Rituals have been approved for the worship of flags and the singing of national anthems. Each nation has its national shrines, pilgrimages, holy days, and dogmas. Each one persecutes its heretics. National schools are the nurseries of national faiths, and the ideal citizen is one who does not question the faith of the Founding Fathers.

**Nationalism and Militarism.**—Breeding distrust of foreign nations, nationalism has produced militarism and war. The race for military supremacy culminated in the First World War. That war, which many had vainly hoped would end wars, resulted in another World War and an armament race which, if it continues, must bring

economic ruin upon the entire world. This drain upon national economic resources has met but feeble opposition. Taxpayers often oppose outlays for productive enterprises, including education, but do not question outlays for armaments. Demonstrations of military strength are greeted with great popular acclaim. The masses everywhere have been led to believe that great military machines are needed to protect the nation's interests and honor, and that they will be used only for "defense" purposes. Indeed, it is a popular belief that one's nation is too honorable to "offend" another. While, perhaps, most wars have been fought for commercial and imperialistic ends, the great masses have seen in them a struggle to preserve high-sounding ideals. Nationalism, militarism, and war have been closely inter-related phenomena.<sup>10</sup>

**Nationalism and Propaganda.**—Nationalists are made, not born. During the nineteenth century the findings of philologists, anthropologists, and historians were perverted by the missionaries of nationalism to bolster up the dogma of the superiority of some race or nationality. Indeed, so-called scientists have sought "proofs" of such superiority, and found what they sought. Propaganda has often masqueraded as science. The bourgeoisie were the chief supporters of nationalistic propaganda. They founded and financed national museums, games, societies, and journals. Controlling governments, they had laws passed to protect national industries and commerce. Soon, the nobility, clergy and intellectuals followed the lead of the bourgeoisie and became missionaries of nationalism. The new faith was carried to the masses through national schools and other agencies designed for that purpose. The earlier liberal philosophers thought that education, if properly conceived and directed, would free the human mind from the tyranny of the past and of existing institutions, and thus mould those adventurous and creative spirits essential to progress. Permitted to develop freely according to an inner plan inherent in his nature, the child, it was said, would become the creator of a better economic, social, and political order. The view, however, was forcefully advanced in Europe and America that the goal of education is the moulding of citizens for the well-being of the national state and for human progress.<sup>11</sup>

The national ideal found its way into eighteenth-century laws and constitutions. Thus, the French Constitution of 1791 provided

<sup>10</sup> C. J. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 127-149.

<sup>11</sup> A. O. Hansen, *op. cit.*; F. de la Fontainerie, *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1932.



that "There shall be created and organized a system of public instruction common to all the citizens and gratuitous in respect to those subjects of instruction that are indispensable to all men. . . . Commemorative days shall be designated for the purpose of preserving the memory of the French Revolution, of developing the spirit of fraternity among all citizens, and of attaching them to the constitution, the country, and its laws."<sup>12</sup> In 1794, Frederick William II, of Prussia proclaimed that schools and universities are state institutions, and at all times subject to examination and inspection by the state.<sup>13</sup> Colonial New England having set a precedent, the American states, in their constitutions, gradually recognized the principle of state responsibility for the education of the future citizens of the nation. In the German states, France, England, the United States, Holland, Portugal, Belgium, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Spain, Rumania, Italy, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Bulgaria, Siam, Canada, Australia, etc., national school systems were established, or improved, in the nineteenth century, and the principle of free, universal, compulsory, elementary education had won almost the universal approval of the world.

Wars and revolutions have been an important factor in that development. In France and America, a revolution in educational thought accompanied the political revolutions. The defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon, in 1806, and of France by Prussia, in 1870, was followed by educational reforms in each country. The Civil War in America intensified the conviction that the public school is the saviour of our institutions.

National schools have been nurseries of national patriotism. National educators first strove to "liquidate" illiteracy, for loyalty to the nation is dependent largely on the ability of citizens to read the national literature. In state schools, literature, geography, history, and civics have been taught for nationalistic ends. Pupils have been taught to worship the national symbols and heroes. Everywhere, the masses were thus made to believe that theirs is the best nation of them all and the happiest and fairest land on earth. Contempt for other nations and lands often resulted from such teaching, and the national school often stood as an additional menace to world peace.<sup>14</sup>

The movements of anarchism and syndicalism arose in opposition to nationalism and the growing power of the capitalist state,

<sup>12</sup> E. Reisner, *Nationalism in Education since 1789*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, 12 (by permission).

<sup>13</sup> C. J. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 82.

<sup>14</sup> J. F. Scott, *Menace of Nationalism in Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1926; C. J. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 61-92.



but they have made little headway thus far. They are evidence of a discontent with extreme nationalism, in which many moderate would-be reformers, who are not in sympathy with either movement, have shared. Nationalistic developments since the First World War, we shall treat in a later chapter.

### The Industrial Revolution and Social Reform Movements

From 1750 onward there occurred an economic phenomenon which historians have called "The Industrial Revolution." Prior to this change commerce dominated industry, but, with the change, industry came to dominate commerce. By 1850 the Industrial Revolution was, generally, an accomplished fact. Under the earlier system, industry was carried on mainly in the homes of workers in town and country. It was largely a family activity, the family buying the tools and raw materials and finding its own market. Often merchants, who purchased the products, supplied the tools and materials to the workers in their homes and supervised their work. Rural industry in these two forms grew rapidly between 1550 and 1750. While the peasant family was not busy with its farming it was busy with its needles or its looms. This way of rural life ended first in England, the earliest scene of the Industrial Revolution. Here wealthy retired merchants bought land, introduced farm machinery and applied capitalistic methods to farming. Unable to compete with these agricultural magnates, the peasant farmers lost their little holdings or were deprived of them by "enclosure" laws passed by Parliament at the behest of the rich.<sup>15</sup> Besides, the invention and improvement of textile machinery soon put an end to the old handicraft system of the home. The existence of the machine and a propertyless peasantry hastened the Industrial Revolution and the factory system of production. Science was an indispensable ally of these, for it taught man how to make coal and iron work for him.

During the industrial change, and hastening it, came machinery of great precision, made possible by improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel. Power to drive the machinery was gradually improved from 1785, when James Watt's steam engine was first successfully used in an English cotton mill. Coal and iron mining grew with the demand for steam-driven machinery. By 1850, power-driven machinery predominated in English industries. Thus, the factory system of production replaced the domestic system, and

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<sup>15</sup> Melvin Knight, *Economic History of Europe*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928, 346-347.

industry passed into the hands of great capitalists. After 1850, the Industrial Revolution spread rapidly through continental Europe while, even earlier, America was experiencing her own industrial transformation. The Bessemer process of manufacturing steel, invented after 1850, made fine steel available at one-seventh of the former cost of an inferior product. Our ships, skyscrapers, bridges, and airplanes testify to the effects of steel upon modern life. Oil and electricity have come to supplement steam as a source of power. Electric power, generated at a central point, can be used to operate far-away machines, and electric light has enabled factories to operate as efficiently by night as by day. In this machine age skills have become highly specialized.

**Social Aspects of the Industrial Revolution.**—Rural depopulation resulted from the concentration of industry in the cities, for workers were forced to follow industry from the farm into the factory. In factories it was easier to discipline workers and to supervise their work. The factory system had one important advantage for the laborers: it made their miseries a matter of public knowledge and of public concern. They lived in crude shacks in congested areas; and worked from dawn until dark, and had little home life. While women operators were inhumanly treated, the employment of very young children and their treatment by employers were the most inhuman aspects of the early factory system. In England, pauper children were farmed out as "apprentices" by overseers of the poor to manufacturers in distant cities, where they were at the mercy of their employers. They often died in hundreds from epidemics and starvation, for they were often forced to work from fourteen to eighteen hours daily for a few pennies. Prior to 1833, the average wage of women and children in English factories was about \$1.50 per week.<sup>16</sup> In English coal mines, children, from the age of four upwards, and women were employed at wages ranging from \$0.50 to \$2.50 per week. The life of the poor had long been thought valueless, and the factory system had inherited the brutality of centuries of human oppression.

Social evils connected with the factory system soon convinced the thoughtful that the well-being of the family, the nation, and of industry itself demanded reform. Humanitarians clamored for state regulation of factories, mines, and labor. In England, beginning with the Health and Morals Act (1802), a series of child labor laws appeared, the most important being that of 1833, which forbade

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 396.

textile manufacturers to employ children under nine years of age, or to compel those under thirteen to work longer than forty-eight hours weekly, or those under eighteen longer than sixty-nine hours weekly, while it prohibited night work for those under the age of eighteen. The principle that it is the state's duty to interfere was fully accepted in 1833. In 1847, the working hours of women and children in English textile mills were reduced by law to ten, and gradually these reforms were extended to other industries. France, Germany, and Belgium, in the thirties and forties, regulated labor conditions in essentially the same way as did England.

**New Social Problems.**—In the year 1800, the world's population was less than 850 millions; in 1900, it was more than 1,700 millions. During that century, the population of Great Britain rose from 16,000,000 to 41,000,000; that of Germany, from 21,000,000 to 56,000,000; that of European Russia from 39,000,000 to 111,000,000; that of all Europe, from 180,000,000 to 400,000,000; and that of the United States, from 5,000,000 to 77,000,000. That increase created a food problem in Europe from which people emigrated in great numbers to foreign lands, particularly to the United States. The foreign countries soon had food problems of their own and had to restrict the exports of farm products to Europe, where the cost of living consequently rose and competition for foreign markets grew keener. The nations, therefore, sought colonies as sources of food and raw materials. An industrialized Europe had to have both of these, and it had to export its manufactured goods. National economic imperialism was the result of these needs, and European states became world states.

Within the nations, the population became concentrated in cities, and rural population declined. In Germany, for instance, there were, in 1871, only eight cities of over 100,000 population; in 1905, there were forty-one. In 1871, 63.9 per cent of Germans lived by agriculture; in 1910, that figure had fallen to 40 per cent.<sup>17</sup> Problems of poverty, crime, and disease arose mainly in the cities, and brought persistent demands for moral and social reform. Many looked to the school as a remedy against the blights of civilization. "Open a school," it was said, "and close a jail." Others would go deeper and attack social problems through their causes.

**Humanitarianism and Social Reform Movements.**—The late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of an idealism which, centering around the common man,

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 529.



embodied a hope for the coming of social Utopias and a desire to build them. Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), John Woolman (1720–1772), and many others, including the rationalists of the Age of Reason and Rousseau, prepared the way for the nineteenth-century reformers. The spirit of liberty, equality, fraternity, and of faith in the goodness and value of common people found its way into the literature of the romantic movement. Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Ruskin, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman breathe the spirit of an age marked by an interest in nature, in common people, and in social reform.

**Abolition of Slavery.**—The Commercial Revolution and European foreign conquests had reduced to slavery great hordes of native peoples, particularly in Africa and America. Quakers and Anabaptists denounced slavery among other forms of cruelty. In British colonies, slavery was abolished in 1833, and in French colonies, in 1848. The Civil War ended the practice in America. While the conviction that free labor is more profitable and efficient than slave labor hastened the movement for emancipation, humanitarian motives probably weighed most in turning the balance against an institution antedating the dawn of history.

**Temperance Reform.**—Temperance is a puritan-bourgeois-proletarian virtue. Drunkenness is a vice more congenial to a feudal aristocracy. A commercial and industrial society thrives better on such stimulants as tea and coffee. The intemperance of the old European feudal nobility passes all belief, and England, Scotland, and colonial America attempted to curb drunkenness by law.<sup>18</sup> With the Industrial Revolution, the vice spread among city workers. Sickness and communicable diseases, often caused by impure water and lack of sanitation, coupled with long hours of laborious toil, made city unfortunates seek a release from their miseries in gin-mills. English philanthropists attacked the evil. Methodists and other evangelical groups in England preached and struggled against it, and their views permeated the middle class. Complete prohibition of alcoholic liquors was never attempted in England, and the reformers were forced to rely upon education and moral appeals to achieve their ends. In the United States, the first organized effort to abolish intemperance was made in Boston in 1826, when the first American total abstinence society was founded. The movement spread rapidly here. Dissatisfied with the results of voluntary methods of reform,

<sup>18</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, I, 534–535.



the leaders demanded prohibitory laws. In 1846, Maine enacted our first prohibition law and, by 1856, thirteen other states had taken similar steps which, however, they modified later. Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont retained their prohibition laws until 1919, when the federal constitution made prohibition mandatory for the nation.<sup>19</sup>

**Prison Reform Movement.**—The barbarous treatment of criminals prior to the nineteenth century has been referred to earlier. Bourgeois humanitarian idealism demanded reform in the treatment of criminals and secured it. The whipping-post and pillory were gradually abolished in England as was capital punishment for all but a few most vicious crimes.<sup>20</sup> In the eighteenth century, torture had been abolished in Russia, Prussia, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, and other countries.<sup>21</sup> In Australia and Ireland, between 1840 and 1860, the prison reform movement made great progress.<sup>22</sup> In America, social idealists demanded more humane and rational treatment of criminals, and the idea that the purpose of prison detention is reformation, not punishment, was finally accepted. Europeans, like Charles Dickens, studied the reforms introduced into Auburn State Prison and the Eastern Pennsylvania Penitentiary. The nineteenth century saw imprisonment for debt, which was an English tradition, abolished in America. In 1829, it was charged that 75,000 persons were imprisoned yearly for debts, some of them as small as twenty dollars. Such suffering fell mostly upon the laboring class and the unemployed. The spread of humanitarianism in our eastern states and of frontier democracy brought an end to that practice.

Such movements as these aimed to correct the growing abuses of an industrialized world. But humanitarianism did not end with these. The nineteenth-century world came to accept the philosophy that everyone born into society has rights which society may not ignore. Institutions for the treatment and care of physical, mental, and moral defectives were established everywhere in the Western World, and older ones were improved. The Industrial Revolution, while it created evils, produced an increase of wealth which made it possible to alleviate suffering and distress. National school systems and a host of educational improvements arose, or were significantly expanded, during this era of idealism and social reform.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States*, New York: Macmillan, 1925, 76.

<sup>20</sup> C. J. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1921, II, 115.

<sup>21</sup> P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, II, 580.

<sup>22</sup> Jerome Davis, *Readings in Sociology*, New York: Heath, 1927, 912-913.

**The Organized Labor Movement.**—Until 1824, combinations of working men were forbidden by English law. After that date, the policy of the British government toward labor unions gradually changed. In France, workingmen's bargaining unions were outlawed until 1884.<sup>23</sup> Restrictions placed upon union activity in England, after 1834, brought a militant clamor among laborers for political reform and, eventually, universal male suffrage. The triumph of industrial capitalism, by 1850, stimulated the growth of unionism and socialism. Marx and Engels, in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), called for unity among the proletariat of the world. Continental unionism, unlike that of England, was marked by a notable degree of proletarian unity and socialistic idealism. In England, however, the proletariat remained divided into many industrial groups on the basis of special interests, while town and country workers were seldom in sympathy with each other. English unions, better satisfied than those of the Continent, opposed the revolutionary approach to political and industrial reform.

In America, changed labor conditions, resulting from the rise of the factory system, forced labor to organize in defense of its rights. Here, as abroad, factory conditions were degrading, wages were low, and working hours were from "dark to dark." Educational advantages enjoyed by the children of the rich were denied to those of the poor. On April 16, 1831, the *Mechanics Free Press*, a Philadelphia labor organ, demanded the following reforms: universal education, abolition of chartered monopolies, equal taxation, revision or abolition of the militia system, a less expensive law system, all officers to be elected directly by the people, a lien law for laborers, and no legislation on religion. Beginning in 1828, "Working Men's" parties were organized in the northeastern seaboard states, but in five years they had been replaced by trade unions which, in 1834, were linked together in a central National Trades' Union similar to the American Federation of Labor. Labor union activity rapidly increased, union members in the northeastern states numbering, in 1836, about 300,000. Soon they succeeded, by strikes and political pressure, in having the working day reduced to ten hours. Their demands for humanitarian and educational reforms were highly influential in the growth of common-man democracy in America.

**Changing Economic and Social Ideas.**—The Industrial Revolution gradually transformed old economic and social theories. The *laissez-faire* doctrine of economics of Adam Smith and the physio-

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<sup>23</sup> M. Knight, *op. cit.*, 403.

crats was soon challenged. In 1847, John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, rejected the notion of immutable natural economic laws and advocated the principle of coöperation, not competition, in industry, and state interference as a remedy for evils, when individuals neglect to make reforms voluntarily. Nineteenth-century England, with its strong middle class and its profitable industrial system, zealously supported a laissez-faire economy. In Germany, where foreign trade remained undeveloped until after 1850, and in France, with its predominant agricultural economy throughout the whole century, economic theory was influenced mainly by a socialistic proletariat. Socialism negates French revolutionary attachment to private property and to unrestrained personal liberty. Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Thompson, Blanc, Proudhon, and Robertus are leading names in the early nineteenth-century socialist movement. These men condemned the doctrine of "economic liberty," the competitive as opposed to the coöperative system and, in different ways, the institution of private property. Eventually, governments were forced to regulate economic activities in their own interests as well as those of society and of laborers. Under Bismarck and Emperor William II state socialism grew in Germany.

**Organized Socialism.**—The establishment of Christian socialism under the leadership of the churches being a practical impossibility, and reform being imperative, the state became the agency of socialization. State socialism, because it preserves private property, is not actual socialism. In 1863, a German Social Democratic Party was organized and, in 1864, Marx founded his International Workingmen's Association. The former united, in 1875, with the General Association of German Workers. State socialism arose in Germany out of Bismarck's efforts to destroy the power of these labor groups. In order to make workers loyal to the emperor and to thwart real socialism, Bismarck, between 1883 and 1889, had enacted social legislation, embodying many demands of the Social Democrats. The German state took over certain public utilities and provided social insurance in many forms for the German workers.

In England, the abandonment of laissez-faire economic practice coincided with the growth in power of organized labor following the Reform Act of 1867, which enfranchised urban laborers. Here was organized the Marxian Democratic Federation, in 1880; the Independent Labor Party, in 1893; and the present Labor Party, in 1900. Social legislation in England has followed a course similar to that of imperial Germany, and the government has often interfered in



economic affairs without, however, undermining the system of private property.

In France, since 1898, the state has interfered in economic matters through laws enacted to protect the interests of workers and of the nation. The Fascist states of Italy and Germany went much farther than the European democracies in regulating the economic activities of their citizens, although they retained the institution of private property. Only in Russia has private capitalism been destroyed.

In the Scandinavian countries, Sweden being the most successful experimenter, a reformed capitalism has been adopted, which is a combination of state capitalism and private coöperative activities. Here, the state actively participates in industry, while the consumers are organized to protect their own interests. Through social education, within the schools and without, the people have been brought to see the superiority of this system over the older one, as far as their own small nation is concerned. It is noteworthy that, during the recent ten years of economic depression (1930-1940), Sweden fared better than her sister nations.<sup>24</sup>

To placate the laborer, governments, generally, have turned to state socialism or social security schemes. Such plans have resulted from the attacks of the proletariat and landed gentry upon the bourgeoisie. Thus the English middle class forced the curtailment of the political power of the nobility, in 1832, and the nobility retaliated by uniting with the proletariat in a demand for humanitarian reforms of the industrial system. The industrial aristocracy itself has promoted movements of social reform to protect the capitalistic system. Business leaders have contributed generously to social relief funds, and the ablest among them have striven for industrial conciliation to preserve the existing order. Such moderate labor movements as that of the American Federation of Labor have had the blessings of many of them. Even a philosophy of conciliation has been formulated upon the positivist doctrine of the unity of human interests, as stated by Comte and Leroux. Charles Gide, the economist, and Emile Durkheim, the sociologist, accepting the idea of common interests, have demanded justice for the laboring class and the preservation of private capitalistic enterprise, ends which, they believe, may be secured by state socialism and voluntary coöperation between labor and capital.

<sup>24</sup> W. H. Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism*, London: Sonnenschien, 1890; C. Gide and C. Rist, *A History of Economic Doctrines from the Time of the Physiocrats to the Present Day*, London: Harrap, 1943; J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, New York: Harcourt, 1926; J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, London: Scott, 1926.



### Nineteenth-Century Science and Intellectual Outlook

**Darwinism.**—While the evolutionary theory in its biological aspects found expression in early Babylonian writings and in the writings of Aristotle and other Greeks, it was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the factual basis of the theory was firmly established. Linnaeus (1707–1778) suggested a common parentage for different botanical species. Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) advanced the theory of adaptation to environment, and Malthus (1766–1834), that of the struggle for existence. Charles Lyell (1797–1875) was an evolutionist in geology, and Lamarck (1744–1829) taught a definite theory of organic evolution, which embodied the doctrine of the mutability of species, based on the assumption that acquired characteristics are inherited. Building upon all of these earlier concepts, Charles Darwin (1809–1882) formulated the general theory of evolution. Darwin taught that (a) existing animal and plant species have evolved from earlier ones; (b) all organic life is interlinked in a scale ascending from simplest one-celled bodies to complex man; and (c) man has ascended from lower primates. The theory demanded a significant intellectual revision. It implied that the cosmos is trillions of years old and that time, while useful as a working hypothesis, is largely a mental fiction. It further implied that change is inevitable and that everything is moving toward a different state, either better or worse. Moreover, it implied that man is a biological being and an animal, although prince of the animal kingdom. It reduced man to a very insignificant place in geologic time (for he emerged but yesterday), and in astronomic space, where he is but an infinitesimal speck. Within the unexplored reaches of the cosmos there may be beings far superior to him, but on the earth's surface he has become master over living things. While comparative anatomists have shown convincingly man's affinity to the ape, comparative psychologists have not yet conclusively proved that mental similarities are implied in physical likeness. Many riddles regarding the mental life of primates and of man remain to be solved. Until comparative psychologists and cultural anthropologists shall have explored this field more fully, the reason why men behave like human beings will not be adequately understood. We must understand human nature better than we now do before we can fully understand the human race and its history, and control its ways.

The notion of social evolution was clearly stated, or implied, in many writings of eighteenth-century philosophers. The idea of the inevitability of progress, widely accepted by the social reformers of

the early democratic era, embodied a belief in social evolution. It remained, however, for Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), a philosopher and sociologist, to see the laws of evolution at work in all fields of knowledge. With him, the theory of evolution, as a general doctrine, made its first definite appearance. As a result of his views, a great impetus was given to the social studies. The position of Spencer was forcefully restated, and placed upon a sounder factual basis, by W. S. Sumner in his *Folkways* (1907). Therein, Sumner contends that all of our culture and institutions are the results of an evolutionary process and that many vicious elements, originating in the remote or less remote past, have been transmitted to us as a part of our cultural heritage. From the valuable elements in that heritage, the vicious ones ought to be separated and cast aside, for they retard progress and human well-being.

**The Idea of Progress.**—The evolutionary theory stands as the most influential intellectual phenomenon of the nineteenth century. It lent support to a theory of worldly progress that had been evolving since Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, predicted future technological advance. Because of scientific discoveries, the scientists and some of the philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries caught a vision of a perfect world in the future. While Francis Bacon, Descartes, and Pascal contributed to the growth of the idea, it was Bernard de Fontenelle (1657–1757) who first formulated a definite theory of progress. To all of these the modern represented a decided advance beyond the ancient world, and a worship of the past was viewed as a most serious obstacle to all progress. Vico (1668–1744), an Italian philosopher of history, pointed out three recurring stages in cultural development, each cycle bringing a further advance in the progress of civilization. Turgot (1727–1781) propounded a philosophy of history which embodied the idea of cultural evolution, and pointed out that the notable progress of the past is but a step to the greater and more rapid progress of the future. Condorcet (1743–1794) restated that view with still greater clarity and force, while William Godwin, Herder, Kant, Hegel, Spencer, and others gave great impetus to the spread and acceptance of the idea that change and progress are inevitable because the god of necessity guides the destinies of men. Doubts concerning the validity of the concept of “progress” have led recent sociologists and historians to substitute for it the concept of “change.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*, London: Macmillan, 1921; W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer*, New York: Macmillan, 1922.

**Developments in Psychology.**—Discoveries in biology, anatomy, and chemistry suggested the need for a scientific study of the human mind. Franz J. Gall (1758–1828), an Austrian physician, made a scientific study of the brain and laid the foundations of neurology and scientific psychology. His work, misconstrued by others, led to the rise of phrenology in Europe and in the United States. In Germany, E. Weber (1795–1878) and G. T. Fechner (1801–1887) used the science of physics to explain the operations of the mind, Fechner using the term “psychophysics” to describe his work. With E. B. Titchener, of Cornell University, psychophysics reached its maturity. The theory of evolution suggested another approach.

G. Stanley Hall (1846–1924), following the lead of Huxley, established genetic psychology on a biological basis, thereby using the theory of evolution to explain mental phenomena. Alexander Bain (1818–1903) and Herbert Spencer attempted to study mental processes by introspection, using established knowledge in the fields of biology, physiology, and psychology to guide them in their investigations. It remained, however, for Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), of Leipzig, to make the first significant experimental laboratory approach to the problems of psychology. Hall, Titchener, and William James, in the United States, fell under the influence of Wundt. James' *Principles of Psychology* (1891) represents the last outpost reached by psychologists at the close of the nineteenth century. But they had taken a long step forward toward an understanding of the human mind and, influenced by the theory of evolution, they had begun to investigate the mind and behavior of animals as a basis of understanding the mind of man.

The psychology of the present century rests upon the sciences of neurology, endocrinology, biology, and physiology. Psychological research is pursued mainly in laboratories equipped with precise instruments for experimentation. Different schools of psychologists, distinguished from one another by an emphasis upon some peculiarity of man's mental life, have appeared. Among these are the biological psychologists, or functional school, to which William James, John Dewey, and E. L. Thorndike belong. These men have studied such mental activities as sense perception, emotion, and thought to see how they meet the needs of the human biological organism. The most extreme position taken by the biological or functional school has been that of the behaviorists, led by the Russian, Pavlov (1849–1936), and a group of Americans, of whom John B. Watson is the best known. Diverging somewhat from the functionalist position is the school of “purposivism,” led by William McDougall, who has stressed



the importance of instincts, occult phenomena, and of the need for psychological investigation with a purpose in view. The Gestalt school also diverges from the functionalist view. Led by Köhler and other Germans, it insists that there is a unity in animal and human behavior that the functionalists have lost sight of in their preoccupation with the doctrine of specific responses to specific stimuli. To Freud goes the distinction of leading in the field of psychiatry and of adding to our knowledge of mental abnormality as well as of normal mental life. Psychiatry has contributed much to our knowledge and the treatment of mental diseases. The application of psychology to educational problems has elicited increasing attention on the part of psychologists and teachers, especially since Rousseau demanded that education be brought into harmony with the nature of the child. A notable succession of educators from Pestalozzi (1756–1827) to Dewey have worked to realize that ideal.<sup>26</sup>

**Social Theory.**—Economic and social change produced by the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of democracy turned men's thoughts upon economic and social problems. Adam Smith and his followers formulated the philosophy of economic liberalism which, accepted, retarded social legislation favorable to the poor. Malthus (1766–1834), Ricardo (1772–1823), James Mill (1773–1836), John McCullough (1789–1864), and the English Manchester School of economists supported the laissez-faire theory. The doctrine that social evolution is natural and must not be interfered with lent support to that theory. John S. Mill (1806–1873) questioned the laissez-faire idea and prepared the way for government regulation in economic matters. Economists, political theorists, and sociologists thus produced a voluminous literature dealing with vital social problems. Intellectual interests, centered earlier on the physical world, were turned upon the social world which today remains the center of our interests.

The most radical social proposals were those of the Marxian Socialists, Anarchists, and Syndicalists. These aimed to transfer the control of the economic system from private capitalists to the proletariat. In 1848, Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) issued the Communist Manifesto. It proclaimed the doctrines of the inevitability of the class struggle and the final triumph of the proletariat through its seizure of political power. The

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<sup>26</sup> E. G. Boring, *History of Experimental Psychology*, New York: The Century Co., 1929; W. B. Pillsbury, *History of Psychology*, New York: Norton, 1929; O. Klemm, *History of Psychology*, New York: Scribner, 1914.



Marxian theory that has attained widest popularity is that of economic determinism, or the materialistic interpretation of all human actions and events in the past and present. Following the leadership of Marx, the Socialists became a political force in Europe and forced governments to adopt many social reforms, with the result that liberalism in our own day is defined not only in terms of individual liberty but also in terms of the social concept of equality, as evidenced in governmental interference in economic affairs in the interest of children, laborers, unemployed persons, the sick, and the aged. *Laissez-faire* days are gone. In Russia, a socialism, which in practice has departed from Marxian ideals, has been established.

The philosophy of anarchism, which embodies a renunciation of all governments and of capitalism, as inevitable instruments of oppression, was formulated by Michael Bakunin (1814–1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921). The latter advocated coöperative living and effort in a community free from agencies of force and private property. For the bourgeois principle and practice of competition, the anarchists proposed that of coöperation. Their aim is essentially the socialist aim but, unlike the socialists, they would attain it not by more state activity but by abolishing political authority altogether.

Syndicalism, too, aimed to destroy capitalism. Georges Sorel (1847–1922) has been its leading advocate. The syndicalists aimed to destroy private capitalism and its defender, the national state, by strong labor unions, organized on industrial, not craft, lines and using the general strike and sabotage to demoralize and destroy the industrial capitalist. Their final goal is the establishment of a communistic society ruled by a government created by industrial unions.

Political problems, also, stimulated intellectual activity. The capitalists, interested in protection of property, the enforcement of contracts and commercial freedom, fostered democracy, nationalism, imperialism, and constitutionalism. Constitutions, defining political power and the rights of citizens, and freeing business, by fixed law, from governmental and labor interference, were particularly desired by the bourgeoisie. Republicanism was deemed by them preferable to monarchism, because monarchies tended to be interfering things. Universal male suffrage was inaugurated in most of the Western nations in the nineteenth century, but female suffrage, in which New Zealand (1893) and then Australia led the way, made little headway until the United States and England adopted it after the First World War. In practice the principle of majority rule has been largely nullified by the strategy of politicians whose party system, programs,

and slogans have befuddled the masses and prevented them from thinking critically about vital issues.

**Developments in the Physical Sciences.**—Great advances were made, since the end of the eighteenth century, in the physical sciences. In the year 1700, it was possible for one man to know all the important facts of physical science. Discoveries have come so rapidly since the year 1800 that it is now scarcely possible for one man to know all the established facts in a subdivision of one science. The value of science in industry has led to the support of scientific research by the great industries. In the eighteenth century, the greatest discoveries were made in chemistry; in the nineteenth, in biology and physics; and in the twentieth, in astronomy and electromechanics. Since 1800, great progress has been made in algebra and geometry, and higher mathematics has been applied to a variety of scientific problems from astronomy to statistics. With telescope, spectroscope, and, more recently, with the camera, astronomers have been exploring the heavens, and the accuracy of their predictions of celestial phenomena is one of the miracles of science. Heat, light, sound, and electricity have been reinterpreted, and the mathematical unification of the physical world has been demonstrated by the mathematician and the physicist. Experiments in physics conducted by James P. Joule (1818–1889) prepared the way for the confirmation of the principle of the conservation of energy. In 1847, Hermann von Helmholtz presented the facts upon which that law rests. The discovery of such laws was followed by their application to a variety of practical uses. Nineteenth-century discoveries in the field of electricity, particularly those of Ampère (1775–1836), Ohm (1789–1854), and Faraday (1791–1867), have led to the harnessing of this great force for practical uses. In the nineteenth century not only were new laws of quantitative chemistry discovered, but great progress was also made in organic chemistry. The relation between organic and inorganic matter was discovered and it was shown that organic matter operates according to the same quantitative laws that govern inorganic matter. One practical result of chemical discoveries was the artificial production of many chemicals such as synthetic sugar, indigo, and rubber. The production by chemical processes of all the foods we eat or their nutritive equivalents is now within sight.

In biology, the most important discovery was the cellular nature of organic matter. That discovery has revolutionized the sciences of pathology and bacteriology. The science of embryology has thrown much light upon the question of heredity, and led to the formulation

of the biological doctrine of recapitulation, which, while not entirely true, stimulated research in biology and genetic psychology. Research in the field of physiology gave rise to the widely accepted theory that life is but a chemical process. In the field of botany, the earlier classification of plants by Linnaeus was modified and harmonized with the theory of evolution.

Medical science was almost revolutionized by discoveries in related fields. Vaccination for smallpox was begun by Edward Jenner in 1796. The invention of the stethoscope by Laennec (1781–1826) helped physicians to detect many diseases of the internal organs. Chemistry supplied the surgeon with anesthetics, William Morton, a Boston dentist, being the first to use ether (1846). In addition, it provided many effective germicides. The publication of the germ theory of disease by Dr. Robert Koch, in 1876, put an end to many medical superstitions. In its discovery, Pasteur was very influential. Many a dreaded disease, such as anthrax, rabies, and tuberculosis, has been checked by these discoveries. Mental and nervous diseases, long associated with Satan's wiles, have been successfully investigated by neurologists and psychiatrists. With the exception of anatomy, nearly all great medical discoveries date from the year 1800. Yet "Nothing's known to what is yet to know."

To geologists and geographers the earth has surrendered many of its great secrets. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–1833) gave men accurate knowledge of the origin, age, and form of the earth. In addition, geology has aided in the development of the mineral industries. Great progress has also been made in geography. Karl Ritter (1779–1859), who assisted Pestalozzi in his educational reform, contributed much to our knowledge of physical geography, while explorers, such as Livingstone and Stanley, expanded the field of geographical knowledge. Most significant, however, was the development of a new point of view in the science itself which emphasized the effect of geographical factors upon human life and behavior. With Karl Ritter interest began to center in this anthropogeography.

**The Cultural Lag.**—Men often live in the midst of truths and wonders and see them not. The almost miraculous discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have not yet aroused the masses out of their mediaeval slumber. Except for the highly educated few, men still interpret life and its problems in terms of traditional hopes and beliefs. Emotion, not science and reason, still rules the world. Because of the tenaciousness of ancient culture



and folkways, it remains difficult to apply the truths of science to a variety of social ills that call for treatment. Teachers, preachers, statesmen, and, sometimes, even scientists themselves have vehemently opposed scientific truth and its social application, and modern dictators have renounced science when its truths have clashed with their political principles.

**Science and Religion.**—We have seen how science produced the Deism of the eighteenth century. The scientific principle of cause-and-effect was accepted by scientists as sufficient to explain all things in the world that we know by sense perception. The doctrine of evolution was applied to man and society as well as to the physical world. Modernist theologians adopted the new outlook and attempted to harmonize religion with science. The most important steps in this direction appear in the Biblical criticism of the "higher critics" and in the harmonizing of the Christian religion with the theory of evolution. The ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1875) did for the new rationalism what the French Encyclopedists had done for rationalism in their time. This modernist movement occurred only within the circle of Protestantism, and there it was opposed by the Fundamentalists, who were the great majority during the nineteenth century, but who have lost ground in the twentieth. Among the Modernists, many, conceding the theory of evolution and denying that the Scriptures are inspired, retained their beliefs in the existence of God and the divinity of Jesus. Outside of organized religion, the Positivists, led by Comte, proposed a cult of humanity in place of all supernatural cults; and the Society for Ethical Culture attempted to bring together the highest moral teachings of all religions, while denying the supernatural character of them all, and insisting upon the human character of Jesus, for whose teachings they had great respect. These modernist movements were rooted in the theory of evolution, Biblical criticism, sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

The Catholic church effectively opposed Modernism within its own circle. Both in politics and religion it took a reactionary position. Pope Pius IX (1848–1876) condemned democracy and, in opposition to the naturalistic outlook of science, proclaimed the dogmas of the immaculate conception and of papal infallibility. The Catholic church made no attempt to harmonize its dogmas with science as it progressed. It opposed science, however, only when it conflicted with Catholic dogma.

In spite of progressive movements in religion, theological opposition stood as a threatening barrier to scientific progress, and some lay



scientists boldly accepted the Fundamentalists' challenge to combat. Huxley, Haeckel, and Ingersoll denounced all theological orthodoxy as untrue. The Anarchist movement is atheistic, and Russian Communism took officially the same stand. The Rationalist Press Association and the International Freethinkers League were organized to combat theology in the interest of science. Critical accounts of the life of Jesus, embodying the skepticism of the higher critics, were written by David Strauss (1804–1874) and by Ernest Renan (1823–1892). These men rejected the doctrines of the divinity of Jesus and of the supernatural origin of Christianity. A group of German scholars at the University of Tübingen, led by Ferdinand Baur (1792–1860), advanced the view that Paul, not Jesus, was the founder of Christianity and that the gospels are pure myths, a view which attained wide vogue among intellectuals.

Kant, and Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) laid a firm intellectual basis for a new defense of religion. Kant asserted that in the phenomenal world, in which natural causes determine all happenings, the ideas of God and duty have no place but, in the moral world, they are essential as the rational bases of conduct. At a time when science was undermining the foundations of theology, Ritschl, in his work *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (1874), sought to free religion from dogmas by establishing it upon the basis of personal experience, and by making its goal the moral elevation of mankind. It is impossible, he held, to know God, but we can feel and experience him as a benevolent father guiding us toward a better life. God is thus an unknown power operating for the moral uplift of mankind, and preëminently through the moral leadership of Jesus. Appealing for a practical Christianity, based upon the idea of God as a personal experience, Ritschl had a great influence within Protestant circles, for, to many, he seemed to have found the way to save Christianity from the attacks of science.<sup>27</sup>

**Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century.**—In the early part of the century, Hegelian idealism held the center of the stage. It taught that there is an ultimate and idealistic reality which can be known by rational processes. Hegel's position was essentially Platonic. A reaction in favor of the Kantian position soon set in. Kant held that

<sup>27</sup> F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921; F. B. Mason, *Creation by Evolution*, New York: Macmillan, 1928; A. C. McGiffert, *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas*, New York: Macmillan, 1915; G. H. Mead, *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, University of Chicago Press, 1936; Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, New York: Appleton, 1896.

human knowledge cannot extend beyond the world of sense perception, and that the world of ultimate realities is unknowable. And since Hegel defended the idea of the "absolute" in government, and disregarded the struggle of the laboring masses, his philosophy was rejected by many for social reasons. While borrowing these fundamental views from Hegel, Karl Marx, and others gave them a materialistic interpretation and thus laid the philosophical foundations of socialism. In America, Hegelian idealism, in its original form, found strong support from such men as W. T. Harris, best known as an educational reformer, and Josiah Royce, of Harvard, whose philosophical writings at the close of the century were the strongest American defense of a philosophy the principles of which were essentially opposed to our political and social traditions. While philosophers like Lotze (1817-1881), Schopenhauer (1788-1860), and Cousin (1792-1867) attempted to justify traditional idealism and reconcile it with scientific discoveries, there were others who formulated philosophies permeated entirely by the spirit of science.

Auguste Comte's philosophy, positivism, was an attempt to harmonize life and society with scientific laws, and to subordinate all other sciences to the new science of sociology, whose function it would be to apply the truths of the other sciences to the problems of society. Positivism was a religion in which humanity took the place of God, and in which all supernaturalism was cast aside. It was an outgrowth of the need to solve scientifically the social problems created by the Industrial Revolution. In addition to positivism, a utilitarian philosophy of social reform was formulated by James Mill and John Stuart Mill and, justifying a measure of state interference in social matters, was a modification of the earlier individualistic utilitarianism of Bentham. In 1843, John Stuart Mill published his *System of Logic*, designed to end the Aristotelian deductive method of inquiry and to lay an observational experimental basis of philosophy, the principles of which would embrace all fields of scientific knowledge and embody a belief in the theory of evolution. For Spencer, the world of ultimate truths, of God and his purposes, is unknowable, and only the knowable world with which science deals is worthy of human inquiry.

In America, Charles S. Pierce (1839-1914), William James (1842-1910), and John Dewey (1859- ) gave shape to the philosophical outlook of the New World. Pierce taught that experience and experiment are the only sound tests of truth. James taught that human thought cannot discover ultimate truths, nor final certainties, and that it is but an instrument designed to produce action or

doing. Since he believed it to be impossible to know ultimate truths, he set up pragmatism as the test of the truth of all ideas and principles. Pragmatism teaches that what is useful—what works in a practical situation—is true; what does not work is false. Truth thus becomes not a fixed, eternal thing, but something that is subject to change. What is true today may be false tomorrow, for what works today may not work tomorrow. Thus tested, the ideas of Plato, Jesus, Augustine, Aquinas, Descartes, or even of James himself may be true at one time and false at another. Dewey accepted the fundamental tenets of James but, unlike James, who applied them to religion and ethics, has made his applications in the social field. Moreover, Dewey has expanded the philosophy of James into the theory of instrumentalism upon which his whole philosophy rests. For him, philosophy must not be a thing aloof from everyday life but must be constantly applied, as he himself has done, to political, social, economic, and educational problems.

#### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. If the schools of Europe and colonial America had done their duty to the existing régimes, the French and American revolutions would not have occurred.

2. Under a system of state-controlled universal education revolutions are impossible and progress ceases.

3. The scientific historian, who shows due regard for his science, may not say that revolutions have been good or bad. He may only enumerate the facts connected with them.

4. The American War of Independence was a revolution; the Nazi-Fascist movements were counter-revolutions. The violence of an oppressed class is a revolution; that of a traditional ruling class, a counter-revolution. A revolution is good; a counter-revolution, bad.

5. Measured by modern standards, the political liberalism of the *Social Contract* was very conservative.

6. The political equality of eighteenth-century radicals can never become a reality while economic and educational inequalities exist.

7. The concept of naturalism is the key to an understanding of the outlook and institutions of the modern world and its educational practices.

8. If modern nationalism is an evil, then democracy, which gave rise to it, must also be evil. The test of the goodness or badness of an institution or practice is the consequences to which it leads. Universal edu-



cation has been a consequence of nationalism which, therefore, must be good.

9. The greatest of modern evils has been the increasing power of the state, and its conquest over the minds of men.

10. The greatest danger in democracy is that it tends to standardize human beings, particularly through education, and to reduce us all to a common level. "Where everybody is somebody, nobody is anybody."

11. The principle of coöperation is better than that of competition, and schools should educate youth in the ways of coöperative living.

12. Modern psychology is but one phase of naturalism.

13. Naturalism, democracy, and the scientific movement are closely interrelated.

14. Intellectual change is an inevitable consequence of social change.

15. Since individuals react in different ways to different drugs and stimuli, there can be neither a science of medicine nor of psychology. Man is the unknown. Faith in any science may be a misleading faith.

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## Chapter 10

### THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION

#### Rousseau and the Theory of Education as a Natural Development of the Individual

The political unrest of the eighteenth century was reflected in the educational thought of the time. Political revolutions, when they embody fundamental changes in the economic and social spheres, invariably produce revolutions in educational thought and practice. The rise of political liberalism in the eighteenth century, rooted as it was in economic and social unrest, marked the beginning of new things, profoundly significant, in education. The fundamental principles of education in liberal states have changed with changing conceptions of liberalism, but certain fundamental positions taken by educational thinkers of the early revolutionary era have remained essentially unchanged. Foremost among these are the principles that (a) educational practice must be in harmony with the nature of the individual child and must develop his individuality to its fullest capacity, and (b) that the liberal state, the greatness of which depends on the greatness of the individuals who compose it, owes it to itself, for its own preservation, to educate its future masters and citizens, each one according to his natural capacities, for their own well-being as well as for that of society. The former principle gave impetus to a psychological emphasis in education; the latter, to the sociological emphasis, which was, however, not confined to liberal states alone but which, under the drive of nationalism, found expression in the establishment of national school systems for social ends as conceived mainly in terms of national interests. The most influential advocate of the individualistic-psychological emphasis was Rousseau, against whose supposedly extreme individualism more conservative reformers took an effective stand in the interest of society. Before examining the educational tenets of Rousseau let us recall something of his forerunners and of the educational practices against which he protested.

**Rousseau's Educational Progenitors.**—With the exception of the democratic states of Greece and, for a time, of Rome, man's individuality was suppressed by the tyranny of political and ecclesiastical despots, and by the equally restrictive force of long-established social customs and culture. With the early Renaissance came a reawakening of the Greek respect for the individual in all of his natural aspects, aspects suppressed for centuries by the asceticism and otherworldliness of mediaeval ecclesiasticism. This discovery of man as a natural being, each one endowed with an individuality all his own, marked the beginning of an educational revolt which reached its height with Rousseau and extremists in the modern "progressive" school of educational thought. From the time of Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) until that of Rousseau, protest succeeded protest against the bookishness of education, harsh school discipline, and the apparently general disregard of natural differences in individual capacities among students. Erasmus, Rabelais, Montaigne, Mulcaster, Locke, and Comenius, among others, hurled their invectives at the bookish education of their times. With Mulcaster and Comenius, the idea, advanced by earlier writers, that education ought to be in harmony with human nature and a means of perfecting it was strongly emphasized. Comenius would make nature our guide in education; Rousseau would substitute it for education, and his views reflected the naturalism of his day.

**Rousseau and Education According to Nature.**—As the economic and political theorists tried to bring economic and political institutions into harmony with supposed natural laws operating in society, so Rousseau tried to bring education into harmony with laws of nature governing the growth and life of the individual. He, no doubt, sensed the relation of "natural education" to the "natural state" which he described in the *Social Contract*. Yet, in the *Emile*, his treatise on "natural education," he failed to indicate, in any clear way, the political and social implications of that education. That he was an advocate of a strong state is apparent from his *Social Contract*, in which he sets up social unity as of supreme importance, to the attainment of which all institutions, even Christianity, must be directed.<sup>1</sup> That he recognized the political import of education is apparent not only in his *Social Contract*, but also in his *Discourse on Political Economy* and his *Considerations on the Government of Poland*. That he was at war with the society of his day is equally apparent. The *Emile* is his protest against the degradation of men in

<sup>1</sup> *The Social Contract*, Ch. VIII.

that society, and against the educational practices which helped to degrade them. He would save children by a new education from that degradation. In the midst of the vices of civilization, Emile will retain unsullied the virtues of the savage, the natural man. The education which Rousseau recommends for Emile is designed to fortify him against the distortion of his nature by society. So sweeping is his negation of the old traditional education that he would preserve but the merest fragments of it. Do the opposite, said he, of what is customary and you will almost certainly be right. But his was not a merely negative position. In the place of the old, which he would destroy, he places the new education which he describes in great detail. The essential tenets of his philosophy are the following:

### 1. Education Must Be in Harmony with Human Nature.—

Against the traditional view that human nature is evil and must be changed or disciplined in the interest of society or one's own soul, Rousseau taught that it is good and that no curb should be placed upon the freedom of its development. "All things are good as their Creator made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man,"<sup>2</sup> are the opening words of the *Emile*. The *Social Contract*, too, opened with the thought that, while men are born free, they are everywhere in chains. To free man he would reform the chief instrument of his oppression, education. He aimed to "form men" not by imposing upon children the ideas and modes of life of adults, but by allowing them freedom to grow according to those "tendencies" which are clearly a part of each one's original endowment. These natural interests and impulses are good because human nature is good and not vicious, as Christians were made to believe. Education must be in harmony with original and unspoiled human nature. The first requirement for teaching is to "know childhood." Ignorance of child nature is the root of most educational errors. "Even the most gracious instructors," said Rousseau, "apply themselves to those things which man is required to know, without considering what it is children are capacitated to learn. They are always expecting the *man* in the *child*, without reflecting what he is before he can be a man."<sup>3</sup> Know child nature and bring instruction into harmony with it is the first indispensable law of education.

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<sup>2</sup> *Emilius and Sophia*, London: T. Becket, 1763, I, 1. Our citations from the *Emile* are taken from this earliest English translation, and from that of W. H. Payne published by D. Appleton & Co., in 1892, the latter being still the most valuable edition for students of education.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to the *Emile*.



**2. Nature Is Our Chief Teacher.**—We are educated by three teachers: nature, men, and things. "The constitutional exertion of our organs and faculties is the education of nature; the uses we are taught to make of that exertion constitute the education given us by men; and in the acquisitions made by our own experience on the objects that surround us consists our education from circumstances." <sup>4</sup> Over nature we have no control, and over things, only a partial control. Therefore, the education we control must conform with that which we cannot control. Nature he defined as our "natural tendencies" unchanged by reason, habit, or prejudices.

**3. Natural Interest Should Direct the Teaching Process.**—While Rousseau retained at many points the disciplinary conception of education, stressing habit formation and development of powers by effort and exercise, such as bodily growth by the "hardening process" and mental development through manual training, he urged the doctrine of natural interest as a guide to teaching with such persistent fervor that it overshadowed the other view to such a degree that the *Emile* stands as a revolt against the old education, with its emphasis upon the reform of nature by effort and exercises opposed to its tendencies. Rousseau's advocacy of interest appears in his demand that teachers study the nature of children and follow their "natural tendencies." The body, senses, intellect, and heart display, each one in turn from birth to manhood, their own special natural interests; and, when these appear, education must conform with them. There are, said Rousseau, sharply defined stages in human development, each one marked by its own predominant and unmistakable interest which nature herself has created. The transition from one stage to the next, he views as a sudden one. Thus at the age of twelve or thirteen, rational interests first appear; and at the age of fifteen or sixteen the sex urge, with a train of social interests, indicates that the last stage in the development of youth has been reached. The special interest, urge or demand of nature at each of the four stages of development is the guide which nature provides for the teacher, who must never anticipate the next stage but only perfect the child's development at the stage he has reached.

**4. To Form Men Is the Goal of Education.**—Traditionally, education looked to some end outside of the individual, such as social well-being, the professions, or heaven. Rousseau would have it otherwise. He would make the attainment of the fullest natural

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

growth of the individual the end to be sought. The teacher must train the man or the citizen; he cannot train both. But the natural man is greater than the citizen. He is the unit, and the citizen but the fraction. The old schools, attempting to compromise between natural and social demands, turned out youths tortured by inner irreconcilable conflicts, and failed to attain any educational goal. To avoid such an evil, teachers ought to aim to form natural men. Were society itself natural, there would be no need to distort the nature of its future citizens. Said Rousseau: "According to the order of nature, all men being equal, their common vocation is the profession of humanity. . . . It matters little to me whether my pupil be designed for the army, the bar, or the pulpit. Nature has destined us to the offices of human life. . . . To live is the profession I would teach him. When I have done with him, it is true, he will be neither a lawyer, a soldier, nor a divine. Let him first be a man. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudice; all our customs are nothing but subjection, confinement and restraint. Civilized man is born, lives, and dies in slavery: at his birth he is bound up in swaddling clothes, and at his death nailed down in his coffin; as long as he wears the appearance of the human form he is confined by our institutions."<sup>5</sup>

Rousseau would thus free men from their bondage to society by educating them not for citizenship but for manhood. And yet no one was more preoccupied than he with the problem of reforming society. The natural state, of which he dreamt, needed as citizens natural men whose primitive natural virtues have not been stifled by the weeds of traditional social institutions. Not too hopeful of the emergence of the ideal society, Rousseau would immunize man's nature against the distortions which an unnatural society would inflict upon it. He realized that man must live in society, but he would not have him enslaved by it. *Emile* is a savage who must live in cities.

The preservation of individuality and the full development of manhood are the goals of education. Citizenship, professional and vocational preparation, or training for life in any social class are vicious objectives. Manhood is a vocation common to all men, and one who has attained it cannot discharge badly any vocation related to it. In a rapidly changing world, the individual should not be habituated to fixed institutions, but his powers should be so developed that he will be able to adapt himself to the changing environment and thus safeguard himself. To this end, the future needs of the child must be entirely ignored, and at each stage of his growth

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-16

he will be taught to act according to his natural interest of the moment.

Under these broad principles all of the details of Rousseau's plan of education could be included. The greater part of the *Emile* consists of a description of the practices which he deemed desirable. Following his view of the saltatory development of the pupil, he describes the education suitable to each of the sharply defined periods in his growth, those of infancy, early childhood, later childhood, and adolescence.

**Natural Education.** (a) DURING INFANCY.—The newborn child must be left free in body, not imprisoned in swaddling clothes. "Follow nature" is the guiding rule. Nature keeps the infant active, hardens him, accustoms him to grief and pain and thus strengthens him: "Inure them, therefore, by degrees, to those inconveniences they must one day suffer. Harden their bodies to the intemperance of the seasons, climates, and elements; to hunger, thirst and fatigue."<sup>6</sup> This is again the "hardening process" of Locke. Rousseau would have Emile accustomed even to ice-cold baths. In infancy also the basis of character is to be laid. If you subdue the child, you make him a slave; if you pamper him, you make him a tyrant.

Throughout the entire educational period, ending at the age of twenty, nature has designed fathers to be the teachers of their sons, the most ignorant father being better than the cleverest schoolmaster. Were it possible to find an ideal teacher, a father might transfer his duty to him. Emile's teacher is the ideal one as conceived by Rousseau. He becomes his pupil's lifelong companion, counselor, and friend, confidence and love marking the relationship between them. The tutor's first duty is to give Emile a strong body, not by the deadly ministrations of physicians, but by hygienic living, temperance, and industry. Exercise, labor and fatigue are the way to health and strength. Emile must be reared in the country, because of the vices and diseases of cities, but still more because men's "breath is destructive to their fellow-creatures,"<sup>7</sup> and Emile must be preserved from the death of his nature at the hands of society. Natural education begins, for everyone, with a strong body; where it ends depends upon the natural interests and capacities of each individual. Nature alone fixes its limits, for real education comes from living and experience. The tutor must be guided by Emile's interests and capacities which, in infancy, are those of the body and the senses. Demands beyond his own power must not be satisfied. "Tears are the petitions

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.



of young children; if they be not looked on as such, they will soon become commands.”<sup>8</sup> A child must learn early not to command men, who are his masters, or things because they are unable to hear him. “An infant is vicious only because he is weak; give him power and you make him good.”<sup>9</sup> His wishes must be kept within the limits of his power, for otherwise they will destroy his liberty. Rousseau recognized, as do the modern activists, the importance of child activity which he would not curb since, in infancy, it cannot have destructive results because of the child’s limited power. That the mental and moral gifts which nature bestowed upon him may not be perverted from their proper ends, Rousseau warned against the imposition upon the child of habits of thought and behavior. “The only habit in which a child should be indulged is that of contracting no habit.”<sup>10</sup> That principle he again reiterated in connection with habit formation in the pre-adolescent child. The rule, said he, to be followed is to break the rule when necessary. For the infant, there must be no fixed ways or hours for doing anything. For the child, he recommends that he be aroused from a deep sleep, and kept up, at times, all night, so that he may be able to endure discomfort and inconvenience without ill effect.

Rousseau’s war upon a wordy education, which he never abandoned, was begun in connection with infant training. “The school boy listens to the gabbling usher [teacher] of his class, with the same stupid attention as he did to the prattle of his nurse. Hence it appears to me to be a very useful mode of instruction to bring up children to hear nothing of it.”<sup>11</sup> It is better to have clear ideas than a large vocabulary, and a child should not have more words than ideas.

(b) IN EARLY CHILDHOOD.—During this period, from the age of five until twelve, as in that of later childhood, from twelve to fifteen, Emile will remain in the country and be sedulously guarded against demoralizing influences. A purified environment and an ideal tutor are indispensable conditions of a good education. Where evil does not exist, the child will do no evil. In this period, sense interests predominate, and Emile’s interest will center in the physical world which he will want to investigate by means of his senses. Now is the time to train the senses which nature has given him for a most vital end, that of life itself. This is also a period when moral training must not be neglected, but it must always be negative in character.

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.



(1) *Negative Moral Training.* Emile must not be told anything now regarding moral action, unless he asks questions about such matters. Duty must not be mentioned to him until he has learned his rights, and these he can learn by experience only. Thus experience will teach him that he has no right to attack persons or things stronger than himself. Should he strike one stronger than himself, his blows should be returned with interest. Nature and environment will fix the limits of his liberty. Respect for private property, he must learn now, however, and Rousseau suggests that his natural urge for gardening be used to impress that duty upon him. Emile plants his garden in ground already planted by another gardener who, upon discovering what has happened, destroys Emile's plants. The saddened youth will now be told by his tutor that the other laborer was the first occupier and had a prior right to the garden, and that he has no basis of complaint. By such an experience he will learn the meaning of property, and the lesson will last because he was not told it but had discovered it himself.

(2) *Learning by Natural Consequences.* Should Emile break something, be slow in replacing it; should he break his window, let him sleep in the cold; should he lie, refuse to believe him even when he speaks the truth. Do not tell him he has done wrong; let the consequences of his acts impress that truth upon him. The child is not by nature vicious, but a vicious environment makes him so. When a child lies, it is the fault of his elders. When they insist upon obedience, lying becomes a necessity for him. If his elders are kind and do not thwart or punish him, he will not lie, for under such conditions lying would be useless. Should he, however, commit an offense, his act can be made to produce its own punishment.

(3) *The Importance of Good Example.* In the realm of morals, the child learns by example, not by precept. Thus, acts of charity and kindness, performed in his presence, will make him charitable and kind. The good acts he performs in childhood, by imitation, he will perform in manhood because he perceives them to be good.

(4) *Instruction Must Conform with the Child's Ability.* The only safe guide in determining what the child is able to learn is the child's age. His strength must never be exhausted by mental exertion. Not to gain time but to lose it for the sake of a happy childhood is the rule to be followed. Thus, nothing calling for an exercise of reason should be taught before the age of twelve, because the ability to reason does not exist earlier.

(5) *Memorizing Is Both Useless and Evil*. Emile must learn nothing by heart. "What is the significance of imprinting on their minds a catalogue of signs which to them represent nothing? . . . [Why impose upon them] a heap of words which to them are without meaning! In the very first unintelligible sentence with which a child sits down satisfied, . . . without being himself convinced of its utility, he loses part of his understanding."<sup>12</sup>

(6) *Freedom as a Means of Control*. Emile's tutor selects the boy's environment and sometimes creates it. Therein Emile learns quickly because he has no lessons to learn. His personal experiences are his lessons, and his tutor has determined what those experiences are to be. Without being aware of it, Emile has been under a master, and his freedom has been limited by his environment. "There is no subjection so complete as that which preserves the appearance of liberty; it is by these means even the will itself is led captive."<sup>13</sup>

(7) *Training the Senses*. The period between the ages of five and twelve is one in which the child's predominant natural interest is that of sensing things, and his instruction ought to consist in sense activities. Since sense perception is the basis of thought and reason, nature has set aside seven years for the training of the sense organs. Our first teachers are our feet, hands, and eyes; and books must not be substituted for them. By sense activities, the child learns the limits of his strength, the physical relation between himself and the external world, and the use of natural tools. Besides, such training lays the physical basis of later intellectual activity. Intellectual activity must yet, however, be sedulously avoided. Teach him now, said Rousseau, "the art of being ignorant." Instead of teaching him science, fashion the tools necessary in acquiring it. Develop now his senses and bodily organs by appropriate exercises. He saw clearly that sense interests and activities would create challenging problems for the child and an interest in solving them. Emile wants to pick cherries from a tree; he will learn quickly how to measure the ladder by which he hopes to reach them. Practical needs will urge him to draw, and thus he will learn the essentials of elementary geometry. But in drawing he must not copy copies. "I would have him have no other master than nature; no other model than the objects themselves."<sup>14</sup> When problems arise out of his own sense activities, the tutor should grope for their solutions, but Emile should be given the joy of finding them. Thus, during the period of sense training Emile will learn many useful things incidentally. His senses now developed,

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

he is ready for adventures in reasoning. He has as yet few ideas, but they are precise because they have been derived from experience and from the book of nature. "He knows nothing at all of custom, fashion, or habit; . . . he pursues no formula, is influenced by no authority or example, but acts and speaks from his own judgment. . . . You will find in him a few moral notions relative to his actual state, but none on the relative situation in which he stands to society. . . . Speak to him of duty and obedience, and he will not know what you are talking about. . . . All men are in his notions equal. . . . If you comply with his request, he will not thank you for so doing; but will be sensible that he has contracted an obligation. If . . . you refuse him assistance, he will not complain; . . . he knows that will be needless. . . . Whatever he may have a mind to do, he will undertake nothing above his abilities." <sup>15</sup>

(c) IN LATER CHILDHOOD.—(1) *Curriculum*. During the period between the age of twelve and adolescence, the child's strength, says Rousseau, exceeds his wants. It is therefore the time for work, instruction, and inquiry, the time for developing the intellect. Only useful studies and such as contribute to human welfare should be selected for him, regard being had to the stage of mental growth which he has reached. In selecting his studies, the guiding principle is to follow Emile's natural interests. Utility, however, must also be a determining factor, and Rousseau evidently assumes that natural interests are rooted in utility. Following these principles, Emile will be taught reading, the natural and physical sciences, and a trade. Though Rousseau hates books because "they only teach people to talk about what they don't understand," <sup>16</sup> he considers reading ability indispensable, and Emile will learn to read from the book that best depicts life and education according to nature, *Robinson Crusoe*. The utility of his studies must always be apparent to Emile. He must do nothing because he is told but because he recognizes it as good and useful for himself. His own experience, not that of his elders, is to be the measure of values. During this period of intellectual training, the question which the tutor must always be prepared to answer is "What is the use of that?" <sup>17</sup> In placing such exclusive emphasis, as he did, upon the study of sciences and a trade, during this period of supposedly predominant intellectual interest, Rousseau revolts against the disciplinary principle of selecting a curriculum, as well as against the classical and academic character of traditional schools. Rousseau had no aversion to the study of the ancient classics. Indeed

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 302-305.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 58.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.



he considered them more worthy of study than their modern imitations, but he would have Emile examine them not in his childhood but when he stood on the threshold of manhood. The period of intellectual interest, that is of later childhood, is so short that it must be used very wisely. In early childhood, wasting time was a virtue; not so now. When, in a few years, his passions ripen, his intellectual interests will have been submerged. The period of such interests being very short, Emile cannot be taught everything. Therefore, he ought to be taught only the most useful sciences, but he ought to be given a taste of them all so that he may later pursue them alone when that taste matures.

(2) *Trade Training.* Prior to adolescence, Emile has no sense of social relations, but a knowledge of skills essential to life will suggest to him the industrial interdependence of men. Their moral interdependence, he cannot yet grasp. Now is the time to teach him the arts that make men mutually useful. Emile must, therefore, be taken from one workshop to another, and must try his hand at every trade. Now also is the time to instruct him regarding industrial exchange and such related matters as banking and transportation. In early childhood, he was taught how to preserve his life; now he must be taught how to live usefully to himself and others. Said Rousseau: "Adapt the education of a man to his personal and not accidental abilities. Don't you see that, by bringing him up only to fill one station in life, you make him unfit for every other? You make a dependence on the actual order of society, without thinking that order subject to unavoidable revolutions. . . . The high may be reduced low, and the rich may become poor. . . . We certainly are approaching the crisis, . . . the age of political revolutions. Who can assure you what will be your lot? . . . There are no characters indelible but those imprinted by nature, and nature never made man royal, noble, or rich. . . . The man who earns not his subsistence, but eats the bread of idleness, is no better than a thief. . . . Rich or poor, strong or weak, every idle citizen is a knave."<sup>18</sup>

On the basis of that philosophy, Rousseau demanded a trade education for every boy. Manual labor is a natural pursuit and makes one not only useful but independent. Agricultural and manual training raises one to the status of a man, and prepares one for the common vocation of mankind, manhood. With a trade "you have no need to fear or flatter the great, to creep or cringe to knaves."<sup>19</sup> In addition to these values, Rousseau saw still another one in trade

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-93.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.



education, that of mental discipline. This advocate of interest and utility, as principles of selection of studies, retains some elements of the old disciplinary philosophy. "While I have accustomed my pupil to corporeal exercise and manual labor, I have given him insensibly a taste for reflection and meditation; in order to counterbalance that indolence which would be the natural result of his indifference to the opinions of mankind and the tranquillity of his passions. It is necessary that he work like a peasant and think like a philosopher lest he become as idle as a savage."<sup>20</sup> That same philosophy appears in his advocacy of the "hardening process" of body training, which we have referred to earlier.

(3) *Methods of Teaching Intellectual Subjects.* To Rousseau, methods of teaching are of even greater importance than the things taught. Indeed, the *Emile* is basically a treatise on methods. Clinging to his fundamental principles, he states his views on the method of intellectual training: "Let our senses then always be our guide, the world our only book, and facts our sole percepts. Children, when taught to read, learn that only; they never think; they gain no information; all their learning consists in words. Direct the attention of your pupil to the phenomena of nature, and you will soon awaken his curiosity; but to keep that curiosity alive, you must be in no haste to satisfy it. Put questions to him, . . . and leave him to resolve them. Let him take nothing on trust from his preceptor, but on his own comprehension. . . . If ever you substitute authority in the place of argument, he will reason no longer."<sup>21</sup>

Thus, *Emile* ought to study geography not from maps but from his own immediate surroundings, and he ought to make his own maps. It is better to know nothing than to be mistaken, or to have ideas that are not clear. The sciences he will learn by his own observation and by simple experiments. At all times, Rousseau stresses not the activity of the teacher but the activity of the child, an activity created by interest in problems that demand solution. And *Emile*, not the tutor, must find the solution by his own observation and experiments. Without formal instruction, he will also acquire, by his own activity in workshops and by his own observation, an understanding of industrial relationships between men. Rousseau's revolt against book learning reached its height in such teachings as these.

(d) IN ADOLESCENCE.—With the dawn of sex interest, nature demands that *Emile's* heart be brought into accord with the feelings of his fellows. Body, senses, mind, and heart compose the man. At

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-115.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

the age of fifteen, only the heart remains to be developed. During the five succeeding years the goal of education is to make Emile loving and compassionate and "to perfect reason by sentiment,"<sup>22</sup> for he is "a savage destined . . . to inhabit . . . cities."<sup>23</sup> With sex interest comes an interest in all human relations. Heretofore he knew only his own feelings; now nature demands that he concern himself with the feelings of others. Love of all mankind and pity for all afflicted humans are the primary virtues to be acquired. These he will acquire by personal observation of the sufferings of the poor, the sick, and social outcasts. True pity springs from fear and is rooted in self-interest. The rich and powerful, having no such fear, know not pity. Emile must be made to fear that misery may one day be his own lot.

(1) *The Curriculum during Adolescence.* Again, Rousseau gives less attention to the subjects to be taught than to the method of teaching them. Yet, in varying degrees of completeness, he discusses, as necessary studies, social inequalities, morality, religion, political science, history, courtship, marriage and parenthood, and interesting literature both ancient and modern. Generally, Emile will study men, as individuals and in their institutional relationships, in order that he may see that men have been depraved by society, and that he must respect the individual and despise the multitude. By their deeds, not their words, he shall judge men. While history and biographies will help him to judge character, they are not sufficient. His tutor must have him tricked by conjurers, deceived by flatterers, misled by companions, and robbed by cheats. Only against the wiles of women must he be guarded. He must learn to be moral by experience, except when the risk is too great, and then he should have recourse to history, or fables, for the necessary experience.

(2) *Religious Education.* Natural religion, as described at length in the *Emile*, will be substituted for the supernatural religion of the traditional schools. Rousseau says that, at the age of eighteen, Emile may not know that he has a soul, for he has been taught only the things that he was able to understand. The dogmas of natural religion are said to conform with experience and reason. The existence of God, as demonstrated by reason and feeling, is the first dogma of natural religion, but little can be known of God beyond the fact of His existence. The second dogma is that of the existence of the soul and of rewards and punishments, a dogma founded upon feeling and desire, not upon reason or knowledge. Where reason fails in matters

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

of religion, conscience is to be man's guide. Feeling and conscience are the measure of right and wrong. They never deceive us, and he who obeys them is following nature and, therefore, will not fall into an error of judgment or conduct. Philosophy leads men into error; feeling leads them to truth. It is thus better to be a man than a scholar. Not to priests but to conscience and the book of nature, one ought to turn for light on questions of religion and morality. It is only through nature that one can know God and love Him. Emile must reject all authority and the beliefs of his countrymen regarding religion, and be guided entirely by his own reason and feelings in such matters. Since these natural authorities, implanted in him, can never discover the supernatural, his quest must end with natural religion. His tutor can guide him no farther.

(3) *Sex Education and Training for Parenthood.* On the strength of the bond of confidence and affection established between the tutor and Emile the success of sex instruction will depend. Since marriage ought to be postponed until the age of twenty, Emile must be frankly informed of the dangers that beset him. At his present age restraint by knowledge is better than restraint by ignorance. Care must be taken that he receive all his sex information from his tutor. He must be protected from all harmful companions and influences, and be kept constantly engaged in physical exercises and hard work. Religious appeals to him are of no value. At appropriate times, the tutor will tell him of the laws of nature pertaining to sex, and the physical and moral evils which result from their violation. The dignity of marriage, he must be constantly reminded of. Now is the time to introduce him to books and good literature, ancient and modern. A taste for literature will counteract the tendency to self-preoccupation and be a lasting source of delight. Since the good and natural life is one of activity, no one must be permitted to do anything for Emile which he can do for himself. Idleness is vicious. At twenty, he is ready to marry, and his tutor shall help him to find an ideal wife but, before taking this final step, he must study the social and political institutions of neighboring nations so that he may determine under which system he wishes to spend his life.

(4) *Instruction in Economics and Politics.* Thus far, Emile has learned little about economics, vocational pursuits, and different systems of government. To be a man among men he must know the world, and since books are of but little value for this purpose, he must travel with his tutor through neighboring countries and study their languages and institutions. One who is thus acquainted with a



number of nations knows men. Now Emile will study governments and select the one under which he will live. With the theory as well as the practice of government he must familiarize himself. He will study the origin of government, the various forms it has taken, and the advantages and disadvantages of each form. Questions of natural and civil liberty, of property rights, of sovereignty, of law, of the desirability of a federation of European states, etc., his tutor will discuss with him. Now, too, is the time to instruct him regarding the various occupations in which men engage, and the advantages and disadvantages of various pursuits. But this vocational guidance ought to lead Emile to farming as the safest and best way of living, and he should find a spot where taxes are low and homage has not to be paid to deputies, judges, priests, and to rogues of every kind.

(5) *Other Studies.* During two years of travel, Emile will acquire a knowledge of national character, of two or three foreign languages, of natural history, political science, arts, and men. Then he is ready to marry and assume the responsibilities of a man, a husband, a father, and a teacher of his own sons.

(e) THE EDUCATION OF SOPHY.—The perfect woman, Sophy, chosen since her childhood to be Emile's wife, is in many ways the opposite of Emile. The wisdom which her name suggests is that of the fox not of the philosopher. "A perfect man and a perfect woman ought no more to resemble each other in mind than in features. . . . One must be active and strong, the other passive and weak."<sup>24</sup> Nature has designed her for man's delight, and her education should be directed toward that end. Motherhood and homemaking are her natural business. "Woman is worth more as a woman, but less as a man."<sup>25</sup> Whenever she usurps men's rights she becomes their inferior. While she has a right to think, she must always be humbly submissive to man's judgment. Unlike Emile, she must be subjected from childhood to many restraints. Says Rousseau: "The first and most important quality of a woman is gentleness. Made to obey a being as imperfect as man, . . . she ought early to learn to suffer even injustice, and to endure the wrongs of a husband without complaint; it is not for him, but for herself that she ought to be gentle."<sup>26</sup> Her natural cunning makes her man's equal and his ruler, while she seems to obey him. Her teacher ought not to permit her to ask questions, but he ought to tease her into answering many. Religion is

<sup>24</sup> W. H. Payne, *Rousseau's Emile*, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1892, 260 (by permission).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.



entirely beyond her grasp, but she must accept, on faith, first her mother's beliefs and then her husband's. Rousseau considered women to be mentally inferior to men and incapable of abstract reasoning. Yet he would have Sophy taught reading, writing, and cyphering when she felt a need for them. All her studies should be practical. Among them should be a study of men and the accomplishments that make women agreeable to them. Her natural taste for finery and her native thirst for admiration should serve as guides in directing her education. Ornamental and plain needlework, and drawing, as a related study, should be taught her. Intellectual interests, however, destroy a woman's nature. Said Rousseau: "I would a hundred times prefer a simple girl, rudely brought up, to a girl of learning and wit who should come to establish in my house a literary tribunal of which she should make herself the president. A woman of wit is the scourge of her husband, her children, her friends, . . . of everybody."<sup>27</sup> The ideal natural woman is modest, gentle, patient, submissive, sensitive to rebukes, amiable, chaste, and charitable in her thoughts and words even toward other women.

Such views on women and their education show no mark of the progressive disposition which inspired Rousseau's thinking regarding the education of men. Viewed in the light of the freedom enjoyed by women of the eighteenth-century aristocracy, Rousseau's position was actually reactionary.

**The "Emile" in Retrospect and Prospect.**—In the *Emile*, the protests of centuries against an education which ignored the nature of the individual, and made the book the center of all instruction, reached a culmination. That Rousseau had not in mind the needs of the masses, for whom his plan of individual instruction was completely impracticable, and that *Emile* is a child of the aristocracy, does not destroy the fundamental significance of his protest against an old education, psychologically unsound, practically unreal, and socially and philosophically unprogressive. In his fervent outpourings against the old, Rousseau gives us nothing scientific and much that is of doubtful wisdom. But he challenged the old practices with such bitter zeal and force that the world listened to his as to no other voice. The *Emile* marks, in a very special way, the beginning of an era of educational reform not only in psychology and methods of instruction but also in the movement to reform society by education. The anti-social implications of the *Emile*, negated by Rousseau himself in other writings strongly nationalistic in their emphasis, brought

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

other men to the defense of social institutions and helped, with other more potent forces, to stimulate a desire for social reform. Where men are still politically and spiritually free, progressive thinkers, as Rousseau would have it, place the individual both at the beginning and end of the educational process. The individual does not exist for the state; the state exists for the individual. The individual does not exist for democracy; democracy exists for the individual, for the freedom of man and the growth of individuality. But that is the philosophy of the few, not of the many, in our freest democracies, and but few schools live by that ideal. Where it exists, there still lives the spirit of the *Emile*.

### Pestalozzi and the Psychologizing of Instruction

**Pestalozzi and the Naturalistic Ideal.**—We have already stressed the eighteenth-century preoccupation with nature as an infallible guide to which men should turn for light upon social problems. Rousseau and others, before and after his time, sought the guidance of nature in solving educational problems. Education must be in accord with nature, that is, as Rousseau taught, in accord with the native endowment of each individual. Indeed, the development of the individual's native endowment was considered by Rousseau to be the final goal of instruction. This native endowment might even be anti-social, but its free growth was justified either because of the conviction that traditional society was vicious or, more generally, because of the faith of intellectuals in the inevitability of social progress, supposed to result eventually in a free society of all humanity, an ideal thought to be attainable more rapidly through the freedom and natural growth of the individual. Since existing institutions but enslaved man, nature alone can emancipate him and thus prepare the way for the coming of the better world. Rousseau rightly stressed the importance of developing the powers and organs which nature has given the child, but he erred in holding that this development is a spontaneous one, and its own end, without regard to the use to which the developed powers are to be put. Indeed, it is only by use that one's powers are developed. Rousseau, however, did a valuable service to education by stressing the need of recognizing the child's natural powers and organs, and the native differences in ability of individuals. His concern with the natural development of children from their infancy had considerable influence upon Pestalozzi, Froebel and, directly or indirectly, upon many others, including John Dewey and the progressive educators of the present day.

While Basedow, in Germany, both in his writings and in his school, the *Philanthropinum* (established in 1774), was the first notable disciple of Rousseau, it was Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), a Swiss, who interpreted, in a very influential way, the doctrine of natural education to a world whose interest in social and educational reform he himself did much to arouse. Elsewhere we shall examine the social idealism of the man; here we shall examine his views regarding the reform of education.

He read the *Emile* soon after its publication, and was sufficiently converted to its philosophy to attempt the education of his own son according to its principles. In 1782, he published *Leonard and Gertrude*, in which he described the reform of a degraded Swiss village by Gertrude, his ideal teacher. He was author of many other works, among them *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (1801), which provides the clearest exposition of his educational views. Pestalozzi fell heir to the view of earlier thinkers that man is a natural, not a supernatural, being, even in his mental life. That idea was strongly supported by Rousseau who stressed the close relationship between mind and body. Yet neither Rousseau nor Pestalozzi abandoned the traditional dualistic conception of man's nature, which stressed the separateness of body and mind, though both of them leaned that way. The old psychology viewed mental life as a thing separate from bodily functions, and its conclusions about it were arrived at by philosophical speculation. Nowhere in Pestalozzi do we find suggested the experimental approach to a knowledge of the mind. Yet he labored to simplify instruction and to bring education into harmony with the nature and capacity of each individual child. Developments in psychology have been briefly reviewed in the preceding chapter. As applied to educational problems, and so designed, as well as in its complete break with the old conception of the mind, Herbart's psychology represents the first influential step in the psychologizing of instruction, which Rousseau and Pestalozzi so fervently desired.

Pestalozzi's educational experiments, conducted in his native Switzerland, began in his orphan school at Neuhaus (1774–1780), and continued in his schools at Stanz (1798), Burgdorf (1799–1804), and Yverdon (1805–1825). In these he attempted, in a homelike atmosphere, to improve the methods of teaching elementary subjects. At Neuhaus, he combined industrial work for boys and girls with instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the pupils supporting themselves by their own labor. This experiment demonstrated the beneficial effect of a good environment and of a systematic and active



life upon the health, morals, and mental growth of children. The plan of combining the school with the workshop, which circumstances compelled Pestalozzi to abandon, was continued by Fellenberg in his Institute at Hofwyl (1806-1844), and gave rise to the "manual-labor movement," which reached America toward the close of the second decade of the century, and which assumed a sociological much more than a psychological significance. Having abandoned his first experiment, Pestalozzi, in his other three schools, with able and interested assistants at Burgdorf and Yverdon, devoted his time to reforming the methods of teaching the elementary subjects.

**The ABC of Observation.**—Guided by his observation and experiments, Pestalozzi reached the conclusion that the fundamental principle of instruction is to reduce all subject matter to its simplest elements, which must be concrete in character, and make the observation of these elements by the pupil the basis of methods of teaching. That principle Pestalozzi called the "ABC of Observation." He thus makes the observation of things, not of words and symbols, the basis of teaching, believing, as he did, that all knowledge is rooted in sense perceptions. Both positions are either clearly implied or expressed in the *Emile*, although Pestalozzi tested them by observation and experiment. He thus influenced strongly the scientific movement in education, the roots of which are clearly discernible in the writings of Comenius. The "ABC of Observation" implied, among other items, the following basic procedures:

1. Reduction of subject matter to its simplest elements, objective and concrete in character;
2. Grading these elements psychologically, or according to their difficulty for individual students—from the simple to the complex;
3. Observation of these elements; and
4. Expression by the pupils of impressions regarding the elements thus observed.

These principles Pestalozzi, with his assistants, attempted to apply in the teaching of elementary subjects, particularly in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Believing that the senses are the gates to knowledge, he rejected the traditional book method of teaching in favor of object lessons and oral instruction. All of his teaching was a negation of the bookish and verbal method of the past, which filled children's minds with words, not with a clear understanding of things. The observation of objects familiar to the child would pro-



vide him with clear ideas of things, and give him the power to express in words those ideas.

Until Pestalozzi's day, the study of arithmetic, for instance, consisted in the memorization of rules, tables and symbols, meaningless to the child (because they lay outside of the pale of his experience), and the performance of mechanical written exercises with these symbols according to the letter of the rule, a rule usually lengthy and obscure. For such a procedure, Pestalozzi substituted mental arithmetic based upon observation not of words and symbols but of concrete objects, through the manipulation of which the child became familiar with arithmetical combinations, thus deriving from things clear ideas about number.

In teaching geography, he would make the subject a living one by having his pupils study physical conditions in the vicinity of the school, and their influence upon the ways of life of the people. Beginning thus, the pupils would eventually make their own maps of the locality, or reproduce it in the form of a replica. Thus Pestalozzi would reverse the usual procedure by presenting the map last, and give that map a living significance for the pupil by having him construct it out of the materials of his own experience. From such a beginning the pupil would proceed gradually to a study of the geography of the world, with the purpose of seeing the relation of the physical environment to human life and activities. A similar practice was followed for other elementary subjects in Pestalozzi's school and, though much formalism marked the teaching even of Pestalozzi himself, the improvement over older methods was notable and attracted international attention.

**Other Pestalozzian Ideals and Practices.**—Probably the most significant reform which he introduced was the cultivation of love and sympathy between the pupil and teacher, a reform which Rousseau forcefully demanded. The pre-Pestalozzian school, particularly that of the poor, embodied the belief that learning comes only through fear and terror. In addition, schools for the poor were cold, dreary, and filthy. Pestalozzi would transform them into houses of comfort and joy, in which the individuality of the child would be respected, and instruction be harmonized with his nature and abilities. The ideal school of Pestalozzi would resemble the ideal home and family. Education, as Pestalozzi defined it, is "the natural, progressive, and harmonious development of all the powers and capacities of the human being." That was a restatement of Rousseau's philosophy, but Pestalozzi, unlike Rousseau, looked beyond the individual to a

reform of society, a reform which, however, must begin with the individual.

The child's development, as he viewed it, is like the growth of a plant, a process of unfolding of inborn powers. That unfolding, however, he thought of as dependent upon observation and sense-perception. Indeed, it is difficult to reconcile the emphasis that Pestalozzi placed now on the growth from within, and then on the growth from without the individual. Yet, whatever be the process, the goal of education is the growth of the individual so that he may lift himself up through self-help and indirectly elevate society itself. And that must be a natural growth, for the child is a natural organism which develops according to natural laws.

Unlike the plant, which is purely physical, the human organism has intellectual and moral aspects, and these too grow according to natural law. When these powers of body, heart, and head are fully developed and work in harmony, the goal of education has been reached. To knowing and feeling, Pestalozzi, like many predecessors, added "doing" as an important objective of education. The educated person must be skilful in applying knowledge to the problems of life. It is not so much knowledge as power and skill that count. Impressions ought to result in expression, in action. Pestalozzi's first experiment showed a concern for industrial, agricultural, and domestic training. His matured thought would have such training postponed until a general education had been provided. Yet, Pestalozzi saw that knowledge itself could be acquired by doing. The needs, problems, and activities of children in their everyday life he recognized as most useful in developing their intelligence and judgment. So important did he consider practical activities and the training of children in practical skills that he would have developed a plan to that end had he had the opportunity to do so. Fellenberg and Froebel filled that gap in his work. Pestalozzi saw in such practical training not only a means for improving the life of the poor, but an educational device, psychologically sound.

In addition to intellectual and practical education, Pestalozzi also, respecting the emotional nature of man, stressed the need for religious and moral development—the development of the heart for the purposes of individual and social well-being. The simplest elements of moral feelings and conduct are found in those existing between an infant and its mother, feelings rooted in the helplessness of the child. Out of this love for one's mother, and such allied virtues as obedience and gratitude, develop the social and religious virtues of the grown man. Through good teaching the virtues of the infant are

transformed into the virtues of the man. The method he used to develop these adult virtues was not the traditional one of catechizing, reading the Scriptures, or formal participation in church services, for Pestalozzi held that morals and religion could not be "taught." He led his pupils, as he would have other teachers do, toward morality and religion through personal experiences, and made their emotional response to that experience the basis of moral and religious instruction. Pestalozzi taught that the development of the basic emotions ought to precede intellectual training. The training of the heart should begin in infancy. Indeed, the proper development of the emotions is of primary importance. It is the heart that gives meaning and value to the intellectual and practical activities of men. When the head and the hand operate in obedience to the urges of the heart, there is that harmonious development of the individual which Pestalozzi made the goal of education.

**Influence and Spread of Pestalozzianism.**—The contributions of Pestalozzi to educational progress are many and significant. Not the least of them was his ardent faith in education as a means of individual and social reform, which a world growing humanitarian, democratic, and nationalistic was ready to share in. While he contributed nothing scientific to psychological knowledge, he saw and, in an influential way, taught the world to see the dependence of sound teaching methods upon a scientific understanding of child nature and human development. All learning must begin with concrete human experience, and proceed from the simple to the complex by gradual steps in harmony with the gradual development of human powers. And the relationship between teacher and pupil must be one of kindness and sympathy, corporal punishment being permitted only as the last of all resorts. Pestalozzi, however, was not a mere theorist. He was a teacher and an experimenter as well. While modern experiments have disproved the validity or utility of the practices he himself used and approved, he laid the groundwork for fruitful reforms in the teaching of the elementary school subjects.

Into many of the cantonal schools of Switzerland, Pestalozzianism was introduced after the government had been liberalized in 1830. In France, largely, no doubt, because of the force of tradition there, little was done to promote such a reform. English statesmen and educators displayed a similar lack of interest for the same reason. In England, however, J. P. Greaves and Charles and Elizabeth Mayo became active in promoting reform. Dr. Mayo was responsible for the formalization of the object-lesson method, and it was in the Mayo



form that Pestalozzianism had its widest reception in the United States. It was in Germany, especially in Prussia, that Pestalozzianism had its most notable development. Though introduced earlier, it was after the defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Jena, in 1806, that it was adopted nationally and for national ends. Frederick William III, Fichte, the philosopher of a new nationalism, and other prominent Prussians urged it as a means of regenerating the German masses and of building a strong state. The result was a general reform of the Prussian elementary school system as regards teacher training, school buildings and equipment, methods and school administration. That reformed system came to be known as "the Prussian-Pestalozzian school system."

The United States was touched by three waves of Pestalozzianism, the first being but a ripple. In 1806, William Maclure brought Joseph Neef, once an assistant of Pestalozzi, to Philadelphia, where he opened a school, in 1809. Neef's work in America, though it received some publicity, was not significant in its influence. Of far greater importance was the work of American educators who, beginning with John Griscom in 1818, visited Europe, studied the Pestalozzian reforms there, and reported their findings and impressions when they returned. William C. Woodbridge, editor of the *American Annals of Education*, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and others did much in the eighteen-twenties and thirties to promote reform here. Woodbridge, who visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon, published the *Rudiments of Geography* (1822) and *Universal Geography* (1824), both embodying Pestalozzian ideas. Lowell Mason, William Russell, and Herman Krüsi did much to introduce the new practice into schools in Massachusetts. Krüsi, a son of one of Pestalozzi's assistants, taught later at the normal school at Oswego, New York, which became the radiating center of the third wave of Pestalozzianism here.

In 1860, Edward A. Sheldon, Superintendent of Schools of Oswego, introduced, from Canada, into a normal school which he organized, the formalized Pestalozzianism of the Mayos of England. Through teachers trained in Oswego, the object-lesson method of teaching was spread throughout the United States. Oswego graduates were appointed as teachers of methods in many of the nation's normal schools. In 1865, a committee of the National Education Association gave the Oswego practices their approval. The object-lesson plan was thus the first major effort of American educators to psychologize instruction.



### The Herbartian Psychological and Pedagogical Movement

More influential than Pestalozzi in laying the foundations of a psychological and scientific approach to education was the German philosopher and educator, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841). While indebted to Pestalozzi, whom he visited at Burgdorf, Herbart was, in many ways, an original and independent thinker, whose contribution was a necessary supplement to that of the Swiss reformer. Pestalozzi's ABC of Observation, while it explained for him the first step of mental development, left subsequent mental processes unexplained. Herbart went beyond sense-perception and observation to examine the phenomena of mental life, their bearing upon conduct, and the relation of instruction to mental growth and a virtuous life. At the University of Göttingen (1802–1808, 1835–1841), and at the University of Königsberg (1809–1835), he taught philosophy and pedagogy. At the latter institution he established a pedagogical seminar and a practice school for the theoretical and practical training of his advanced students. Of his many publications, *The Science of Education* (1806) and *Outlines of Educational Doctrine* (1835) are the most complete statements of his psychological and educational principles and recommended practices. When he died he left to posterity an orderly and completed system of educational theory founded upon philosophy, psychology, and a lifetime of teaching experience.

**Educational Aim.**—Negating Rousseau's position, which represented a revolt against traditional morality and culture, and supplementing Pestalozzi's limited attention to it, Herbart made the ultimate goal of education the development of the religious and moral, or cultured, man. While not ignoring the importance of the physical environment and man's attitude toward it, he made man's relation to his social environment of greater import. To attain the ultimate goal, he set up, as an immediate one, the cultivation of "many-sidedness" of interest. While the doctrine of interest as a stimulant to learning was urged by Herbart and, still more, by his disciples, the doctrine of "many-sidedness" of interest pertained to the life-long interests of the educated, cultured man, interests which are not means but ends of the educational process.

**Content of Education.**—The sources out of which spring "many-sided interest" and, ultimately, virtue, are the physical and the human worlds. From these must be drawn the content of education, comprising (a) the physical and natural sciences and (b) the social and historical studies. While life-long interest in both these fields must

be developed, the latter is the more important of the two, because it has a more intimate bearing upon moral conduct. Herbart's "cycle of thought" begins with knowledge, by which he meant not mere sense impressions, as did Pestalozzi, but clear ideas. The next step in the cycle is action, viewed as a product of clear ideas, and the final one is moral character. The final products are thus rooted in clear ideas about the physical and social worlds. The materials of instruction must be presented according to orderly procedures of mind-building if the ends desired are to be attained.

**Method of Teaching.** (a) HERBARTIAN PSYCHOLOGY.—Herbart formulated a new psychology upon which he rested his whole scheme of method. Not only did Herbart negate the old idea of inborn faculties of the mind, but he denied the doctrine that the mind itself exists at birth. Body and soul exist at birth, but mind does not. Mind is merely the sum-total of ideas or impressions which enter into consciousness throughout one's lifetime, and is a result of contact between the soul and its environment. Ideas or "presentations," being particles of soul-stuff, are living and indestructible. That is true whether they reside in the active realm of consciousness, or have been forced back by other ideas into the realm of subconsciousness. Ideas are constantly passing between these two realms. Nor do they remain, each one as a separate and isolated entity. Rather, they group themselves into "apperceptive masses," according to similarities existing between them, by the process of "apperception," or the assimilation of new ideas by similar ones already in consciousness. New experiences are thus interpreted in terms of the old. This process of apperception is the learning process. The teacher's work is to direct that process. Instruction is the selection and orderly presentation of ideas by the teacher, who is both the architect and builder of minds.

According to Herbart, ideas, or "presentations" are the cause, not the result, of all mental phenomena, such as feeling, willing, and desiring. For him and his followers there are no original mental faculties or states. Feeling, willing, and desiring are derived from experience, from ideas.

(b) INTEREST.—The one indispensable condition of proper mind-growth, of learning, is interest. Interest is a force which, though distinct from ideas, has its origin in them and resides in them. It acts to retain ideas in consciousness and to recall them to consciousness. This power of interest is increased by the frequency with which the idea is presented to consciousness, and by the association of ideas in apperceptive masses. It is interest which determines what

ideas or experiences shall occupy the realm of consciousness at any moment.

(c) **METHOD OF INSTRUCTION.**—Based upon his conception of the mind and his theory of apperception was Herbart's view regarding method. For him, there is a method, a general method, applicable to all subjects of instruction, because the mind assimilates all ideas, or experiences, in the same way. Since each new idea, experience, or "presentation" is interpreted and meaningful only in the light of past experience, the past experience of the pupil must be such as to guarantee the right kind of apperception or assimilation of the new idea. The first step of a teacher in presenting a new idea is to know what experiences already exist in the mind, call into consciousness, or supply, whatever may be needed for an assimilation of the new, and present the new when the mind can apperceive it properly. That is the first of five steps in the instructional process as modified by the Herbartians, and usually designated the *Five Formal Steps of the Recitation*. These steps are: (a) *Preparation*, or the preparing of the pupil's mind for the assimilation of the new idea; (b) *Presentation*, or the actual presenting of the new idea to be assimilated; (c) *Association*, or the actual assimilation of the new idea by the old; (d) *Generalization*, the forming of a general idea, concept, or definition upon the basis of the combined new and old experiences; and (e) *Application*, or the use of the acquired knowledge in solving problems to which it relates, and indicating the fields to which it applies. Herbart did not say whether or not these steps were to be applied to each lesson, or to an entire subject, but his followers applied them to each single recitation. These formal steps of instruction represent the practical application of Herbart's psychology and educational philosophy to the pedagogical process.

**"Correlation," "Concentration" and the "Culture-epoch Theory."**

—Herbart taught that the subjects in the curriculum should be so interrelated that they form a unified conception of the world, to be presented to students as a unity. The suggested practice of "concentration" differs from that of "correlation" in that, as a method of correlation, some one subject is to be made the core of the curriculum. Current in the thought of the time was the theory that each individual, as he develops, passes through stages corresponding to the stages of culture through which the race had passed in its development. That theory, accepted as valid by Herbart and his followers, is known as the "culture-epoch theory." It was applied to the psychological growth of the child and to the problem of method, but



still more was it made to bear upon the selection of curricular material which, it was held, ought to parallel the cultural experiences of the race from the beginning of its development. It was also to the liking of one who stressed the importance of culture in attaining the final goal of education.

**The Influence of Herbart.**—Among the chief contributions of Herbart were: (1) the effective negation of faculty psychology and its pedagogical counterpart, formal discipline, (2) the creation of a new psychology which he applied to education, and (3) the doctrine of interest both as a means and an end of instruction. The fact that Herbartian psychology and pedagogy have been since largely abandoned does not destroy their significance in our transition from the old to the new.

**Herbartianism in Germany.**—After 1860, the universities of Leipzig and Jena became influential centers of Herbartianism. At Leipzig, Tuiskon Ziller (1817–1883) attempted to unify all instruction, beginning with the elementary grades, by a *concentration* of subject matter around history as a core study. He also developed the *culture-epoch theory* and applied it in constructing the curriculum. It was Ziller who reformulated the steps in instruction, as stated by Herbart, into the five formal steps which have been discussed above. And he inspired the founding of the Association for the Scientific Study of Education which spread quickly throughout Germany.

At Jena, Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929), a pupil of Ziller, followed the path of Herbartianism, outlined by his master, and made further practical application of its principles to the problem of the curriculum. In the form which it took at Jena, Herbartianism was carried to the United States by American students, who then frequented German universities for graduate work. It should be noted that, while Herbart himself was interested mainly in the improvement of secondary education, Ziller and Rein applied his theories mainly to the problems of the elementary school.

**Herbartianism in the United States.**—After 1890, Herbartianism was spread quickly throughout the United States by teachers who had studied at Jena. Charles DeGarmo, of Cornell University, Charles A. McMurry, of the Illinois State Normal School, and Frank M. McMurry, of Teachers College, Columbia University, were the most influential of its early advocates. In *The Essentials of Method* (1889), DeGarmo began to popularize Herbartian theories. In 1892, Charles McMurry published his *General Method* and, in 1897,



he published, jointly with his brother Frank, *The Method of the Recitation*. Both of these works were based upon Herbartian principles. In 1892, The National Herbartian Society was founded to promote and adapt Herbart's system to American needs. Ten years later the name of the Society was changed to the National Society for the Study of Education. The rapidity of the spread of Herbartianism in the United States was almost phenomenal. By 1900, teacher training institutions had adopted it almost universally, and the tradition remained entrenched in them for two decades longer.

**Herbartianism and the Curriculum in the United States.**—A reform of the elementary school curriculum in the United States resulted from the Herbartian movement. It took the form of an enlargement of the historical and literary material in the elementary grades, beginning sometimes as early as the third. The movement brought a wave of interest in the problem of the curriculum, the emphasis being placed upon the need for its unification.

**Herbartianism and Method in the United States.**—In addition to its influence upon the curriculum, Herbartianism stimulated an interest in the method of instruction. Between 1889, when DeGarmo's *The Essentials of Method* appeared, and 1920, pedagogical books, generally, sponsored the Herbartian "Five Formal Steps of Instruction," and students in teacher training institutions practised their application in the teaching of the several subjects of the curriculum.

**The Decline of Herbartianism in the United States.**—After 1900, the worship of Herbart slowly declined in the United States. Darwinism, stressing the view of man as a biological organism, helped to destroy the foundations of Herbart's psychology and its educational implications. In Herbartianism there was too much emphasis on nurture and not enough on nature; too much on social heritage and too little on biological heritage. Besides, its own highly mechanical character and its perfection as a system brought a reaction in favor of less formal procedures. John Dewey, more than any other, weakened it by unanswerable objections to its shortcomings.

**Merits and Defects of Herbartianism.**—Among the merits of Herbartianism, John Dewey has listed the following: (1) the freeing of teaching from subservience to tradition by making it a planned, conscious, and precise process; (2) the abolition of the theory of innate mental faculties, muscles of the mind, which might be developed by any kind of exercise, if it were difficult enough, and the substitution for such exercises of definite subject matter consciously

chosen in light of a definite educational aim; (3) the relating of method, now elevated in importance, to subject matter and to the immediate and ultimate goals of instruction.

Among its defects, Dewey lists the following: (1) it ignores the truth that man is a living, active, biological being who develops in response to his environment; (2) it magnifies the importance of the schoolmaster by making the human mind his handiwork, and by glorifying instruction and ignoring learning and student activity; (3) it worships the past and the intellectual aspects of the environment too much, ignoring the importance of sharing in the common experiences of living men; (4) it exaggerates the importance of formal methods; and (5) "it takes . . . everything educational into account save its essence,—vital energy seeking opportunity for effective exercise."<sup>28</sup> The only objection that has been raised to Dewey's criticism, based, as it is, upon Darwinism and the psychology of functionalism, is that, in its preoccupation with biological evolution, it minimizes the import of social evolution, in which moral character is largely rooted.

The culture-epoch theory, stressing the notion of cultural recapitulation, as the later biological theory stressed biological recapitulation, helped to perpetuate the view that education ought to look to the literary and spiritual deposits of the past. That theory was in harmony with long-established traditions, traditions that are supported in our own day by President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, and others of his school of thought. The theory itself lacks a scientific basis of fact. If life and learning were exclusively recapitulations of the past, there could have been no progress. Indeed, education ought to emancipate man from many restrictions which the past imposes upon him. To ignore the present environment to the extent that the Herbartians did is both unprogressive and unrealistic. While a knowledge of the past is vitally important for an understanding of the present and a control of the future, the individual must not be brought into complete spiritual accord with it, unless social stagnation is the goal we aim at. The past is important only in as far as it helps one to live successfully in the present. To make the present a mere imitation of the past is a waste of energy and intelligence, if it is not a deliberate attempt to escape from the realities of actual life. Dewey's view, which has found wide theoretical acceptance, that education is life and growth, not information about life in the past nor a preparation for life in the future, negates some

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<sup>28</sup> John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1916, 83-84 (by permission).

of the most basic conceptions of Herbart and his followers. And Dewey's position, based on a biological view of man's nature, claims the support of science rather than of metaphysical assumptions.

It ought to be noted also that Herbart's system of mind-building according to an exact plan and acceptable cultural patterns is better suited to conservative and authoritarian political and social institutions than to democratic societies, in which individualism is exalted, and change is recognized not only as inevitable but desirable. Herbart may not have sensed the political and social implications of his theories and practices, but their monarchical and social orthodoxy was in keeping with Old-World traditions and official German interests.

### The Froebelian Movement

In the line of reformers influenced directly by Pestalozzi and indirectly by Rousseau stands Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). But there were other, and perhaps more profound, influences which affected him. The romanticism of his time, with its faith in man's kinship with nature; advanced scientific thought striving to find a principle or force permeating all forms of life and being; the Hegelian philosophy of history with its teaching that a divine principle of Reason has directed the evolution of society toward a final world unity, embodying the Absolute, which thus far in history has resided in that national state which, for the time being, most nearly approaches the ideal; the belief, fundamental to all of these other influences, that the universe has emerged by a process of evolution with which education ought to be in harmony; and his own observation of the activities of children are all reflected in the educational thought and practices of Froebel.

**The Doctrine of Unity.**—In his book *The Education of Man* (1826), Froebel expounded the theory practised in his school at Keilhau. That theory he linked to his mystical interpretation of the universe in which he viewed the whole cosmos as a unity sprung from the Absolute, or God, who is the original being out of which all things have evolved, and by which they are all bound together in one united and inseparable whole. Within this all-inclusive unity, each individual thing, whether it be man, animal, plant, inanimate object, or human society, is itself an individuality and a unity, all these individual unities being bound into the one great cosmic unity, which is God, conceived of as a spiritual being. Froebel opens his *Education of Man* with the statement: "In all things there lives and reigns an eternal law. . . . This law has been and is enounced with equal



clearness and distinctness in nature (the external), in the spirit (the internal), and in life which unites the two. This all-controlling law is necessarily based on an all-pervading, energetic, living, self-conscious, and hence eternal Unity. . . . This Unity is God. All things have come from the Divine Unity, from God, and have their origin in the Divine Unity, in God alone. . . . All things live and have their being in and through the Divine Unity, in and through God." <sup>29</sup>

From this mystical pantheism followed the principle of the unity of man, nature, and God, from which all the educational principles of Froebel are deduced, either directly or indirectly. *Unity* and *continuity* in the development of the race and of the child, the *culture-epoch theory*, and *connectedness* in the studies which a pupil pursues were minor derivatives from his fundamental principle of "unity," and each one had its educational implication. Psychologically, man is viewed as a plant developing as a unity according to a law of nature unfolding within him. The intellectual, physical, and moral aspects of his nature are not separate things but a unity. Mind, body, and soul are one. More important than these principles from the standpoint of educational practice were those of: (1) *Free Self-activity*, (2) *Creativeness*, (3) *Social-participation*, and (4) *Motor-expression*. Because Froebel rooted these principles in his mystical conception of the universe, their practical and psychological import were long lost sight of by his followers.

**Free Self-activity.**—Education, as Froebel viewed it, is a process of individual growth directed by inner forces in the child. This growth of the child differs from that of a plant in that, by conscious perception and reason, he can direct the process. He can be made conscious of the working of God within him. The divine spirit reveals itself in his activities, if these activities are permitted to be spontaneous. By divine law, this free self-activity directs his growth along the path of racial development, and merges his individuality with the spirit of humanity. In this humanizing of his spirit, the teacher will provide appropriate racial experiences, but, while directing the process, he must always follow nature, never thwart it, for he is but nature's assistant. Education, says Froebel, should not be "*prescriptive, categorical, interfering*," <sup>30</sup> but should provide for "free self-activity and self-determination on the part of man, the being created for freedom in the image of God." <sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Hailmann edition, New York: Appleton, 1887, 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.



Of the many forms of free self-activity, the play of childhood is of paramount significance. "The child is father of the man," and play is nature's way of directing his growth according to the social pattern, which is itself an expression of the unfolding divine spirit. In childhood, he observes the world and imitates it in play. In boyhood, he thinks about it, and now is the time to acquaint him with the Christian interpretation of it, with natural sciences, which reveal the working of God in nature, and with mathematics, which links the human mind with the physical world. To these studies, Froebel would add languages, because they point to the connection between the different things in nature, and arts, through which the soul expresses itself in a variety of ways, such as drawing, painting and modelling. The application of the principle of "free self-activity" was made by Froebel not to the later stages of education but to the stage of the Kindergarten, his own original creation.

**Creativeness.**—Man is, by nature, an active, dynamic being, not a merely receptive, passive observer of events. United to the creative spirit of God, the Absolute, he, like God, is endowed with creative energy. He grows by the free play of his creative, self-active nature. *"God created man in his own image; therefore, man should create and bring forth like God."*<sup>32</sup> His education ought to stimulate the exercise of his creative capacity.

**Social Participation.**—Man and all his activities are related by the nature of things, by necessity, to society, of which he is a part. He acts, and must act, in a social medium, and all his activities have social meanings and implications. His growth must be in harmony with the unity and purposes of humanity to which he belongs. His education must, therefore, take place in a social setting, and through his participation in the activities and life of society. Here we have a negation of Rousseau's anti-social philosophy. Rousseau's opposition was directed against the civilization that existed in his day. When Froebel stressed the integration of the individual with society, he had in mind, apparently, no existing social system, but rather society as a philosophic concept and society evolving toward a higher form. The individual and society he would not think of, as did some eighteenth-century philosophers, as opposed to each other in nature and interests, but as inseparable parts of the same unity which, for the sake of universal order, must be brought into mutual harmony. Social education looms large in the thought of Froebel. Each school

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-31.

he would make a miniature society, through the group organization and activities of which the child would be socialized.

**Motor-expression.**—Related directly to his basic principle of “self-activity” is his principle of “motor-expression.” Defending handwork as a school activity, he says: “To learn a thing in life and through doing is much more developing, cultivating, and strengthening, than to learn it merely through the verbal communication of ideas. Similarly, plastic material representation in life and through doing, united with thought and speech, is by far more developing and cultivating than the merely verbal representation of ideas.”<sup>33</sup>

That principle embodies the recognition of the unitary character of human nature and of its growth through the activity of all of its parts. Head, soul, and hand are inseparable and interdependent parts of man which ought to be developed in unison. Mind and soul express themselves and grow through bodily activity and expression. Thus does Froebel condemn the emphasis upon intellectualism and verbalism which marked the formal education of the past. Thinking must express itself in motor activity, in doing; otherwise the educational process remains unproductive.

The importance of motor activity had been urged by many educators from the sixteenth century onward. Thus we find the need for industrial training urged by Rabelais, Campanella, Andreae, Comenius, Locke, Budd, Francke, Rousseau, Basedow, Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and many others. While recognizing the economic value of such training, many of these preferred to think of the training of the hand as an essential phase of a general education, and emphasized, as did Froebel, its educational rather than its vocational value.

**Symbolism.**—There is, according to Froebel and his forerunner Hegel, an Absolute goal toward which all things are growing. This Absolute is present, but only implicitly, in every existing thing. Development, or growth, of anything consists in making this Absolute explicit by a gradual unfolding process. Hegel taught that this outward realization of the inner Absolute is realized through historical institutions, particularly the state, in each one of which some aspect of the Absolute resides. Froebel taught that the Absolute goal is realized through the presentation of symbols which represent the various aspects of the Absolute. Present these symbols to a child and there is elicited in him his inner innate conception of the Absolute. Without such symbols that conception would remain dormant.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

Everything, for Froebel, possessed some inner symbolic meaning. Balls, spheres, cubes, forms of all kinds, motions, colors, words, play, games—everything—had, for him, a force which elicits in the child his innate notion of Unity, of the Absolute, or of some aspect of the Absolute. He saw in child nature and in child activities a strong tendency toward symbolic expression. It is true, as has been indicated in connection with primitive peoples, that man has always used symbols to represent his ideas, but Froebel erred in reading into such a practice a mystical meaning.

**The Kindergarten.**—In 1837, Froebel established the first kindergarten. It was to be, as the name implies, a garden in which children grow up as trees and flowers grow. In addition to this and a few other kindergartens, he established a school to train kindergarten teachers. Indeed, he believed that every mother should be so trained, and that every home should be a form of kindergarten. In his own school, Froebel practised his educational theories. Briefly, every child was presented with “gifts” in which Froebel saw appropriate symbolic meaning, and these “gifts” led to the “occupations” or activities of the child, through which his growth was supposed to proceed according to the laws of his inner nature. A ball, a sphere, a cube, and a cylinder were the first “gifts.” To these, others were added as the child grew older. Froebel’s view regarding the purpose and value of them all may be gleaned from his remarks on the value of the ball as an educational device. It ought to be given to the child at the age of three months. Its presentation will lead immediately to play. Symbolizing, as Froebel believed it does, the unity of the universe and the child’s own nature, it elicits in him his own inner idea of that unity and his participation in it. The play it stimulates trains the senses and muscles and his power of attention, while giving him, at the same time, confidence in his own abilities. The moving ball, now in his grasp and now out of it, teaches him the meaning of such things as space, time, the past, present, and future. The mother or teacher sings in imitation and description of the motions of the ball, and the child thus learns the meaning of the words *up*, *down*, *out*, *around*, etc. As the child grows older, the motion of the ball becomes a symbol of life. The various ball-games can and ought to be graded according to the stage of growth reached by the child.

In addition to the “gifts,” which reveal the nature mainly of inanimate things to the child, Froebel introduced into his kindergarten gardening and the care of pets, to develop a sympathetic understanding of living things, and nursery songs and rhymes, to reveal the



inner life of animals and mankind. Games and songs were the chief features of Froebel's kindergarten, and all of them were built around the changing interests of the children. If one will forget the mystic philosophy behind the work of the first kindergarten, he can see in its activities procedures of great practical value.

**Merits and Defects of Froebelianism.**—Among the merits of Froebel's theory are to be listed: (1) a recognition of the importance of the native capacities of children, (2) the necessity of a sympathetic regard for these capacities on the part of parents and teachers, (3) the view that education is growth, the growth from within of native capacities, and must be in harmony with the natural evolution of the child's activities, (4) the recognition of the educational value of play, self-activity, motor activity, creative work, social participation, and learning by doing, and (5) the doctrine that knowledge is not the end of education but a means toward the end, which is the growth of inner capacities. These doctrines, divorced from the mysticism of Froebel, have been found to be psychologically, socially, and practically sound, and have been embodied in educational practices from infant schools to universities.

While many have condemned Froebel's views because of a too great significance he attached to play, and a too little significance to knowledge in the intellectual sense, the chief defect in his position, a defect about which there can be little doubt, is his view that there is some remote, mystical goal toward which the growth of the child must be directed, a goal which cannot be directly perceived. To look upon human actions and visible things as symbols of the Absolute and Eternal is to introduce into the realm of reality a concept that is unnecessary and vague. To insist upon the use of set symbols in the training of children must lead, as it did in Froebel's own kindergarten, to the imposition of external controls upon them, and to the stifling of the spontaneity and freedom of their activity, which Froebel stipulated as the most essential of all conditions of growth.

**The Kindergarten Movement in America.**—A reactionary Prussian government closed all kindergartens, in 1851, because they were suspected of socialistic and liberal leanings dangerous to the existing government. In the friendlier and more liberal atmosphere of America the kindergarten was destined to have its most significant development. The first of them were established here by German political exiles after the Prussian revolution of 1848. Mrs. Carl Schurz led the movement when she opened a kindergarten at Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855. Elizabeth P. Peabody opened the first English



kindergarten in America, in Boston, in 1860. The first public ones were established in St. Louis, in 1873. Thereafter, until 1900, kindergartens were provided by a rapidly increasing number of city school authorities, and by private philanthropic associations which, by the close of the century, numbered nearly five hundred. The rapidity with which the movement spread here was little short of phenomenal. Since 1900, the mysticism of Froebel, which marked our early kindergartens, has been abandoned by American kindergarteners, and the school has been brought into harmony with the spirit of the other schools in the system. Indeed, many earlier practices of our kindergartens have been abolished or modified.

**The Manual-Training Movement.**—Indirectly, through Uno Cygnaeus (1810–1888), a Finnish educator, Froebel started the “manual-training” movement in education. The idea embodies the Froebelian principle of motor expression, and the movement embodies an attempt to carry it into practice throughout the various grades of schools. The development of the hand for educational, not occupational, ends was the purpose back of the manual-training practice. The movement aimed to produce manual dexterity through the use of tools, not to make craftsmen, but to develop the native capacities of the individual by providing an outlet for the inner urge to express one’s ideas in an external form. It was, to a degree, a protest against the supposed detrimental effect of factory occupations upon the life and character of workers, and against the drift toward narrow vocational training, which had no regard for the natural needs and urges of youth. As indicated earlier, emphasis had long been placed upon the educational value of hand training, and Americans were familiar with the idea. Indeed, Thomas Budd, of colonial New Jersey, had been one of the early advocates of it. Pestalozzian influence, as embodied in the manual-labor movement earlier in the century, directed attention to the educational value of such training, although its social and economic values were kept in the foreground. It was Froebel, however, who popularized the idea, arguing for it that doing preceded thinking in racial development, and that man, like God, should create things. For these reasons, he would have manual activity combined with study in all schools.

The Froebelian idea of manual training was brought influentially to the attention of American educators during the Centennial Exposition, in Philadelphia, in 1876, in which it was demonstrated as it was being practised in schools above the kindergarten in Finland and Russia. President Runkle, of the Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology, made a report to the trustees which resulted in the establishment of a School of Mechanic Arts, the purpose of which was "not to fit the pupil for a particular trade, but to develop the bodily and mental powers in harmony with each other."<sup>34</sup> In 1879, the St. Louis Manual Training School was established and, in the eighteen-eighties, similar schools were established in Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Toledo. In other places, about the same time, manual-training departments were added to schools of the old type. By 1900, the practice had spread widely throughout America.

Everywhere, the sponsors of the idea stressed the mental, disciplinary, and cultural values of the practice. While but few may have hoped to direct the enthusiasm for manual training into vocational channels, the movement did much to modify the age-old conception of education as a purely literary and intellectual process, and to prepare the way for a conception that would bestow upon industrial training for industrial ends a dignity equal to that traditionally bestowed upon literary or academic training. In keeping with American democratic idealism, the traditional conception of a liberal education has been effectively challenged for more than half a century. Instead of defining it, as was wont, in terms of the rights and needs of a socially privileged class, and in terms of literary and non-practical content, most American educators have come to define it in terms of the needs and capacities of individuals, and have insisted upon the principle of the equivalence of all studies, whether literary or practical, when they have been pursued for equal lengths of time.

**Busy Work.**—It was not merely kindergartens and manual-training schools and departments that were haunted, a few generations ago, by the ghost of Froebel. Even the "little red schoolhouse" fell under his spell, though the teacher may not have known even his name. The belief that it is essential to keep children busy is probably as old as is teaching. Thus, Christian teachers insisted upon spiritual and mental drudgery to keep youths out of the clutches of the devil, and the formal disciplinarians made education formal, useless, disagreeable, and, sometimes, terrifying in order to build strong mental faculties and to fix the habits of thought and behavior of men. Since primitive times, education has never, except possibly in a few isolated instances, been a joy of youth. Nor was keeping them busy motivated by a respect for the nature of children. Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and other writers, earlier, stressed the importance of following nature,

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<sup>34</sup> Cited by Thomas Woody, "Historical Sketch of Activism," *National Society for the Study of Education, Thirty-third Yearbook*, Part II, 29.

and the teaching of those of them who engaged in teaching professedly embodied such a respect. The fact, however, that their conceptions of child nature were erroneous and traditional—though they often challenged tradition—frustrated their intentions. Froebel's doctrine of free self-activity was a negation of the old formal discipline of the schools, and yet it produced another disciplinary formalism. In the eighteen-eighties, "busy work," designed to keep heads and hands busy, according to the principle of self-activity, made its entrance into the "little red schoolhouse," and pedagogues published books describing thousands of devices to keep the "young barbarians" harmlessly but profitably engaged. Making mud pies, designing worlds with beans, clipping and folding paper, and thousands of other activities were introduced for the purpose of "teaching the young idea how to shoot." Active natures called for a busy life, and teachers found in "busy work" youth's stepping-stones to heaven. The old education stressed knowledge as the path to a better society; the new, equally formal, and directed toward the same goal, stressed formal activities, many of them useless. •

### Dewey and the Progressive School Movement

For nearly half a century, America has been preëminently the center of educational experimentation and reform. The influence of European reformers upon American thought and practice has been referred to. American thinkers were not to be mere imitators. They were to become, indeed, educational pioneers. While interest in child nature had been stimulated here by Rousseau and his followers, the Darwinian doctrine of evolution, with its implications for individual and racial development, opened up a new avenue of thought which has had significant results. G. Stanley Hall (1846–1924) published, in 1904, his book *Adolescence*. That work is a landmark in the movement for the scientific study of the child. More than a quarter century of personal study and interest in the problem lay back of that work. While Hall stressed the psychic character of mental life, he viewed it as an evolutionist who recognized the importance of biological forces in human growth. His fundamental position was that there can be no psychology without biology. Mental life is an evolutionary, biological product. The human soul, still evolving, bears, like the human body, the marks of its lowly origin and tortuous growth. It is the product of heredity.

The history of the mind, thought Hall, must guide the teacher's work. Until the age of twelve, for instance, the child relives the life



of his savage forebears. Opportunity ought to be provided for the child to satisfy his craving for ancestral activities through association with nature in its several aspects. But he must also be prepared for the duty of life in a complex civilization. Therefore, he must be brought under the influence of the school where, by drill and discipline, he will be habituated to the ways of civilization, and acquire the skills and habits which a complex civilization demands. Formal schooling should begin at the age of eight, not earlier. In school, there must be little catering to natural interest. While the evolutionary doctrine of recapitulation, accepted by him, has been rejected by more recent thinkers, Hall did much to promote the idea that on a knowledge of child nature education must rest.

Indebted, among others, to Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, John Dewey (1859— ) looked critically upon the views and practices of his predecessors. His own educational doctrines and practices are, however, rooted chiefly in a psychology and philosophy of which he, in a large way, has been the creator. As with Hall, Darwinism and biological science have determined, largely, his point of view. While his stress is placed upon the social aspects of education, he approaches its problems psychologically. For him mind is not something fixed but a process of growth. It is but a phase of a unitary organism in the process of development, not a separate entity. Nor are sensory stimuli, ideas, and motor expressions separate things, as older psychology taught, but different functions of a "single concrete whole," the living organism. The old dualistic conception of human life is thus negated. Mind, soul, and body are one. Ideas and acts are one. Mind is a product of activity, and it develops through activity. Dewey thus views man as a unitary psycho-physical organism acting and functioning in response to environmental stimuli. Thinking is a means required by the organism when it finds itself in difficult situations which old habits of action do not meet. Thought thus becomes an instrument whereby the organism adjusts itself to its environment, and the philosophy embodying that view is often called instrumentalism. The value, or the truth, of thought consists not in its grasp of some supposed ultimate or universal reality, as idealists would have it, but in its bearing upon the solution of practical problems. Since man is an evolving organism adapting himself to a changing environment through mental processes, he ought to use his mental power now, as in his pre-human days, to solve the practical problem of his own preservation.

The biological foundation of such a philosophy and psychology is apparent. Religion, ethics, and knowledge are biological things,



and life itself is a purely natural product resulting from the interplay of material forces. By human effort, however, nature can be controlled, and collective effort is more productive of desirable results than is individual effort. Therefore, Dewey and his school put a primary stress on society and social effort. Essentially pragmatic, Dewey rejects the idea of a world of absolutes and unchangeable truths. Our world is one of change, of uncertainty, where action, not contemplation, brings success in man's struggle. Knowledge is but ability to direct change. Knowing and doing are one; mind and action, subject and object, thought and the world are one and inseparable things. Only such thoughts as change the world are true, for truth and usefulness are identical. The ideal society is one in which everyone is engaged in work which contributes to the common well-being.

On such a psychology and philosophy Dewey bases his educational theories. He abandons entirely the faculty view of the mind, and rejects the notion of a curriculum based upon fixed human knowledge, subdivided logically into subjects, and parts of subjects, woven into courses capable of being completed in fixed intervals of time. As opposed to the older position, he sees the child as a unity developing through its own activity, but in a social setting. Mind, being a social product, depends for its growth upon a social environment. It is a social experience which interprets for the child the meaning of physical stimuli such as light and sound. The mind is not developed through direct contact with the physical world, but through contact with that world as interpreted by the accumulated experience of men throughout ages of social development. The facts that have been labelled geography, arithmetic, etc., are not purely external, but facts rooted in social situations and needs. The teacher should not present them to the child as knowledge unrelated to his own needs and experience. All sciences and arts should be reduced to terms of pupil experience and need. Otherwise they will remain meaningless and lifeless symbols. Education is the reconstruction of the experience of the child until it expands into the organized experiences that are called "subjects." Seen by him as related to his own needs and experiences, the curriculum becomes vital for the pupil, and he learns with a purpose.

In all learning, action must precede thought, for mind is a product of activity, not the source of activity, as the older psychology would have it. Thought springs from needs created by practical difficulties, and it is never an end but only a means to an end, which is the satisfaction of a felt need, the solution of a problem recognized as signifi-

cant. In education, action should hold the primary place. Education is purposeful activity in the solution of problems recognized by pupils as worth while, and involving reflection as to means, ends, and consequences of one's actions. The activity must be inspired, not by the teacher, but by the pupil's own feeling of need for a solution of a problem. It must arise freely and spontaneously out of a life situation.

**Activism in Education.**—The idea of "learning to do by doing," even as a formulated principle of method, may be found in Plato. From the Renaissance onward, occasional writers, Comenius being a notable example, stressed that idea. Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel did much to popularize it. In America, until Dewey's time, the activists preoccupied themselves with intellectual activity, such as reasoning and observation. The manual-labor and, still more, the manual-training movement brought a recognition of the importance of motor activity. Since 1896, when Dewey established his experimental school at the University of Chicago, the activity movement, based upon the best existing knowledge of physiology and psychology and directed toward the problems of social life, has made wide advances not only in the growth of schools embodying its philosophy but in stimulating educational reform in existing institutions of every grade. The new activists, following Dewey, stress social rather than intellectual activism. In practice, however, the "activity school" and "activity method" in the free atmosphere of America have almost as many meanings as there are men who interpret them. Upon one idea only is there universal agreement, namely that pupil activity, whether spontaneous or directed, is the best method of learning.

In his school in Chicago, Dewey, in keeping with his theory of knowledge, taught by means of problems arising in life situations. Thus he aimed to develop thought and test it by action, on the theory that only the tested thought is really knowledge. Further, the social aspect of the educational process was stressed in his school. Yet, Dewey rejected the view that the child ought to be adjusted to the existing social order. Dewey's society is a changing one, not one that is fixed. His school was organized as a miniature society, the activities of which arose out of social problems, and led the students to an understanding of them and the way of their solution. Here learning came by coöperative activity and living. Says Dewey of his experiment: "In intent, whatever the failures in accomplishment, the school was 'community-centered.' It was held that the *process* of mental development is essentially a social process, a process of par-

ticipation; traditional psychology was criticized on the ground that it treated the growth of mind as one which occurs in individuals in contact with a merely physical environment of things. And . . . the aim was ability of individuals to live in coöperative integration with others."<sup>35</sup>

While Dewey rejects many views of his predecessors, he also approves many of them. Rousseau's ideas that education is the growth of native capacities, with which it must be in harmony; that it is imperative by natural necessity; and that personal experience is the best teacher meet with his complete approval. With Froebel's views he finds himself even in fuller accord. The principles of self-activity and social participation he accepts completely, and, in his experimental school, he attempted to apply them to older and younger children alike. Froebel's symbolism, as we have seen, he rejects. For the symbols, he would substitute real life experiences and occupations. With Herbart, Dewey finds himself largely in disagreement. He rejects his doctrine of ideas as things separate from activity and prior to it. He rejects the pure intellectualism of his position. He rejects the attachment to social conservatism and political absolutism, implied in Herbart's psychology and pedagogy, as unsuited to a democratic and dynamic society. He rejects Herbart's notion that by pouring in information we can mould character. He rejects the culture-epoch theory of history as scientifically unsound, as well as on the ground that it is a logical rather than psychological explanation of social evolution.

To bring the school into touch with life as changed by the Industrial Revolution and democracy was the basic aim of Dewey's experiment. Existing schools failed to keep pace with the changes that had occurred. The Industrial Revolution had destroyed the family, and community life and occupations among which children once lived and learned. The modern child knows little about the processes by which his needs for food, clothing, and shelter are supplied. Unlike the child of the past, his ordinary life, practically, morally, and intellectually, lacks educational opportunity. As Dewey sees it, it has become the duty of the school in our industrialized society to abandon its tradition of bookishness, and provide those real life experiences of which the child has been robbed in the changed home and community environment of the present. For the listening school he would substitute the school of activity, in which morals as well as occupational skills are acquired by living and acting in real situations.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.



Indeed, the school ought to be a reproduction of society, as it actually is, and in it the child should have actual experience with the needs and problems of social life. The school should not be a part of social life; it should be all of it. Thus, the economic, social, political, and all other activities and problems of society should constitute the curriculum of the school. The school, as Dewey stated it, should be life, not a preparation for life. Children should be made participators in the social and moral struggles of their communities. Since they are to live in a democratic society, they should help to organize one and live in it. The basic purpose of the school is to train pupils in "cooperative and mutually helpful living." Through the school's various activities, the pupil's native impulses will be directed toward the reform of society outside of the school. No preconceived notions of society are to be imposed upon children. The pupils themselves, wrestling with social problems, shall create their own social order by solving the problems of the existing one. The school will thus serve to free society from its inherited evils by identifying itself with social and democratic life.

In Dewey the psychological and sociological movements in education thus converge. His books are landmarks in educational thought, and his influence has been marked not only in America but abroad as well. The *School and Society*, *Schools of To-morrow*, *How We Think*, *Interest and Effort in Education*, and the fullest single statement of his views, *Democracy and Education*, are his most important educational works. His influence may be seen in the rise of many "activity schools" at home and abroad, schools that have attempted to bring education and life together. Among these are: J. L. Meriam's school, Columbia, Missouri; Ethical Culture School, New York; Park School, Baltimore; Chevy Chase Country Day School, Washington, D. C.; the Lincoln School, New York; and many others. There have been at work other influences than that of Dewey in the rise of activity schools here, as, for instance, that of the French psychologist, Seguin, who came here in 1848, and of Madame Montessori, but these others have been of lesser significance. Other examples of the Dewey influence appear in such departures from traditional procedures as the "project method," and the Dalton and Winnetka plans of instruction. The fundamental psychological idea embodied in all of these is that of growth through self-activity.

Of all of these reforms in method that of the "project" has been most widely adopted. It rests upon Dewey's principle that a complete act of thought results only from a felt need and the actual solution of a problem arising from that need. Professor William H.



Kilpatrick has been the chief elaborator and popularizer of the "problem-project" method. It represents an attempt to have children learn with a purpose, and to foster thinking rather than memorizing by beginning each act of learning with a problem that creates interest and thought. The psychology back of it is the physiological conception of the mind which Dewey and E. L. Thorndike, though not always in agreement on details, accept as a substitute for the Herbartian. Those who accept the new psychology find in the project method a suitable substitute for the Herbartian "five formal steps of instruction."

The project method has political as well as psychological import. The purposeful thinking and acting which the method is intended to stimulate are viewed by Kilpatrick and his followers as essential in the life of free men, and in the preservation and improvement of democratic society. If the schools of our democracy are to serve society as they should, it is their duty to train youths to act with a purpose, for the worthy life is the purposeful life. The worthy life, Kilpatrick views as one directed toward social goals; and the good citizen, as one who lives and acts with worthy social aims in mind.<sup>36</sup>

This reform movement has been, in a notable way, an expression of the educational implications of the American concept of democracy as it emerged during the nineteenth century. That concept embodies a faith in the common man which is peculiarly American. It proclaims his right, regardless of race or color, to equality of educational and economic opportunity, and to the fullness of growth of his native spiritual endowment. It repudiates the doctrine that special privileges are the birthright of any man or group. Liberty, individualism, and equality are its central elements. Such is the ideal that has become our heritage. Here democracy is not, as elsewhere, a scheme of social or political organization. It is a state of mind and a way of life. And it has been, and still is, a growing thing, unfolding itself in the struggle between vested interests and the demand of the people for further opportunities. Where the unrestrained liberty of a selfish few threatens the equality of the many we demand that that liberty be restricted. We place the common good before that of the few. Our democracy implies a continuous readjustment of the social order toward a fuller recognition by all of the interests of all. And it is our faith that education will bring that more enlightened under-

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<sup>36</sup> W. H. Kilpatrick, *The Project Method*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927, 6; Boyd H. Bode, *Modern Educational Theories*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, 141-167, 171-192; *The Thirty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1934; W. H. Kilpatrick, *The Foundations of Method*, New York: Macmillan, 1925.

standing of our common problems which is essential to a just solution of them.

### Thorndike and the S-R Psychology

Scientific method and supposedly scientific discoveries in the social sciences have tended to weaken our devotion to the democratic ideal. We have seen that Socrates and other Greek thinkers bequeathed to the world a faith that, by intelligence, men can build the better society. To us, as to other peoples of the West, that faith has been transmitted. The genetic-physiological psychologists, as Thorndike and his interpreters, by preoccupying themselves with the behavior of the nervous system, and by ignoring what used to be called "mind" have weakened this faith in intelligence among teachers and others who have uncritically examined their position. Man is not just an animal. He is an intelligent animal. He adapts himself to his environment as do all animals but, unlike the rest, he does that in a more excellent way than other animals because of the higher intelligence which he possesses. Indeed, he can, and does, create his environment; but he becomes its slave unless there is developed in him a critical attitude toward it, an attitude based upon an enlightened understanding of its origin and nature. The stimulus-response psychology, which explains human behavior in terms of instinct, habit, and adaptation to environment tends to weaken our democratic ideal in as far as it minimizes the importance of intelligence in reshaping the environment and securing an enlightened adaptation to it.

The new physiological psychology arose, in part, as a protest against the undemocratic character of the older schools. Faculty psychology did not demand the liberation of human intelligence for the sake of social progress. It demanded the development of mental faculties by intellectual exercises, and taught that mental "powers" thus developed would transfer automatically to every possible field of human activity. Those whose "faculties" had not been trained by suitable exercises, or who were deemed lacking in "faculties," as the masses were sometimes thought to be, had to be content with lowly social positions. That was a psychology which made for social stagnation and injustice. Besides, it failed to answer many practical questions relative to learning and behavior. The Herbartian doctrine of "ideas" and mind-building replaced that of "faculties." It elevated the importance of the teacher and made the pupil a listener, whose mind was to be moulded according to a preconceived plan of studies and by formal steps of method that showed little regard for his active nature and individual capacities and needs. Besides, Herbartianism

made for the perpetuation of political authoritarianism and social conservatism.

The new physiological psychology is a protest against these older doctrines on both scientific and social grounds. Its justifiable rejection of the old points of departure in psychological speculation, "mind," "soul," "faculties," has led some to take the position of an extreme form of behaviorism, in which it is held that there is no need to use the notion of consciousness to explain human institutions and actions. Under this system, what we have called, vaguely no doubt, intelligence is no longer necessary as an explanation of human action. Such a psychology, if applied in schools, would reduce all education to the formation of mechanical habits. Without attempting here a detailed exposition, worthy though it be of a lengthy treatment, it must be noted that the Thorndike system, which has been widely accepted by American teachers and trainers of teachers, is, in its idea of learning as habit-formation, in accordance with the laws of readiness, exercise, and effect, at least moderately behavioristic. To reduce thinking to habits, formed with mechanical preciseness according to fixed laws, destroys thinking. That position seems to be implied in Thorndike's teachings. John Dewey in his *Human Nature and Conduct* views habit not as a substitute for thinking but as an indispensable aspect of thinking. Any psychology which reduces learning to mechanical habit formation eliminates the need for the concept of intelligence and wrecks the foundation upon which our democratic faith rests.<sup>37</sup>

Professor Bode, one of the leading critics of recent trends in the educational and psychological fields, regrets, as do many with him, that the preoccupation of many with scientific technique has obscured their vision of the importance of many things which do not lend themselves to scientific inquiry. Education, he says, which ought to be concerned "with the free operation of intelligence," has "a right to protest when intelligence is dropped out of the picture, just because it simplifies matters to do so." "It seems," he goes on, "reasonably clear that a democratic system of education has nothing to look for from a psychology that explains intelligence by explaining it away. . . . An adequate theory of education requires both an adequate social program and an adequate conception of the 'mind' or 'intelligence' with which the teacher has to deal."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology; Briefer Course*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927, Ch. XII; Boyd H. Bode, *Modern Educational Theories*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, Ch. VIII.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, 190-191 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).



Such is the psychological movement in education. It implies the recognition of the principle that sound educational practice must be based upon an understanding of the nature of the being whom we educate. That, however, is but one basis upon which education must rest. Since man must live with his fellows, education must also rest upon an understanding of the nature of human society. Recognition of the social as well as the psychological basis of education appears in the thought and practices of the past two centuries.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. Since democracies alone of all political systems are in harmony with the nature of man, the psychological movement in education is the logical counterpart of democracy, and it could not have occurred in authoritarian societies.

2. The only essential basis of a sound pedagogy is psychology.

3. The modern emphasis in education upon the making of citizens represents, even in the United States, the negation of one of Rousseau's basic educational ideals.

4. Authoritarian states and churches, and perhaps even liberal states, have good reasons for condemning the educational theory of Rousseau.

5. Pestalozzi's educational work was in keeping with the spirit of his time. His reform of methods of instruction reflects the hope of his age for a better world, for methods of teaching are primarily social in import.

6. Pestalozzian educational ideas and practices could be made to serve, with equal effectiveness, both the most liberal and the most illiberal societies.

7. There are no significant differences between the educational theory of Pestalozzi and that of Rousseau.

8. The naturalistic movement in education, universally and consistently, embodied a negation of the view that effort, not interest, is the road to learning.

9. Herbart's religious-moral man is not the free, natural man of Rousseau, but a man whose freedom has been destroyed by culture.

10. Since, to be sound and acceptable, a psychology or pedagogy must conform with the social system which it serves, Herbartianism must be evaluated in terms of Prussian monarchism, not of American liberalism. Dewey's adverse criticism of it is, therefore, unjustifiable.

11. The American educational debt to Europe has been great. Foreign influence has probably checked our native democratic tendencies in education.



12. Froebelianism is much more in accord with the liberal tradition and outlook of the United States than is Herbartianism.

13. The idea of the activity school, which has come to fruition only in our own day, is a very old one. Even Froebel is far down on the list of contributors to it.

14. Froebel's symbolism is a negation of the basic concept in naturalism.

15. The manual-training school and the trade school embody a common educational philosophy.

16. The modern teacher can profit but little from a study of the history of his profession.

17. Dewey's educational philosophy is socialistic rather than liberal, and, therefore, unsuited to the needs of the United States.

18. Since we live in a rapidly changing world, the Progressive School is the only one which can serve the needs of the individual and of society.

19. When a psychology such as Thorndike's, scientifically sound because it has been developed experimentally, conflicts with our political ideology and our hopes for the future, it must be rejected, for utility is more important than truth.

20. The concept of naturalism provides the key to an understanding of most educational and psychological theory and of many school practices which have appeared since the time of Comenius.

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## Chapter 11

### THE GROWING SOCIAL TENDENCY IN EDUCATION

The forces at work in the changing social scene of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought into education an increased social emphasis. This tendency, in its earlier phase, was an embodiment of sectarianism, humanitarianism, and ideals of social reform for all humanity. Under the influence of growing nationalism, the broader ideals of the earlier movement gave way to that of reform within each nation for nationalistic ends. The tendency thus culminated in the establishment of compulsory systems of education, controlled not by the church but by the secular state, and supported by governments for their own ends.

Social unrest and change, as we have seen, resulted from the breakdown of the mediaeval social system and ecclesiastical authoritarianism. The political upheavals of the eighteenth century added greatly to the tempo of that unrest. Yet, the greatest single force which helped to transform Western societies was the Industrial Revolution. The social problems created by these changes, especially from about 1800, demanded a much more thoroughly organized and systematic control than older agencies, such as the church, could provide. Among the social functions which organized lay society, operating through secular government, wrested from the hands of the church was education. The movement for state control of education which, as we have seen, was rooted, in a very special way, in the Reformation, culminated in the establishment, at different times during the nineteenth century, of public, national systems of education in Europe and America. In America the centralization of control has not yet been secured.

**Philanthropy in Education.**—Education for social as well as ecclesiastical ends marked the eighteenth-century tendency, confined largely to England and America, which is usually described as the philanthropic movement in education. Until then hundreds of activities, such as water supply, road building and poor relief, which today are performed by governments, were performed by private agencies. When it became apparent that the state could perform these necessary activities more efficiently than private agencies, society placed them,



one by one, under government control. In the socializing of education philanthropic agencies played an important early rôle. While their activities were not confined to a few countries, their largest contributions were made in England and America in the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. The provision of education by philanthropic agencies was not something new. In the Middle Ages, as we have seen, individuals, motivated chiefly by a concern for the salvation of their souls, established schools for the poor. Others made gifts to universities for the purpose of housing poor students. The need for such effort increased in the rapidly changing world of the sixteenth and later centuries. Destitution and ignorance were widespread among the poorer classes. Sectarian and benevolent motives inspired the activities of the philanthropists who, from the late seventeenth century, undertook to educate the poor and ennoble their lives.

**The Charity School Movement in England and America.**—In 1699, there was founded in England the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) to provide, among other things, Anglican religious instruction for poor children. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) was established by the Anglican church to do, in the British colonies, what the parent society was doing at home. These organizations undertook to establish and maintain schools for the poor, and to instruct them in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and the Anglican catechism. They trained teachers, paid their salaries, provided texts, and supervised schools under their control. Their stated purposes were to make the poor “loyal church members, and to fit them for work in that station of life in which it had pleased their Heavenly Father to place them.”<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the will of “their Heavenly Father,” boys might be taught handwork, and girls were often taught needlework. By 1714, the S.P.C.K. had an enrollment of 14,453 pupils in 1,073 schools in England and Ireland, and the number of pupils and schools increased steadily thereafter. In addition to Anglican charity schools, others were also founded by non-conformist churches. In the nineteenth century most of these schools were absorbed by the “National Society” among the Anglicans, and by the British and Foreign Society among the non-conformists.

In America, and particularly in the Anglican colonies here, the S.P.G. established and supported many schools. This Society was

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<sup>1</sup> E. P. Cubberley, *The History of Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920, 449-450.

the principal bearer to America of the charity school idea. Following the Revolution, that idea found its way into some of our early state constitutions and laws pertaining to education. Thus the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 provided for the establishment of schools "in such manner that the poor may be taught *gratis*." Many of our academies in many of our states were required, in return for state grants, to educate each year a stated number of poor children gratis. The view that the education of the poor is a charity rather than a public service was prevalent in parts of America until the eighteenth-thirties, and persisted in England until the passage of the first public school law in 1870.

The practice of providing even charitable education for the poor met, in England, with the opposition of some of the gentry who were fearful of anything that might bring social change. De Mandeville said, in the eighteenth century, that "the people of the meanest rank know too much to be serviceable to us."<sup>2</sup> "To make the society happy," he wrote, "and people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite that great numbers of them should be ignorant, as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied. The welfare and felicity . . . of every state . . . require that the knowledge of the working poor should be confined within the verge of their occupations. . . . The more a shepherd . . . or any other peasant, knows of the world, and the things that are foreign to his labour or employment, the less fit he will be to go through the fatigues and hardships of it with cheerfulness and content."<sup>3</sup>

De Mandeville would keep the laboring masses illiterate. Others would restrict their learning to the rudiments. The charity schools of seventeenth-century England and their continuation, the "voluntary" schools of the nineteenth century, seldom instructed children beyond the 4 R's, religion being the subject emphasized most. Ability to read the catechism and prayers of the churches and to understand simple sermons was a leading aim in these schools of the poor. And it was seldom, if ever, intended that they should raise the poor above the position in society in which their Heavenly Father had placed them.

In 1833, the British government showed its first marked interest in popular education when it appropriated £20,000 for that purpose, and divided it equally between the National and the British and For-

<sup>2</sup> Bernard De Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

eign societies. In 1839, this grant was raised to £30,000 (later to be greatly increased), and a committee of the Privy Council was appointed to administer it. The Report of the Royal Commission, in 1861, showed that 1,675,158 pupils were enrolled in so-called public schools, of which nearly 90 per cent were controlled by the Church of England, and other millions in other types of schools. It was remarked that, without compulsory education, England had proportionately as many children in elementary schools as had Prussia, where education was compulsory. Few pupils, however, remained in school beyond the age of eleven, and the average attendance was about four years. The yearly cost per pupil in these schools was about \$7.50, of which the government paid about one half, the other half being met by pupils' pennies, subscriptions, and endowments.

In addition to the National (1811) and the British and Foreign Society (1808), others had come into the field: the Home and Colonial School Society (1836); the Wesleyan Education Committee (1840); the London Ragged School Union (1844); the Catholic Poor School Committee (1847); and the Church Education Society (1853). All of these received state aid for their schools, and theirs came to be known as the "voluntary" system. Groups refusing state aid through fear of state interference remained outside of the "voluntary" system. The sectarian struggle was reflected in these schools and prevented the establishment of public schools, in the American sense of the word "public," until 1870, when the first national school law was passed in England. That law provided for the election of local school boards, and for the establishment of schools wherever existing accommodations were inadequate. Thus the publicly supported and controlled schools of modern England originated in the giving of public aid to religious and charitable education societies. Since 1870, the schools of non-conformist groups have been gradually absorbed by the national schools, but the Anglican and Catholic schools have retained their identity and, in the case of the Catholics, have increased in number. The "voluntary" schools have been designated the "non-provided" schools, although, since 1902, they have been supported almost entirely by public taxes.

**Monitorial Instruction in England and the United States.**—In 1798, Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, established in a poor London district a school conducted on a plan designed to lower the cost of educating the poor and to enlarge their educational opportunity. To this end he employed older pupils as assistants, or monitors, and adopted new instructional devices, such as the use of sand to teach



writing. It was possible for one teacher using Lancasterian methods to conduct a school of many hundreds of pupils. The plan attained instant popularity. In 1808, the British and Foreign Society was founded to direct and continue the work of the many schools organized, but mismanaged, by Lancaster. In opposition to the non-sectarianism of that society, the Anglicans organized the National Society, which took over most of the schools of the S.P.C.K. and introduced the monitorial plan into them. Under these two societies, schools for the poor multiplied rapidly in the first half of the century. The monitorial system, though mechanical and basically imperfect in teaching procedures, helped to convince the public of the feasibility of public support of universal education.

In the United States, where the problem of paying for the education of the poor was also urgent, the monitorial plan became rapidly popular after 1806, when it was first introduced by the Free School Society of New York City. The rapidity of its spread here in two decades was phenomenal. In 1818, Lancaster came to America and taught in monitorial schools in New York and Philadelphia. Here the plan of instruction was adopted not only in elementary schools but also in academies and high schools. Despite its shortcomings, the monitorial system brought a rapid and significant enlargement of opportunities for the poor of early nineteenth-century America, and prepared the way for the adoption of free public schools, both elementary and secondary, for all the children of all the people. Many of our early public school laws provided for the establishment of monitorial schools, a fact which is evidence of the impression which such a plan made upon legislators perturbed by the problem of educational expenditures. By 1850, the popularity of the monitorial practice had largely disappeared, and the public had come to realize that American children had a right to the guidance of trained teachers, and to better methods than the mechanical and psychologically unsound procedures of the Lancasterian plan.

**The Sunday School Movement in England and America.**—In order to dispel ignorance and alleviate degradation among the poor, Robert Raikes, an English manufacturer, opened, in 1780, a Sunday school for children and adults in Gloucester. Though not the originator of the idea or practice, Raikes was its foremost popularizer. The movement spread rapidly and, in 1785, there was founded the Sunday School Society to direct it. The Royal Commission in its Report, in 1861, said that 2,411,554 pupils were enrolled in British Sunday schools. In addition to religion, the 3 R's were taught in the

earlier Sunday schools, and the teachers were usually paid a little for the services. In 1786, Sunday schools of this type were introduced into America, where they also had a rapid growth. When the need for secular instruction had been met by other agencies here and in England, the Sunday schools abandoned all such instruction, but continued their work in the religious field.

#### **The Infant School Movement in Great Britain and America.—**

This movement was originated by Jean Oberlin in France in the late eighteenth century, but had its greatest development in Great Britain and the United States. In 1816, Robert Owen, a Scotch manufacturer and philanthropist, who had not heard of the French movement, opened an infant school at New Lanark, Scotland. Most manufacturers and mine owners then showed as little respect for the lives of children as do many militarists of today who rain death from the skies upon the innocent victims of Mars. Owen would introduce them to life by providing them with healthy bodies, good morals, and the beginnings of an intellectual training. His school was designed for children between the ages of three and seven. It was then customary for institutions, caring for foundlings and orphans, to bind out their charges above the age of five as apprentices to masters who were generally inhuman toward them. In Owen's school there were no tasks assigned to rob children of the joys of childhood. Indeed, everything was done to create new joys for them, the primary objects of the school, the physical, mental, and moral growth of pupils, never being lost sight of. Under the influence of Samuel Wilderspin, who attempted to popularize the idea, later infant schools adopted the formal and mechanical practices of schools for older children. Thus the spirit of the New Lanark school passed from the movement. Yet, the movement continued and, in 1834, the Home and Colonial School Society was founded to train teachers for infant schools. That society checked the decay of schools by introducing Pestalozzianism, though only in a highly formalized plan of teaching by objects. Through the activities of the Infant School Society (1824) and the Home and Colonial School Society the infant school movement spread rapidly in Great Britain. With the coming of the kindergarten some of the practices of these schools were greatly improved.

In the United States, the infant school idea found many advocates in the first half of the century, and schools designed for younger children were established in many cities. However, the public was slow to grasp the social need for such a practice. In 1818, Boston became the first city to appropriate money for such schools, there

called "primary schools." In 1827, the New York "Infant School Society" was founded and, in the same year, infant schools were established in Philadelphia. Before 1830, infant schools had been established in Hartford, Baltimore, and other cities. Formal instruction, conducted on the Lancasterian plan, marked the earlier infant schools of America. Generally, until about 1850, they were supported by private philanthropic agencies actuated by respect for the rights and happiness of children, an ideal which, when dinned into public consciousness, resulted in the recognition by the public of the principle that education of younger children is a matter of public concern. In meeting the needs of the poor before governments became conscious of their obligation to them, philanthropic and religious agencies performed a significant service.

**The Manual-Labor Movement in Europe and America.**—While the name of Pestalozzi is usually associated with the psychological movement in education, we must not lose sight of the fact that he was primarily a social reformer whose life and works were permeated by the faith that education, and education alone, is the remedy for the ills of society. He began his educational career as a teacher of children of poor peasants, whose lives he hoped to improve by education. "Ever since my youth," he wrote, "has my heart moved on like a mighty stream, alone and lonely, towards my one sole end—to stop the sources of the misery in which I saw the people around me sunk."<sup>4</sup> And again: "I suffered as the people suffered; and the people showed themselves to me as they were, and as they showed themselves to no one else."<sup>5</sup> Against the social institutions and vices, which brought misery and degradation to the masses, Pestalozzi was inwardly at war, and his sympathy was always with the victims of oppression and injustice. He denounced the social injustice which robbed the poor of the educational opportunities enjoyed by the rich. On his tombstone are written the words "Saviour of the poor at Neuhof, at Stanz the father of orphans. . . . All for others, nothing for himself."<sup>6</sup>

Pestalozzi's experiment at Neuhof, in which he attempted to combine the school and the workshop, gave rise, through his friend Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771–1844), to the "manual-labor" movement in Europe and America. In 1806, Fellenberg, at the suggestion

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<sup>4</sup> J. H. Pestalozzi, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (Lucy E. Holland and Francis C. Turner, translators), 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>6</sup> R. De Guimps, *Pestalozzi: His Life and Works* (Edited by J. Russell), New York: Appleton, 1892, 367.



of Pestalozzi, opened on his large estate at Hofwyl, Switzerland, a school to train teachers in the Pestalozzian method. In a few years, the institution had developed into a school in which industrial and agricultural training were combined with Pestalozzian observational instruction, and the sons of the wealthy were instructed in the same practical studies pursued by the sons of the poor. Indeed, the school, in its student personnel, was a miniature of existing Swiss society. However, to retain the sons of the rich Fellenberg made provisions for their separate housing and special academic instruction in the "literary institute," while the poor attended the "agricultural institute" of the school. The rich were, nevertheless, required to engage in agricultural and other manual activities side by side with the poor. Literary education was provided for the poor but, for them, the stress was laid upon practical training. The school embodied the idea that hand and mind should be developed simultaneously.

The school at Hofwyl was thus a social as well as an educational experiment, and its success stimulated the growth of industrial and agricultural schools in Europe and America. However, Fellenberg's attempt to bring the children of all classes together into one school was not continued in later schools fashioned after the model which he established. The movement in practical education in which Pestalozzi and Fellenberg had a foremost place at the beginning of the nineteenth century came to be marked by a special emphasis upon the needs of the poor who, it was felt, could be redeemed from the miseries created by industrial and social change by practical training in agriculture and the various trades. Switzerland was the first center of the movement in Europe. Here many farm schools and a few industrial schools were established before 1840, and industrial training came to be stressed in the normal schools. In Germany, France, and England, industrial training was introduced into orphanages and reform and continuation schools.

In the United States, Fellenberg's influence appeared in the rise of "manual-labor" schools. Here the movement developed between 1820 and 1840, and declined rapidly after the latter date. The idea that manual and intellectual training should be combined for educational ends, a view held by Fellenberg, was not stressed in America except by a few writers. The advantages of the manual-labor plan which were emphasized here were: (a) that it brought education, particularly on the secondary and college levels, within the reach of boys of humble means, by making it possible for them to defray the cost of education by their own labor, and (b) that the physical activities which it provided improved the health of students. Organ-

ized labor groups showed much interest in the plan, because they felt it threw the door of social opportunity open to their children who were debarred by high tuition fees from the traditional secondary schools and colleges. While the manual-labor plan was popular in the older sections, it had its greatest vogue on the frontier where, it would appear, a majority of the academies and colleges, established between 1830 and 1850, were of the manual-labor type. While they were not free, the tuition was much lower in them than in other schools. They were thus a reflection of the democratic tendencies of the time, and represent a transition from an undemocratic, class scheme of education to the publicly supported system, with its free high schools and its inexpensive state universities.

**Industrial Education.**—The Industrial Revolution and the factory system gradually brought an end to the apprenticeship system of training youths for the various trades. Indeed, it resulted in the splitting of the old trades into separate processes, only one of which, as a rule, the factory worker needed to know. It ceased to be profitable for masters to train apprentices, or promising for apprentices to strive for mastery in the trades. Yet the need for skilled craftsmen continued. Therefore, schools had to be established to do what the masters once did for their apprentices. The movement, however, had an earlier origin and grew by steps under many influences.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, many industrial schools for the poor were established and supported by philanthropic and, sometimes, public agencies. In 1641, legal provision was made by the Scottish Parliament for the establishment of textile schools in county towns. These steps were a departure from the traditional apprenticeship system. Industrial training schools for the poor, after the British model, were established in the American colonies. Thus the Virginia legislature, in 1646, made provision for the instruction of poor children in carding, knitting, and spinning in public flax houses. In the closing decade of the eighteenth century, industrial training was introduced into the folk schools of Germany, and special industrial schools for the poor were established in many German cities. The well-being of the poor and the commercial advantage to society, as well as the lowering of the cost of educating the poor, were the stated purposes of the German practice. A century earlier, as we have seen, the Pietist, Francke, was teaching trades in his school at Halle.

Before Pestalozzi and Fellenberg brought their influence to bear upon the practice, Rousseau and his immediate followers, Basedow

and the Philanthropists, promoted it both in theory and practice. In the schools of Basedow and Salzmann, trades were taught not only for practical ends, but also for health and the complete development of the whole man. The educational purpose of developing all the bodily powers, rather than a social purpose, underlay the work of the Philanthropists. Froebel, who urged philosophical, educational, or psychological reasons for his practices, gave the trades a place in his school at Keilhau and exerted, as we have seen, a powerful influence upon manual training through his kindergarten.

The sloyd system, popular in England and America, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was a Swedish application of Froebel's ideas to craft training, designed to preserve domestic industries, threatened by the Industrial Revolution, thus protecting peasants from their new enemy, the machine and the factory. The sloyd system embodied both an industrial and educational purpose. In America, after 1883, when it was favorably described in the *Annual Report* of the Massachusetts Board of Education, it became popular with those who felt that the manual training practice, which we borrowed directly from Russia, was too formal. Froebel's influence upon industrial education in America made itself felt in a native American modification of the kindergarten. In 1876, Emily Huntingdon, of New York, desiring to apply kindergarten ideas in the industrial field, substituted household utensils for Froebel's "gifts" in her school which she called the Kitchen Garden. The idea spread quickly to other cities. In 1880, a New York Association was organized to promote the plan. That Association became, in 1884, the Industrial Education Association of New York. Between these years, in 1881, the Workingman's School of New York, stressing industrial training for older children, developed as an outgrowth of a kindergarten. Thus Froebel's influence tended to swing toward an emphasis upon the practical needs of youth and of our industrial society. While Herbart showed but little interest in industrial education, his disciple, Ziller, recommended special vocational schools or apprenticeship training for children of laborers. More fortunate classes, he said, have little need for such training. Of all the influences, however, contributing to the growing concern for industrial education in Europe and America, the Industrial Revolution was the most potent.

The first influence of the industrial change upon education appears in the efforts of philanthropists and of workingmen themselves to aid workers in meeting the problems which the factory system had created for them. Thus, Bell, in the Anglican monitorial schools of England, and Robert Owen, in the schools of New Harmony, Indi-



ana, provided industrial training for the poor. In 1800, George Birbeck, of the University of Glasgow, offered lectures on applied sciences to industrial workers. That step led to the establishment, between 1823 and 1840, of Mechanics Institutes in many English industrial cities. In these, workingmen met for instruction in the application of science to industrial arts.

In America, comparatively few Mechanics Institutes were established. Here the lyceum movement took their place. The lyceum, established in numerous centers, large and small, from the eighteenth-twenties onward, provided lectures on industrial and intellectual topics for everyone who wished for such an opportunity. The lyceum was one aspect of the broad, social reform movement which swept America prior to the Civil War, and which was inspired by the desire to build here an ideal society.

The second large educational effect of the Industrial Revolution appears in the concern of governments for the training of skilled workers, so that each nation might hold its own, or more than its own, in international commerce. In the competitive commercial world, humanitarian idealism, which inspired earlier forms of industrial training, largely disappeared. After 1850, England, long supreme in world trade, found her supremacy challenged, first by France and then by Germany. In 1877, a British Royal Commission recommended the establishment and public support of technical schools. Laws were passed for Scotland (1887) and for England (1889) to make that recommendation effective. In America, also, the national motive had its effect. From the eighteen-twenties onward, technical education had been urged by individuals, among them Henry Barnard, as a national industrial need. In 1870, the Massachusetts legislature, aware of the international commercial struggle, required towns of over 10,000 population to give free instruction in mechanical drawing to older pupils. Maine (1870) and New York (1875) enacted similar laws.

Until the nineteenth century, the apprenticeship system of training artisans was practically the universal plan in America. A few theorists, such as Thomas Budd, recommended formal schools for the purpose. After 1824, a few Mechanics Institutes, such as the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, appeared. In 1824, the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was organized in Troy, by Amos Eaton, to teach science as related to agriculture and industry, and to disseminate such knowledge through the schools of America. In 1862, the federal government, in response to urgent demands for aid in training industrial and agricultural workers, passed the Morrill Act, granting to

each state for that purpose 30,000 acres of public land for each senator and representative it had in Congress. Thus began the federal endowment of vocational education which culminated in the passage (1917) of the Smith-Hughes Act and its later supplements. From 1785, the federal government had granted land to the several states, with a few exceptions, for the purposes of general education. Since 1862, practical education has been the government's special concern. The Hatch Act (1887), the second Morrill Act (1890), and the Smith-Lever Act (1914) supplemented the first Morrill Act. Since 1917 federal benevolence has been directed chiefly toward vocational training. In 1937, a further grant of \$14,000,000 was provided to meet the demands of the Smith-Hughes Act, and, in 1940, a special grant of \$60,500,000, to meet the needs of the National Defense program. What has been done in England and America for industrial education has been done in other nations since 1850, the most elaborate provisions, until very recent days, being those of Germany. All of these developments reflect the philosophy that education must be determined by social needs and ends.

**Education as a State Function.**—The view that education is a concern of the state and a preserver of political systems was expressed by Greek theorists, and found embodiment in Roman laws. Luther threw the influence of Protestantism upon the side of that principle. Having destroyed the unity of the Catholic church, the Reformation created the need for a new educational authority. We have seen that, under the new régime, responsibility for education was, in varying ways and degrees in Protestant lands, transferred to civil authorities. That was the beginning of the end of ecclesiastical control. Three hundred years after Luther's revolt, the Prussian state took over complete control of education, the legal basis for that step having been laid progressively during the eighteenth century. The last step was hastened by the defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Jena (1806). Immediately thereafter Prussian statesmen and philosophers demanded that the masses be instructed in their duties to the state. The result was the centralization of educational control in a national Department of Education, in which the church was not represented. Nationalism inspired that step.

A revolution in educational thought accompanied the French Revolution. The radicals of the movement would establish a universal, free, compulsory and secular system of elementary education for the moulding of citizens of the new social order. Eloquent protests were heard against the exclusion by the church of lay educators, as were

also eloquent demands for the secularization of education and its control by the state. La Chalotais wrote, in 1763, "I dare claim for the nation an education which depends only on the State, because it belongs essentially to the State; because every State has an inalienable and indefeasible right to instruct its members; because, finally, the children of the State ought to be educated by the members of the State. . . . In every State the purpose should be to enkindle the spirit of citizenship."<sup>7</sup>

While the church continued to dominate French education until the establishment of the Third Republic (1870), the revolutionary ideal survived. In 1850, Edgar Quinet wrote: "No particular church being the soul of France, the teaching which diffuses this soul should be independent of every particular church. . . . The teacher has a more universal doctrine than the priest, for he speaks to Catholic, Protestant, and Jew alike, and he brings them all into the same civil communion. The teacher is obliged to say: 'You are all children of the same God and of the same country; take hold of each others' hands until death.' The priest is obliged to say: 'You are the children of different churches, but among these mothers there is but one who is legitimate. All those who do not belong to her are accursed. . . . Be, then, separated in time, since you must be separated in eternity.'"<sup>8</sup> And Quinet demanded the secularization of education for civil ends. While Napoleon, in 1808, brought secondary and higher education under a measure of state control, public elementary schools were not established until 1833. In 1877, Gambetta and his party, strongly anti-clerical, triumphed over the church and the Monarchists in a national election. In power, the republicans made education free in public primary schools (1881), and compulsory for all children between six and thirteen years of age (1882). In the latter year, moral instruction was substituted for religious in all public schools, and the secularization process was thus completed. In 1904, church and state were separated, and the schools of religious societies, such as the Jesuits, were closed. The anti-republican government of Pétain restored these societies as one of the acts of a defeated France, now (1945) entering what promises to be the Fourth Republic.

In England, ecclesiastical and class conflicts delayed the rise of a state system of education. The Anglican church, being the national

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<sup>7</sup> G. Compayré, *The History of Pedagogy* (translated by W. H. Payne), Boston: Heath, 1897, 345.

<sup>8</sup> F. Buisson and F. E. Farrington, *French Educational Ideals of Today*, Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Co., 1919, 1-2.



church, claimed the right to be the national educator. Fearing such a development, the Dissenters opposed state interference in education on the grounds that it would destroy civil and religious liberty, while the Anglicans themselves opposed it since the government did not formally approve their claim, and since the outcome of the conflict was in doubt. Fearing that free, state education for the masses would make them restless and weaken social barriers, the aristocracy opposed it. When government was made nearly representative by the reform acts of 1832 and 1867, the Dissenters became supporters of a state system. On the passage of the act of 1867, Robert Lowe, member of Parliament and a leader of the reform group, shouted: "Now, let us educate our future masters."

In 1870, the Forster Elementary Education Act was passed, and provided for the election of local school boards and the establishment of "board" schools in all districts where existing accommodations were not adequate. These board schools were to give non-denominational religious instruction, but the "conscience clause" of the Act permitted parents, if they desired, to withdraw their children from school during the hour for such instruction. Such a "clause" had long been a condition for the receiving of government aid by the schools of the National and the British and Foreign societies. Support by the national government to the "voluntary" schools, inaugurated in 1833, continued, but they were refused a share in the taxes raised locally for the new "board" schools. Because of their long-established vested interest in education, and because they benefited by British respect (an outcome of a long struggle) for the rights of conscience, these sectarian schools won, in 1902, their fight for their share in local taxes. Public support, however, has brought a measure of public control over these schools, but their independence in religious matters remains complete. What other countries have done quickly, sometimes by revolutionary methods, England has done slowly and in an evolutionary way. There, respect for tradition has been strong, and progress has come by a tedious process of struggle and compromise between conflicting groups. What form the social processes in the England of tomorrow may take can only be conjectured. The policies of the present Labor Government both in domestic and imperial matters have been, on the whole, conservative. Later, we shall examine the provisions of the Education Act of 1944 passed by the Churchill coalition government.

In the United States, the national and political motive in education found eloquent advocates in the early years of our nationhood. Our young republic was, however, an aristocratic one, and its educational



philosophers were more concerned with the training of an intellectual élite for leadership than with the training of the masses for citizenship. To one principle, however, they gave prominence: that the success of the political experiment depended upon education, without which the democratic ideal could not be realized. Jefferson was the leading spokesman of our first school of educational thinkers. The common-man democracy, which succeeded the older form, was fashioned on our moving frontier. Since its first triumph in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency, and the rapid adoption of universal male suffrage in the conservative East, the American nation, operating through the governments of its several states, which the silence of the Constitution has made our supreme educational authority, pending some future amendment, has made the training of the masses for participation in government and public affairs the primary goal of education. Theoretically, our schools exist for the leading purpose of providing our democracy with enlightened citizens who understand its problems, and who will participate intelligently in their solution.

In colonial and early national America, the sectarian and religious were, in practice, the controlling motives in education. Here, as in France, England and elsewhere, the churches, long dominant in the moulding of minds, opposed the socializing and secularizing tendencies of the builders of the national democratic state. Here, the builders of the nation, conscious of the danger of involving the political authorities in theological controversies, and of the need for cultural unity among citizens, built a public school system completely lay and secular. Where, recently, local authorities have permitted children to attend their churches for religious instruction during the school day, their motive has been social rather than religious, in any sectarian sense. In the early days of the controversy with churchmen, Horace Mann in a reply to views of Rev. M. H. Smith, of Boston, stated the case against religious instruction in public schools thus: "It is easy to see that the experiment would not stop with having half a dozen conflicting creeds taught by authority of law in the different schools of the same town. . . . One sect may have the ascendancy to-day; another to-morrow. This year there will be three Persons in the Godhead; next year but one; and the third year the Trinity will be restored to hold its precarious sovereignty until it shall be again dethroned by the worms of the dust it has made. . . . This year the ordinance of baptism is inefficacious without immersion; next year one drop of water will be as good as forty fathoms. . . ." And he went on to say that it is the duty of the state to ensure that no

sect shall, for its own ends, use the schools which the state has established for its own preservation.<sup>9</sup>

While, in America, Horace Mann was urging the establishment of state-supported and controlled schools on the grounds that "in a Republic ignorance is a crime," and that the wealth of a nation is in proportion to the intelligence of its citizens, property owners, while admitting the force of such arguments, fought against the public school movement because of their alarm over increased taxation. Why, it was asked, should a man who has educated his own children or the man who has no children of his own to educate be taxed to educate his neighbor's children? Mann reminded property owners that the state is a collective person, and that its property must bear the cost of saving youth from poverty and crime and of preparing them for the discharge of their social duties. The state must not allow selfish men to rob children of their rights, or the community of their best services. Henry Barnard and many others carried on the fight which Mann so ably led until, by the time of the Civil War, state schools were a general practice in America.

Thus, in Western nations, the socializing process progressed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The teacher, once a representative of a church, or a private adventurer who made teaching a business, is now a representative of society, and teaching has become a profession as socially necessary as the professions of law and medicine. To an even greater extent than in the fields of law and medicine, governments, throughout the world, have assumed the responsibility for the training of teachers, since their well-being depends upon those who mould the minds of youth and train their hands for industrial service. Not merely in matters of teacher training and administration has education been socialized, but its spiritual aspects, as involved in methods of teaching and curriculum, have been harmonized with social purposes and needs. The social studies—history, geography, civics, government, economics, problems of democracy—have come to loom large in the program of our schools. The aims of American education formulated, in 1918, by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, in the so-called "Cardinal Principles" include, among others, health, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, and ethical character. In that statement of aims the social ideal is everywhere evident. In the growing tendency to emphasize the social motive, John Dewey and

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<sup>9</sup> Horace Mann, *Sequel to the So-called Correspondence between the Rev. M. H. Smith and Horace Mann*, cited by Cubberley in *Readings in the History of Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920, 575-576.

a host of influential followers have played a leading part in the past fifty years but, at the same time, they have been the severest critics of forces that attempt to control our schools for their own conservative ends. To the dogma of "social predestination" Dewey does not subscribe, much less to the belief that a democracy's schools should be instruments of such predestination.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position :

1. Social change made inevitable the social emphasis in education, the origin of which can be definitely found in the thought and practices of the early eighteenth century.

2. The idea of charity education originated in England in the eighteenth century.

3. Modern state school systems had their origin in the educational activities of Protestant churches.

4. The cost of public education was the chief, if not the only, obstacle to the establishment of tax-supported, state school systems.

5. All humanitarianism and educational idealism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be attributed to the influence of the Industrial Revolution.

6. Social idealism was not the only motive reflected in such activities as monitorial instruction, the Infant School Movement, and the Manual-Labor Movement.

7. The manual-labor idea has entirely disappeared from the American educational scene.

8. The industrial education movement since its origin has been inspired by concern for the interest of the capitalist class rather than of laborers, although the workers themselves have derived indirect profit from it.

9. National commercial rivalries have been the chief stimuli to the growth of vocational training and schooling.

10. The establishment of national school systems for nationalistic ends was made imperative by the changing world scene of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

11. American democratic idealism and respect for individualism and the growth of personality inspired the conception and the development of American public education.

12. The modern lay teacher is professionally the descendant of the preacher, whose social functions he has inherited.

13. Germany set a bad nationalistic precedent in education by leading the way in the organization of a national school system.



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## Chapter 12

### THE TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

**The Tide of Culture.**—In the early centuries of the Christian era many streams of culture from the Orient flowed into the thought life of the West, and, blending with the native spiritual traditions of the peoples brought under Roman imperial sway, produced in time what we call Christian culture. In the cultural struggle of the first five Christian centuries some of the good ideals of pagan classical antiquity were submerged, as we have noted earlier. In the Renaissance, those ideals were again restored in another blending of paganism and Christianity. As a result, the classics came to be regarded as essential not only in the development of individuals and social leaders, but also, in post-Reformation days, as bulwarks of theological orthodoxies. With the scientific discoveries and inventions of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, a development inspired in part by the Greek tradition, a new important element, science, entered into the cultural life of the West.

Just as Christianity once struggled with the pagan tradition, so science was forced to struggle for its place in culture against the Christianized paganism of the classical heritage. In the pure classical tradition, it would be difficult to find any basis for intolerance of any form of human inquiry, but the classics became wedded to the supernaturalism of the Reformation era, and were thus made instruments of an ecclesiastical authoritarianism opposed to any form of inquiry likely to bring distrust of old conceptions. They had also become identified with the interest of a social élite. Moreover, three centuries of classical education had created a tradition so strong that the force of inertia itself presented a formidable barrier to the acceptance of science as an educational instrument. Indeed, the world had been transformed by science before its schools, always citadels of conservatism, became conscious of their academic fossilism. While here and there, in educational theory and in practice, science, as we have seen, was given a grudging recognition before the nineteenth century, that century was far advanced before the demands of an industrialized world, and of nations struggling for commercial supremacy, forced schools generally to give science a place in their work befitting its importance.

**Spencer as the Devil's Advocate.**—In 1861, Herbert Spencer published his book *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, a collection of essays published separately some years earlier. In the first essay he treated the question "What knowledge is of most worth?" In answering that question, Spencer was thinking of individual needs, not those of society, because he was unalterably opposed to state interference in education. The purpose of education, he said, is "to prepare us for complete living." To attain that end, we must determine the leading forms of activity in which men engage as human beings living in organized society. These he stated thus:

- "1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation.
2. Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation.
3. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring.
4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations.
5. Those miscellaneous activities which fill up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings."

It is the work of education, said Spencer, to prepare the individual to perform these activities (which, he says, are listed in the order of their importance) as efficiently as his economic and social position demands. Knowledge serves, he says, two ends, that of (a) guidance and (b) discipline. It guides him in the performance of his five basic activities, and it develops his powers through exercise in attaining it. Whether for guidance or for discipline, the knowledge of things is better than the knowledge of words. Spencer's answer to the question "What knowledge is of most worth?" is "Science." It is science that best prepares man to preserve his life, earn a livelihood, perform his parental duties, understand society and the ways of social behavior, produce and appreciate art, and develop his intellectual, moral, and religious nature. No religious devotee ever spoke more ardently of his faith than Spencer did of the blessings which science had bestowed upon men, and of its promises for the future.

Thomas Huxley, in his *Science and Education* (1868), gave influential support to Spencer's views. In America, they were defended by such men as Edward L. Youmans, Francis Wayland, and President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia University. The voice of the opposition was, however, loud and, at times, bitter. In England and



America, Spencer was denounced by some as a self-opinionated, ill-informed and, sometimes, blasphemous man. The controversy, from a standpoint of culture, was but one of many in the long struggle between science and theology. In its Spencerian stage it was a struggle between Darwinism, with which Spencer was in accord, and the traditional fundamentalist view of the origin and meaning of life. It was a struggle between forces contending about the relative importance of material and spiritual values. Spencer and his school did not mock spiritual values, but they would reinterpret and reëvaluate them in the light of scientific discovery. They protested, however, vehemently against the neglect of the sciences, natural, physical, and social, and against the forces that would have man ignore his material well-being. Typical of the antagonism which Spencer's views encountered in America were those of Thomas Burrowes, long a leader in public education in Pennsylvania. In an editorial in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* (January, 1861), Burrowes denounced Spencer's utilitarianism and his scientific approach to ethics and morals as dangerous and heretical. In moulding the minds and morals of youth we should, said he, follow the long-tried and successful ways of the past, for there must be no experimenting with the building of character. Ideas that are now commonplace were shocking heresies to many of Spencer's contemporaries. New ideas are always shocking to the great majority of men. Burrowes, like many other men who read little and talk much, and who live and pray in the cell of their immediate environment, not only condemned Spencer's moral theory, but also his use of such words as "sociology" and "curriculum," which were then unknown to him. It is sufficient here to point out that, in time, Spencer's educational views triumphed in America. The aims of American education, as stated in the Cardinal Principles of 1918, referred to earlier, are based upon Spencer's classification of human activities. Since 1861, science has been elevated to a place of great dignity in the schools of Europe and America. Its triumph was not due to Spencer and other like-minded men, who, while they contributed to it, were chiefly interpreters of social change. It was due basically to changes in the economic ways of society, to nationalism and international commercial rivalries, and to science itself, which played an important part in the making of the modern world, with all its comforts and efficiency.

**Science and Discipline.**—One of the obstacles which science had to overcome in its struggle against traditionalism was the widely accepted disciplinary theory of education. The advocates of that

theory struggled against the inclusion of the sciences in the curricula of schools on the ground that, since they are interesting studies, they are of no value in developing mental power which, like any other power, physical or moral, can be developed only by rigorous exercise. Because they were difficult and, as taught, uninteresting, the classics long enjoyed an almost universal distinction of being the best existing instruments of intellectual discipline, and they were taught generally for that purpose in the nineteenth century. The utilitarian argument for the classics had lost its force with the refinement of vernacular literatures, but a cultural justification for them continued to make a strong appeal to people influenced by theological and social considerations. The nineteenth century was well advanced before a classical education, as a badge of cultural and social distinction, began to lose ground noticeably. Other reasons for retention of the classics in the schools having lost their force, the disciplinary argument was urged strongly in their favor. Mathematics, also, had long enjoyed the same disciplinary prestige as the classics.

So widely had the disciplinary theory come to be accepted that every new study was called upon to prove its worth as a mental discipline. At this juncture, it was argued that culture is a product of mental discipline, and culture and discipline were thus merged into one test of the educational value of any study.<sup>1</sup> That position was stated by Huxley in his description of a liberally educated man: "That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

Here Huxley, a vigorous advocate of science as a worthy and useful educational instrument, identifies a liberal or cultural training with mental discipline. A knowledge of the facts and laws of nature is, he holds, an indispensable element of a liberal education. Without such knowledge there can be no complete training of one's natural

<sup>1</sup> S. G. Noble, *History of American Education*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938, 309 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Huxley, *Science and Education*, New York: Appleton, 1896, 86.

powers, no adequate mental discipline. His book, *Science and Education*, was a forceful denunciation of the sterility of education, on all levels, in nineteenth-century England. After years of academic drudgery, meaningless to students, youths, said he, went forth from English schools ignorant of nearly everything they ought to know. They had been disciplined according to the accepted view of the time, but they knew nothing of modern geography, modern history, modern literature, nor of the physical, moral, and social sciences.

Huxley demanded that all that be changed, and that the schools recognize the importance of modern knowledge not only for practical ends but as a means of mental discipline as well. While he argued for an inclusion of the sciences in education on utilitarian grounds, he met the objection of the old disciplinarians, who considered them too easy and interesting to be of value as studies, by asserting that he could make the sciences as difficult, uninteresting, and disciplinary as they had made the classics. The force of Huxley's arguments did not end the debate regarding the value of the sciences in education. Some continued to deride the value of mere knowledge (which Huxley defended because, in addition to its disciplinary value, it is necessary in building bridges and railways and in every practical activity) on the ground that the schools ought to aim at developing the intellectual power that makes men inventors rather than at giving students the rule-of-thumb knowledge of mere technicians. Mental power, it was said, not mere knowledge, must be aimed at, and to that end it is not knowledge but the process of acquiring it which is important educationally. The test of the value of any study is its difficulty. What is taught is unimportant. It is the rigor of the mental exercise demanded which is the measure of the value of any study.<sup>3</sup>

Many were thus reluctant to acknowledge the disciplinary value of the sciences, and held to the view that the usefulness of a study was the surest proof of its educational uselessness. Yet, Huxley's view that the mind could be trained as well by useful as by useless studies attracted such an influential following in England and America that, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the sciences became respectable studies in our sanctuaries of learning. The classical strongholds of England, the Great Public Schools and the older universities, resisted the encroachment of the new studies more stubbornly than did American schools and universities but, even there, science had secured a firm foothold at the end of the century. In our American secondary and higher schools we do not today teach the

<sup>3</sup> Alfred J. E. Fouillée, *Education from a National Standpoint*, New York: Appleton, 1892, 36-37.



sciences as mental exercises, although an occasional teacher will still justify one or another of them on such grounds. Seventy-five years ago, physiology, botany, geology, chemistry, physics, physical geography, and astronomy were taught, as one writer says algebra was then taught, not to make useful American citizens, but "for the purpose of developing patience and habits of persistence and of training a pupil in reasoning."<sup>4</sup>

We have seen that manual training was given a place in our schools for disciplinary reasons. Such studies as home economics, commercial studies, agriculture, art, music and physical education had to be proved of disciplinary worth before they were dignified with scholastic approval. To that end they were made to rest upon a suitable basis of related sciences and theory, and were thus taught in such a formal way that the recognition of their educational worth could not be refused. Every new study had to be capable of formal logical organization before it could take its place in our schools with the older disciplines. Reluctance to accord recognition to studies not so organized, and of essentially practical character, led to the establishment of private schools of agriculture, business, beauty culture, etc., to meet many social and individual needs which traditional schools did not meet.

At last, the disciplinary theory itself was challenged by experimental psychologists, whose findings negated fundamental assumptions upon which it rested. For over a quarter of a century its influence upon the curriculum of our schools has almost entirely vanished. Even before the psychological basis of the theory was seriously questioned, we, in America, had given approval to the principle of the "equivalence of studies" in order that our schools might serve better the needs of society and the individual. The Committee of Ten of the National Education Association, in its *Report* (1893), and the Committee on College Entrance Requirements of the same Association, in its *Report* (1899), endorsed that principle. It should be noted here that, from the time Franklin planned the Philadelphia Academy, with its separate schools or departments, the "elective system" found increasing favor in America. Our early academies and high schools, generally, offered students a choice of courses. Jefferson planned the University of Virginia (1818) on the elective principle and, when it opened (1825), students were left free to choose their studies on the basis of their interest rather than follow a prescribed course, as had been done in all other American colleges previously. Not until

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<sup>4</sup> David E. Smith, *The Progress of Algebra in the Last Quarter of a Century*, Boston: Ginn, 1925, 13.

the closing quarter of the century did American colleges, generally, adopt the elective system. The practice of free election of studies by students gave the sciences a chance to compete with the older studies for student patronage.

**Institutional Changes.**—In an earlier chapter we have seen that economic and social change, and the early scientific movement, gave rise to a new type of secondary school called, in Germany, *realschule* and, in England and America, academy. This earlier interest in science was overshadowed by the greater interest produced by the Industrial Revolution, nationalism, and the cultural triumph of science itself.

In Prussia, physics and natural history were included by government order in the curriculum of the *Gymnasium* for the years 1812–1816. In 1859, a new type of school, the *Realgymnasium*, which gave more time to the sciences than did the *Gymnasium*, was established and officially approved. In 1882, came the establishment and recognition of another school, with a stronger scientific bias, the *Oberrealschule*. In addition to these, many special trade, or technical, schools were established in Germany in the nineteenth century. In the elementary schools, drawing, geography, and elementary science have been taught since the advent of Pestalozzianism.

France, because of its cultural indebtedness to ancient Rome and of marked Catholic, particularly Jesuit, influence, has shown a firmer attachment to the classics than Germany, America, or England. The Revolution resulted in the establishment of state schools, the *École Normale* (1794) and the *Lycée*, a secondary school (1802), in both of which science was taught. The sciences, however, were given slow and grudging recognition in secondary schools, and ranked below the classics in official and popular esteem. Drawing, geography, and natural sciences have had a prominent place in the curriculum of elementary schools since the establishment of the Third Republic.

In England, while the sciences had a place in the curriculum of the academies of the non-conformists, the Anglican secondary schools remained classical until Spencer's time. The old academies, too, had largely disappeared by the year 1800. Industrial needs and the conservatism of the old institutions led to the establishment, in the nineteenth century, of municipal universities and national higher technical schools. In the last quarter of the century, against strong opposition by teachers, "modern" studies were introduced into the Great Public Schools where, to the present, they have held a place inferior to the classics. Since 1900, approximately, junior technical schools, and

"central" schools, having a commercial and industrial bias, have been established. Since the First World War, the "modern" studies have slowly secured increased emphasis in the older secondary schools. In the elementary schools, geography and elementary science have been required studies since the beginning of the century. The British conception of secondary education and its purpose, a conception which even grave national crises have not weakened significantly, has been the chief obstacle to reform. The British remain attached to the old disciplinary philosophy, and they send their children to secondary schools not so much to acquire knowledge and skill as to have their character formed and their social position preserved, or improved. To make gentlemen rather than scholars, and to make men rather than job-experts are the goals desired. To that end, the old disciplines, among which the classics are still ranked first in value, are considered best. Though the sciences have had a place in the traditional secondary schools for nearly a century, they have been taught in the main as formal intellectual exercises rather than with a view to their practical application. The laboratory method of teaching science, used by Amos Eaton in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, in 1825,<sup>5</sup> and, almost simultaneously, by Liebig at the University of Giessen, was not used in Oxford and Cambridge universities until 1869. Industrial needs and national crises have, in the past generation, been dinning into the consciousness of Englishmen a realization that the welfare of the nation and the empire is linked to science, and that one of the first duties of the schools is to provide society with practical scientists capable of meeting all national needs. The recent English emergency will doubtless change the national thinking regarding educational values.

In the United States, where European prejudices never became deeply rooted, and where pioneer conditions demanded practicality in life and a realistic emphasis in education, science has had a freer growth than in the Old World. In colonial times numerous private masters taught science and its application to practical problems. While there was a little bookish instruction in science, according to the Aristotelian-mediaeval tradition, in our earliest colonial colleges, it was not until Franklin, in Philadelphia (1749), and Samuel Johnson, in New York (1754), laid new plans of higher education, which were embodied in the College of Philadelphia and King's College, that science was given a worthy recognition. To Franklin's plan we have referred earlier. Johnson would have taught, among other

<sup>5</sup> Ethel M. McAllister, *Amos Eaton*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, 384 ff., 514 f.



studies, the "Arts of *Numbering and Measuring, of Surveying and Navigation, of Geography and History, of Husbandry, Commerce and Government*: And . . . the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us and in the *Air, Water and Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors, Stones, Mines and Minerals, Plants and Animals*, and of everything *useful* for the comfort, the Convenience and elegance of Life in the chief Manufactures." <sup>6</sup> Until after 1825, however, the sciences received scant attention in American colleges. The most important early development came when, in 1847, the Lawrence Scientific School, at Harvard, and the Sheffield Scientific School, at Yale, were established. Similar steps were soon taken by other universities and colleges. Special private technical schools, such as the Rensselaer Polytechnic (1824) and Worcester Polytechnic (1868), also arose. Finally, public technical and agricultural schools, in the several states, were provided for by the national government under the Morrill Act of 1862 and its supplements of later years.

As previously noted, the academy and then the high school, which have been the secondary schools of the national period, have shown no antagonism to science. The academy tried hard to meet the demands of our early democracy, and catered to popular needs and interests. The curriculum of the high schools preserved that tradition. Our first high school, established in Boston in 1821, offered instruction in geography, mathematics, surveying, navigation, astronomy, and natural philosophy. As the century advanced, physics, chemistry, botany, geology, zoology, natural history, drawing, and mechanical drawing appeared widely in the program of high schools. Since 1900, the laboratory method of teaching science, which had made its appearance in high schools earlier, has become almost universal, and the emphasis has been on applied rather than on pure science. In the elementary curriculum, geography was the first science to find a place. To it were later added physiology and nature study, in the form of "object lessons." These studies had a foothold by 1860.

**The Science of Education.**—Until the present century, the approach to the study of educational problems was, in the main, philosophical rather than scientific. Men like Herbart, Spencer, Alexander Bain, and an array of progressive educators in Europe and America, in the nineteenth century, were either conscious of the need for exact

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<sup>6</sup> Edwin G. Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, New York: Macmillan, 1919, 255 (by permission).

knowledge in the field, or actually undertook experiments to test the validity of some theory, or to discover better ways of teaching. Yet, while the need for a scientific approach to education was felt earlier, little was done to realize it before 1900. Since then we have become so preoccupied with the "science" of education that we have almost forgotten the rich heritage of educational wisdom bequeathed to us by many profound thinkers since the days of Plato. The historical and philosophical approach to an understanding of educational problems has received progressively less emphasis since the turn of the century. The interest of the teaching profession has turned largely to the quantitative and measurable aspects of education. In the realm of educational values, however, there are many questions which cannot be answered through a process of quantitative analysis. Thus you cannot determine scientifically whether or not education ought to be different for different social classes, or whether or not indoctrination is good or bad. The historical-philosophical approach throws much more light on such problems as these. The science of education, however, has brought fruitful results in the study of those aspects of education which can be tested by observation and experiment.

The beginnings of the science of education might be traced back to Comenius, Basedow, Pestalozzi, and Froebel. While their schools were not education laboratories, nor their experiments conducted in a scientific way, they were testing, though with but a vaguely defined scientific curiosity, the value of certain theories and practices. In Europe and America, since about 1890, a number of progressive schools have been established, some of them, like that of Dewey at the University of Chicago, being in purpose experimental. The movement received its first great impetus when the psychologists, Alfred Binet and T. Simon, published their measure of general intelligence in 1905, which Binet revised in 1908 and 1911. The Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale, by Lewis Terman, was published in 1916, and has been widely used in America. Other tests of general intelligence have since been devised. In the measurement movement in psychology and education, Sir Francis Galton's work *Hereditary Genius* (1869) and Edward L. Thorndike's work *Theory of Mental and Social Measurements* (1904) have been historical landmarks. The substitution of fairly exact measures of general intelligence for the guesses of earlier days has brought many reforms in school practices. Different provisions for students of different abilities, as revealed by psychological tests, have been frequently made. In addition to measures of general intelligence, the psycholo-

gists have invented numerous measures of special aptitudes and abilities. Indeed, there is scarcely a single psychological phenomenon for which we have not some instrument of testing or measurement. The reliability of some of these devices has been frequently questioned. Among the many problems which such tests have thrown light upon is that of mental differences due to sex. Educational opportunities provided for women in the nineteenth century enabled them to prove that the traditional belief that women are mentally inferior to men was but a cultural prejudice. Yet all doubts were not dispelled. Psychological tests have shown that the differences, if any, are but slight and do not warrant any differentiation in education on a sex basis only. Further investigation of the influence of sex upon mind may force some revision of the views that are now current.<sup>7</sup>

Some exact measure of pupils' achievement had long been desired by teachers and school administrators. It is noteworthy that, in the days of Horace Mann, written essay examinations were introduced because, it was asserted, they would furnish an exact and equal means of testing students' achievement. Educational, as distinct from psychological, measurements began when J. M. Rice gave a spelling test to 30,000 children in 1897. From this beginning came our standardized tests in school subjects. In 1908, C. W. Stone's arithmetic tests were published; in 1910, the Thorndike handwriting scale; and in 1912, the Hillegas composition scale. There are now standardized tests in nearly every subject, and they are used not only for comparing the achievement of particular grades with the standard but also for diagnosing difficulties of individual pupils so that proper remedies may be applied. Devices for detecting certain physical handicaps of children have been invented, and are used to determine the causes of certain difficulties in learning. Certain reading difficulties are due to eye defects, which can now be readily detected by the use of instruments. Experimental research of a physical and psychological nature has gone far to reveal the causes of many learning difficulties earlier unknown. We have made great progress in analyzing the mechanical processes involved in learning, and we have tested experimentally the value of different methods of teaching. Because of the difficulty of controlling certain factors in educational experiments, the validity of the findings of investigators is often open to question. The science, however, is still in its infancy and, with the refinement of procedures and techniques which are being

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<sup>7</sup> C. R. Griffith, *An Introduction to Educational Psychology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935, 574-577.



developed, it gives promise of more certain results in the future. Intelligence and achievement tests and other diagnostic instruments are among the chief tools of the scientist in education. The science has not, however, been limited to an investigation of instructional problems. Such problems as those of school administration, school finance, school buildings, teacher training, etc., etc., have all been subjected to scientific inquiry, with a view to finding accurate, objective measures of their efficiency. The measurement movement has also entered the physical education field.

The progress that has been made in the past generation has been to some observers appalling. Those aspects of education which lend themselves to statistical analysis have received nearly all the attention, while other aspects, sometimes more important, have been neglected. It has been remarked that the testing movement has mechanized instruction, and that we spend more time in perfecting an administrative machinery than we do in moulding character and building men. We have, it is said, busied ourselves in collecting facts, the meaning of which we have not taken time to learn. It should be remembered, however, that without facts, other steps are impossible. The work of interpreting them, never altogether neglected, will, when the first wave of scientific enthusiasm has passed, receive the attention it deserves.

The application of scientific method to the solution of educational problems has resulted in the rise of highly specialized fields of inquiry and learning. General and special methods of teaching, curriculum construction, educational psychology, educational sociology, character education, educational administration, educational tests and measurements, vocational education, vocational guidance, secondary education, elementary education, history of education, and comparative education are among the fields of educational specialization. In the training of teachers, supervisors, and administrators, emphasis has come to be placed upon the special knowledge and skills needed in the numerous special fields of service for which men and women are being prepared. Specialization, indeed, has been carried to the point where the future teacher or administrator may be made a very narrowly educated person from the standpoint of professional knowledge. The growing emphasis upon a narrow functional approach to professional training, unless it is checked, will rob the teacher of that broader outlook which alone can give full meaning to his work. And professional knowledge, as it grows, threatens to demand more of the time which teachers once spent in enriching their knowledge of the subjects they planned to teach.

The scientific approach to education has produced noteworthy results in our handling of mentally defective children. The first influential student of the problems of mental defectives was Edouard Séguin, a Frenchman, who came to America in 1850. Manual work and sense training were made by him the basis of their instruction. He lacked, however, a scientific means of classifying such defectives. We have now many psychological tests for that purpose, and special schools and classes exist for special types of abnormal children.

In handling the problem of moral delinquency, psychological and child-guidance clinics have been established in America in the past twenty years for the chief purpose of preventing juvenile irregularities. These clinics supplement the work of the home, the school and juvenile courts in dealing with such cases, and coöperate with these agencies. In 1912, a Children's Bureau was created in the Department of Labor. Founded to promote the welfare of children, it has studied many child problems and, through its publications, has contributed much valuable factual additions to existing knowledge of the subject.

The past half-century has thus been a period of experimentation and research in education. In that movement the United States has been far ahead of the rest of the world. While the Old World did some pioneering in psychology, from which we borrowed, we led the way in applying psychological discoveries to educational problems and, as regards the scientific approach to education generally, the tide of influence has flowed from America to Europe. The volume of scientific educational literature produced in America in the past fifty years is impressive, though the value of some of it is unquestionably low, as is the value of some studies in other fields of research. To describe the movement with any degree of completeness would require a bulky volume. Here we have but sketched the movement in an incomplete outline, sufficient for a grasp of its spirit and general scope. Universal education and its steady expansion created urgent problems which, for the sake of efficiency, had to be handled with exactness and effectiveness. In gathering the information necessary for their solution, educators turned, as did investigators in other fields, to the scientific method as the only efficient approach.

**The Science of Education and Educational Values.**—One of the first questions which American educational psychologists attempted to answer was that of the validity of the theory of formal discipline, a theory which, supported by faculty psychology, was not seriously challenged before 1900. Thorndike and other experimental psychol-

ogists, after the turn of the century, subjected, as did William James earlier, the doctrine of the transfer of training to experimental investigation. That doctrine was a leading corollary of the theory of formal discipline. It meant that a mental power developed by study or intellectual exercise in one field, such as mathematics, transfers to every other field in which such a power is needed. Thus, it was assumed that one who had been trained to reason by a study of mathematics would think and act logically in every other field which demanded a use of reason. Likewise, the powers of memory, observation, imagination, etc., when developed by suitable exercises in special fields, would have transfer value in all other fields where such powers were called for. The formal disciplinarians, therefore, insisted that mental training should be general, not particular, in character, on the ground that generalized powers could be developed and that they would serve the individual in thousands of particular situations.

While more recent experiments point to the conclusion that there is some small transfer of training from one field to another, the earlier ones, partly because they were misinterpreted, created the impression that the traditional theory of transfer was entirely fallacious, and that impression spread widely among American school administrators. The rejection of the old doctrine of transfer of training led to the decision that subjects of study ought to be chosen for other than their transfer value, with the result that the principle of specific and immediate utility has become the basis upon which studies are now generally selected. The psychological evidence on transfer of training, as it now stands, does not justify any extreme emphasis upon specificity or narrow functionalism, but the philosophy of pragmatism, of which James and Dewey have been forceful protagonists, and of which the new psychology is a reflection, has been so interpreted that its influence has been predominant in shaping our modern utilitarianism. Yet pragmatism itself, it should be noted, is but an expression of the needs of men in the modern world, and an interpretation of modern life. The science of education, linked as it has been to pragmatism, has embodied the assumption that utility is the test of educational values, and that the worth of an educational experience is measured by the degree to which it "functions" in meeting the actual life needs of the individual and of society. That, rather than some disciplinary or transfer value, functional though that value may be, should be, we are told, the test of the value of the things we teach and our methods of teaching them.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 469-501; S. G. Noble, *op. cit.*, 388 ff.



## FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The struggle of science for recognition as a part of Western culture has been long and bitter. It is now more than a part of it; it is the whole.

2. The American outlook upon life and the world, and all of our modern educational thought and practice have been determined by the growth of science.

3. The disciplinary theory of education rather than our general cultural heritage was the chief obstacle to the admission of science into the curriculum of European and American schools.

4. American schools, as is to be expected, have been much less conservative in regard to the curriculum than European schools.

5. The science of education has had a rapid development in America, but it has been a very inexact science, and our schools have been influenced but little by it.

6. The most important problems and questions in education cannot be settled through the method of scientific investigation.

7. The desire to imitate the efficiency of the industrial and commercial world has been responsible for our preoccupation with the science of education.

8. The influence of Dewey upon American education appears most clearly in our scientific approach to the solution of educational problems.

9. Nothing should be taught in public schools which does not "function" in the life of the child and the man. History of education does not "function" in the professional life of the teacher.

10. The "brotherhood of man," "the dignity of man," "the sacredness of human personality," the doctrine that "all men are created free and equal," and such other concepts are not scientific facts, but ideals that have to be accepted on faith, if we accept them at all. The modern world needs faith as well as science.

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## Chapter 13

### THE RISE OF NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

**The Triumph of Local Cultures.**—Elsewhere we have examined the development of factors which brought about the disintegration of the unity of Christendom. That unity, based upon the universal ideals of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, had been imposed upon Europeans, at times by force, and was apparent rather than real. The illiterate masses and, probably, many of their ecclesiastical and civil masters did not understand its significance. Moreover, the tyranny, injustice, and greed of which the custodians of the Christian ideals had been guilty brought the ideology itself into disrepute. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the revolt against ecclesiastical authoritarianism, and against the spiritual and institutional unity imposed by such authority upon peoples differing in their own native cultural traditions, gathered momentum and culminated in the Reformation, an event which marks the end both of Catholic authoritarianism and of the Christian dream of world unity. The Reformation was a triumph of local ideals, local feelings and local ways of life over the universal ideal which had never become firmly rooted in the cultural soil of Europe. It was a significant victory for the national ideal. It was followed by the establishment of many Christian churches, many of them national, in the place of one universal church of the past. The change from universalism to localism, or particularism, was not a sudden one. The rise of vernacular literatures heralded its coming.

The spirit of Italian culture stirs in the vernacular writings of Dante in the thirteenth century. He would satisfy the thirst of the common native folk of Italy for knowledge by bringing it to them in their own language rather than in Latin. In the same century, the ancient folklore of Germany had been given literary expression, and German poets, writing in German, were giving voice to national feelings. Even earlier than on the Continent, the native culture of England began to find protection and nurture in the fortress of vernacular writing. This movement of the native, indigenous spirit of groups having a common and ancient cultural tradition was retarded but not stopped by the classical Renaissance. A study of the classics, indeed, tended to revive and glorify such patriotic sentiments



as once prevailed in Greece and Rome, though that was not intended by the early leaders of the movement. Later classical scholars such as Ascham and Mulcaster, in England, recommended education in the vernacular for Englishmen. Said Mulcaster, in his *Elementarie*: "I loue Rome, but London better, I fauor *Italie*, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the *English*."<sup>1</sup> Vernacular schools, as we have seen, had been established in later mediaeval cities, and the Bible in the vernacular was in use among some Catholics in pre-Reformation days. Yet the European masses, almost wholly illiterate prior to 1300, remained largely in that condition until the Reformation, though some improvement had been effected in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thomas More (1478–1535) reports that about one-half of the English people were unable to read English in his day.<sup>2</sup>

The political and religious changes of post-Reformation days accentuated the drift toward the cultural unification and exclusiveness of national groups. Vernacular schools and universal literacy, urged by Luther for religious and social ends, were eventually to be viewed as instruments for the development of national feeling, national solidarity and, among some, of national hatreds. Until the close of the eighteenth century, national Protestant churches, as we have seen, were the central agencies inculcating upon youth, through vernacular instruction, the ideals of the nations. The new Christianity, propagated through churches and schools, had the stamp of particularism on it. In the nearly three hundred years which separated the Reformation from the French Revolution considerable advance had been made, in Protestant countries, in abolishing illiteracy. Educational activity increased in Catholic countries also, though some of them, such as Italy and Spain, ran far behind their Protestant neighbors in providing instruction for the masses. National, political and commercial rivalries, and social unrest within individual nations, traceable mainly to the changing economic scene and the causes that produced it, brought, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an intensification of the emphasis upon national ideals, and the establishment, largely under national and lay auspices, of national school systems. Elementary education, free, universal, compulsory, and, in varying degrees, secular, was the goal set and largely attained by European nations and the United States in the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> As edited by E. T. Campagnac, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, n.d., 269.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, University of California Press, 1939, p. v; F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, New York: Putnam, 1900, 249.

We shall now examine some important steps in the rise of national school systems in Germany, France, England, and the United States.

### The Development and Character of the Prussian School System

Prussia, being by far the largest German state, furnishes a good example of the development of national education in central Europe. Here the Lutheran was the state church and, until the late eighteenth century, dominated education. In 1800, Prussian economy was still largely agricultural, and a landowning nobility, enjoying many traditional feudal privileges, held a place of great eminence in society, while the bourgeois class was far less influential than was the middle class of France and England. At the head of society stood a monarch who exercised absolute authority.

For two hundred years after the Reformation, the Prussian state entrusted the execution of its education laws (1532, 1540, 1573, 1604, 1648, and 1687) to the church, although the interest of the laity in education was recognized in these laws. The law of 1648 declared that schools belong to the state rather than to the church, but the practice of church control remained. Frederick William I (1713–1740), having established earlier many elementary schools with public money and having founded two teacher-training schools (1735 and 1736), made education compulsory for children between six and twelve years of age (1736). Because of the opposition of parents, the cost of universalizing education, and the lack of an administrative machine to enforce this compulsory law, the monarch's efforts were largely abortive. Frederick the Great (1740–1786), a benevolent and progressive despot, took a long step toward the nationalization of education when, in 1763, he issued his *General School Regulation*, which required children to attend school between the ages of five and thirteen or fourteen, or until they had demonstrated their proficiency in religion, reading, writing, and other knowledge found in books approved by the school authorities of the state, a list of which was included in the *Regulation*. The new law provided for the examination and licensing of teachers by state-approved inspectors, local pastors being named for that position. The *Regulation* fixed the amount of school fees, and provided for the payment of the fees of poor children out of a fund raised by church collections. It also prescribed the requirements to be met by teachers in regard to their learning and character.

Only teachers of religious character and exemplary behavior were to be approved or retained. The singing of hymns, recitation of

prayers and the Lutheran catechism, the memorization and interpretation of Biblical passages, reading, and writing were the studies prescribed. Religious instruction was the core of the curriculum. The *Regulation* contains elaborate instruction regarding the method to be used by the teacher. Memorization, drill, repetition, and attentive listening by pupils characterize that method. The assigning of school inspection to pastors left the church in a dominant position.<sup>3</sup> In 1787, Baron von Zedlitz, who was head of the Department of the Lutheran Church and School Affairs under Frederick the Great, prevailed upon the new king, Frederick William II (1786-1797), to place the administration of Prussian education in the hands of a central board of experts, *Oberschulcollegium*, thus separating the administration of the church from that of the schools, and placing the latter more directly under state control. The clergy, however, were given a dominant place on the new board of control. In 1794, Frederick made a general codification of Prussian basic laws. One chapter in the Code dealt with principles of educational legislation, as follows:

"Schools and universities are state institutions, charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge. Such institutions may be established only with the knowledge and approval of the State. All public schools and educational institutions are under the supervision of the State and are at all times subject to its examination and inspection."<sup>4</sup>

The principle that education is a function of the state, not of parents or of the church, was thus clearly affirmed in 1794, and, through the nineteenth century, Prussian education approached, by a series of steps, that ideal, although the final step which gave the state an almost complete monopoly in the field was taken during the recent Nazi régime. The defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Jena (1806) brought a call from the reigning monarch, Frederick William III, and from German leaders, of whom Fichte was the most influential, for a supreme effort to awaken in the bosoms of all Prussians the spirit of patriotism. Compulsory military training and the enforcement of compulsory school laws were quickly achieved. Pestalozzianism was officially approved as a means of improving the morale of the masses. Gymnastic, military, and patriotic societies were established everywhere. Individualism was denounced by Fichte and

<sup>3</sup> Henry Barnard, "Public Instruction in Prussia," *American Journal of Education*, XX, 338-342; XXII, 861-868.

<sup>4</sup> I. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930, 239.



others as a national curse responsible for Prussia's humiliation. Henceforth the individual must live not for himself but for the state, which Hegel declared to be "God on Earth," the embodiment of the highest perfection, beside which all other institutions and individuals are very imperfect. In building a strong state, education was viewed as an indispensable instrument. Said Fichte: "I hope . . . that I convince some Germans, and that I shall bring them to see that it is education alone which can save us from all the evils by which we are oppressed."<sup>5</sup> In 1817, the Bureau of Education, organized in the Department of the Interior (1807), was raised to the status of a national Department of Education, to which was later given the title Ministry of Religion, Education, and Public Health. In 1825, provincial school boards were set up throughout Prussia to replace the local church school boards. The provinces, of which there were ten, were divided into "districts," in each of which a district school board was established, on which the clergy were permitted to hold a prominent place.

In law, and largely in practice, the control of Prussian education had thus been transferred from the church to the state. Thereafter, the schools of Germany, administered by a political hierarchy, dominated by the king, whose authority was absolute, were to have as their primary goal the fostering of a spirit of patriotic devotion to the rulers of the state. The school law compelled every district to establish a school or schools, the program of which had to conform with standards established by the national educational authority. An efficient machinery was set up to enforce the compulsory education law and, by 1840, the opposition of parents to that requirement had been generally overcome. Prussia was the first nation to have made universal education a reality. As long as poverty exists, the principle of compulsory education presupposes that instruction be gratuitous. While the Prussian folk-schools were supported mainly by local taxes upon property, the pupils, until 1888, were required to pay small fees, the very poor, however, being exempted from all charges for instruction and instructional materials.

**The Character of the Folk-Schools.** (a) A CLASS SCHOOL.—The character of the folk-schools, or elementary schools, was determined mainly by the national, political purpose which they were created to serve. In the class society of Prussia, they were the schools of the laboring masses. The secondary schools, which had their own pre-

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<sup>5</sup> E. P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920, 480.

paratory departments, beginning with the first grade, were the schools of the middle and upper classes, and were pay schools beyond the financial reach of the poor. In these preparatory departments, the curriculum was different from that of the folk-schools, a fact which made it almost impossible for a pupil who had spent a few years in the latter to transfer to a secondary school. The scheme of educational organization, whether designedly or not, was an instrument of social predestination. The folk-school was the school of a class, and it was designed to stifle, rather than stimulate, the ambitions of the poor.

(b) THE FOLK-SCHOOL TEACHER: HIS TRAINING AND DUTIES. —To teach in a folk-school, or in a private primary school, the teacher was required to hold a certificate, obtained by examination given by state authorities. While individuals might prepare themselves privately for that examination, the usual and the most certain procedure was to attend a teachers' seminary, of which there was, in 1831, one in each county, or largest subdivision of a province. In 1840, there were thirty such seminaries in Prussia.<sup>6</sup> In these the future teacher was subjected to a disciplinary training similar to that of the soldier. To ensure his social orthodoxy and to guarantee the conservative character of his influence upon his pupils, the atmosphere of the seminary was profoundly religious, and its students were required to engage in a variety of religious activities. Only God-fearing teachers, it was felt, could make God-fearing and obedient citizens. Religion was stressed as the surest guarantee of the patriotism of the teacher. Yet, the earlier seminaries, while they stressed religion and German culture, offered future folk-school teachers a fairly broad academic education. That liberalism, however, was soon attacked after the Napoleonic threat to Prussia had passed. Even Frederick William III, who, in the days of Prussia's humiliation, showed unstinted friendship toward the masses, repented for his liberalism. "We do not," he said, "confer upon the individual or upon society any benefit when we educate him beyond the bounds of his social class and vocation."<sup>7</sup> And Baron von Altenstein, his Minister of Education, having outlined a program for the education of common folk, remarked: "I do not think that the principles enunciated will raise the common people out of the sphere designated for them by God and human society."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education since 1789*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 143-144 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 145 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

The revolution of 1848, created by the advocates of a democratic social order, having failed, Frederick William IV (1840-1857) and his officials subjected the teachers' seminaries to a régime of tyrannous repression. The king addressing representatives of the seminaries, in 1849, remarked: "You deserve the blame for that godless pseudo-education of the common people which you have been propagating as the only true wisdom and by means of which you have destroyed faith and loyalty in the minds of my subjects and turned their hearts away from me."<sup>9</sup> The reform of the seminaries which followed resulted in the elimination of educational theory from the curriculum and restricted the program to the history of Prussian elementary schools, the problems of school government, religious instruction, and practice in teaching primary school subjects. Special attention was paid in the seminaries to instruction in reading, German language, history, and geography. The glorification of the Fatherland and the inculcation of patriotic devotion to it in the future teachers of the Prussian masses were the objectives aimed at. Being themselves the children of common people, these future teachers had to be purged of any class sympathy which they might have inherited, and they were to be made to feel that their only loyalty was that to the Fatherland of all Prussians.

With the establishment, in 1871, of the German empire in which the influence of Prussia was dominant, a more extensive program of studies was introduced into the teachers' seminaries. The fundamental character of the schools, however, remained unchanged, religious instruction, because of its conservative social influence, continuing to hold the most prominent place in the curriculum. No attempt was made until the establishment of the republic, in 1918, to link these seminaries with the secondary schools and universities. Their students remained the children of the masses, and their education was so designed that, as teachers, they would not inspire unrest or ambition in those who, like themselves, could not hope for any educational or social opportunity beyond the orbit of the folk-school and its clientele.

Emperor William II, in 1889, called upon the schools to fight against the doctrines of the socialists. The school, said he, "must make a special effort to furnish even the youth with the conviction that not only are the teachings of social democracy contrary to the commandments of God and to Christian morals, but also impracticable of realization and dangerous to the individual and to society

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 162 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).



at large.”<sup>10</sup> To that end the study of economics and economic history was introduced into the teachers’ seminaries and, thereafter, anti-socialist propaganda had a prominent place in them, in the folk-schools, and also in the middle and secondary schools.

The folk-school teacher, and all other teachers, including university professors, were state officials. In the discharge of their duties they were responsible to officers of the state. The folk-school teacher had a thorough mastery of the subjects he taught, and used the officially approved method of teaching with skill and effect. A large part of his salary was paid by the state, which also guaranteed him a pension out of a fund to which, after 1885, he was not required to contribute. His obligation to defend, by indoctrinating his own lower class, the existing political and social order had been impressed upon him and, in return for faithful service, the state gave him not a bountiful reward but a comfortable security, and a little social prestige.

(c) THE FOLK-SCHOOL STUDENT.—The folk-school pupil was a child of the common people, the lower economic and social classes. According to the official philosophy, God had assigned to the common man a humble but necessary rôle in the industrial and social order. It was the primary duty of the common school to instruct him in his social obligations and make him contented with his lot. The benevolent despots who ruled over him by divine right, fearing that he might fall a victim to the socialist heresy, not only indoctrinated him against its evils, but provided him, under the late Kaiser, William II, with social security under a variety of forms of social insurance, which protected him and his dependents against the uncertainties of his economic life. The folk-school student was required to attend school between the ages of six and fourteen, when he usually was sufficiently prepared for church confirmation. Students who had satisfactorily completed the course at an earlier age might be excused from further attendance. After 1888, instruction in the folk-school was entirely free. The children of the middle and upper classes had their own schools, as we have seen, thus avoiding the social contamination which attendance at the schools of their servants would inevitably bring. The mingling of the classes in school or out of it was socially disapproved. After 1860, an elaborate system of industrial and commercial continuation schools, chiefly for folk-school graduates, sprang up. Each one of these taught a special trade or vocation, and prepared youths for lower positions in business and industry.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 194 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 182-184.

(d) THE FOLK-SCHOOL CURRICULUM.—(1) *Subjects Taught.* From 1872 onward, the emphasis in folk-schools was upon the following subjects: (a) religious instruction, (b) German language and literature, including reading, writing, composition and grammar, (c) arithmetic, (d) drawing, (e) history, (f) geography, (g) elementary science, (h) singing, (i) gymnastics for boys, and (j) needlework for girls.

The religion taught was that of the predominant church group in the community, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. Where the denominations were nearly numerically equal, each was given its own school. The folk-schools were thus confessional or parochial in type and, where it was necessary to house all faiths in one school, ministers of the several denominations participated in providing religious instruction. The government desired its citizens to be church members.

The language used and taught was the High German, rather than various local dialects. Such a requirement had as its aim the cultural unity of Prussia. German literature, German patriotic classics, history, and geography were taught with a view to fostering national patriotism.

(2) *The Curriculum as Nationalistic Propaganda.* After the establishment of the German empire, in 1871, the nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of Prussian statesmen rose rapidly, and the schools fostered the hopes and desires of officialdom by intensifying their efforts to strengthen the faith of the people in their Fatherland and its destiny. Perhaps no religion was ever more ardently espoused than that of the love of country in the Germany of William II. Children were made to feel that the German language was the most perfect of all languages, and German literature, the most excellent of all literatures. They sang the patriotic songs of the Fatherland, an exercise with which teachers and students usually commemorated great events in German history. They committed to memory poems which inflamed them with patriotic zeal. History was not taught to transmit truth, but to instil into youths a love of country. In narrating the story of the past, the character of Germany's neighbors was frequently defamed, and their deeds maligned. Prussian youths were not made critically intelligent about their world. In geography they were taught that Germany was bounded on the north, south, east, and west by enemies. The lies taught by Prussian teachers did not save the Hohenzollern régime from its fall in 1918 and the consequent disillusionment of its people. Looking back upon its fall and reflecting upon the rôle which intelligence ought to play in the order-

ing of the world, one might suggest that since we cannot foresee what the future may hold for any nation, teachers, particularly in democracies, would be well advised to abstain from prophecy, and tell their pupils the truth about the past.<sup>12</sup>

**Prussian Secondary Education.**—When the nineteenth century opened, Prussia had two types of secondary schools: (a) *gymnasien*, or classical schools, and (b) *realschulen* or *bürgerschulen*, which emphasized modern studies. By a regulation of the *Oberschul-collegium*, in 1788, a secondary-school leaving examination was introduced, and a certificate was granted to successful students which was accepted for admission to the universities. Only schools of the *gymnasium* type were permitted to hold this examination and issue certificates. Students from other schools who sought university education were required to pass the entrance examinations given by the universities themselves. The privilege thus officially bestowed upon the classical secondary school represents a triumph of the neo-humanistic ideal, through which leading German nationalists hoped to emancipate the individual and the German spirit from their domination by foreign culture, particularly the French, which had a marked influence upon German thought and expression in the eighteenth century. Neo-humanism offered not only an escape from such domination but the promise of cultural leadership for Germany.

**Neo-humanism and Prussian Secondary Education.** — Neo-humanism was a cultural movement embodying a desire to restore the Greek view of life, and to attain Rousseau's ideal of freedom for the individual and respect for humanity. "Education for humanity" was declared by the neo-humanists to be the proper goal of education, a goal attainable through the study of literature, philosophy, history, art, and religion, if the student be permitted freedom in exploring and interpreting these fields. Individuals, thus freed from the shackles of tradition and authority, would hasten the progress of the nation and all humanity. The Greeks made their gods like men. The neo-humanists, feeling the divinity of man, dreamt of making men like God. To this end a truly cultural education was sought and found in the literature and art of classical antiquity, particularly the Greek, marked, as they were thought to be, by a striving for the ideal. Here, not in the traditional, barren Ciceronian Latin schools of post-Renaissance Europe, was to be found the true spirit of hu-

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<sup>12</sup> J. F. Scott, *Menace of Nationalism in Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1926; Thomas Alexander, *Prussian Elementary Schools*, New York: Macmillan, 1918, 305-348, 406-474.



manism. An appreciation of the life and thought, the art and institutions of Greece and Rome, but of Greece especially, not a sterile imitation of ancient literary forms, should be aimed at in "education for humanity." Through such an education Germany and the world would be provided with leaders of good taste, sound judgment and understanding who, like the Greeks, would strive to create the better world, and make Germany the cultural leader among the nations. The neo-humanistic ideal inspired the literary works of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, names foremost in the rise to eminence of German national culture. That ideal brought also a revitalizing of classical education in secondary schools and universities, and the rise of the classical *Gymnasium* to eminence in the secondary field.

**Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century and the Early Twentieth.**—In Prussia, secondary education was supervised by the state authorities. The aim of secondary education was declared by Wilhelm von Humboldt, an ardent neo-humanist, head of the Bureau of Education (1808–1810), to be the promotion of general culture, and that purpose remained dominant until the twentieth century. In 1834, university entrance examinations were abolished, and the leaving examination of the *Gymnasium* was made the only gateway to universities. Schools of the *Realschule* type were thus officially dishonored. In the period of reaction against political liberalism, beginning in 1819, secondary education and all secondary school teachers and students were subjected to tyrannous state regulation and supervision. The true spirit of neo-humanism was thus destroyed by political bureaucrats. The regulations of 1834, conferring great privileges upon the *Gymnasium* and its students, among them the coveted favor of one year of voluntary military service for students who had completed six years of the course, were, among other things, a protest of officialdom against the growing social unrest of the middle class and the demands of that class for less authoritarianism in society and more realism in education. Cities were permitted, however, to organize *Realschulen*, while the central authorities withheld aid for such schools.

In 1859, the *Realschulen* were, at last, officially recognized and placed under the supervision of the Provincial School Boards. Two types of real schools were now approved: (a) the *Realgymnasium*, with a nine-year modern academic course in which Latin, but not Greek, had a place, and (b) the *Realschule*, with a shorter modern academic course, and without Latin. Students of *Realgymnasien* were given the same military privilege enjoyed by students of the

*Gymnasien*, but the universities remained closed to them until 1870, when they were permitted to enter certain specified university courses. In 1878, the military privilege was bestowed upon graduates of the Latinless six-year *Realschule* and its enlargement, the nine-year *Oberrealschule*. The view had now become current that general culture (*Allgemeine Bildung*), at which von Humboldt aimed, could be attained through a study of science and mathematics, and that the classics were not essential to its attainment. Those who wished to keep the entrance to social and professional privileges restricted warred against that view, and the issue was heatedly debated. In 1890, Kaiser William II convened an educational conference to discuss the question at issue between the advocates of the classical and of the modern emphasis in secondary education, and he delivered the opening address in which he opposed the traditionalism of the *Gymnasium*. Said he: "The national basis is lacking. We must take German as the foundation for the *Gymnasium*; we ought to educate national young Germans and not young Greeks and Romans. . . . The German exercise must be the central point about which all turns."<sup>13</sup> Youth, he said, must be prepared for practical pursuits and national defense. "I am looking," said he, "for soldiers; we wish to have a robust generation, who can serve the Fatherland also as intellectual leaders and as officials."<sup>14</sup> As a result of the deliberations and imperial pressure, German was given more time in the program of the *Gymnasium*, and the *Oberrealschule* rose in official esteem. Official regulations of 1892 recognized three six-year schools, each enjoying the one-year military privilege, the *Realschule*, *Progymnasium*, and the *Realprogymnasium*. In 1900, all recognized secondary studies were officially proclaimed to be of the same value from the viewpoint of "general culture."

From the opening of the present century, the nationalistic outlook made a deep impress upon Prussian secondary education. The idea of general culture became rapidly subservient to that of national culture, and the development of national character replaced the neo-humanistic aim of "education for humanity." Religion, German history, German language and literature received increasing emphasis, and the schools became shrines of national devotion, where, on frequent appropriate occasions, students sang the patriotic songs of the Fatherland and worshipped its national heroes. The First World War and its aftermath intensified these nationalistic tendencies and

<sup>13</sup> I. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930, 257.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

culminated in the extreme reforms inaugurated under the Nazi régime.

### The Development and Character of the French School System

At the time of the Revolution, the poorer classes of France were largely illiterate. The state had made no provision for their education. Such facilities as existed were provided by religious societies of men and women. The church dominated practically all forms and levels of education, and taught for its own glory as for that of "His most Christian Majesty," whose interests it deemed identical with its own. Schools were thus the bulwarks of the existing social, political, and ecclesiastical order and, even in the universities, everything was subordinated to that end. Traditionalism and conservatism marked education on all levels and among all classes.

**The Revolution and Education.**—In the revolutionary National Assembly (May, 1789–September, 1791) Talleyrand introduced an education bill which would make education exclusively a state function in the interest of the nation and its culture. He would have established a state system of free primary schools, secondary schools open to the talented poor through scholarships, and professional schools of medicine, law, military science, and religion. His bill distinguished between studies "indispensable to the individual as a man and a citizen" and pre-professional and professional studies. The primary schools would provide the first exclusively. The secondary schools would enlarge and strengthen the foundation of French culture, laid in the primary schools, and also provide pre-professional training. French language and literature and French history were to be given a foremost place in secondary schools, and secondary teachers were to be made state officials. Six State Commissioners of Education were to administer the whole system. Talleyrand's bill, however, was not acted upon.

In the Legislative Assembly (October, 1791–September, 1792) Condorcet introduced another education bill, differing in details from that of Talleyrand but having a similar national goal in view. This bill, however, was marked by a democratic idealism which was not apparent in that of Talleyrand. Condorcet desired that the natural talents of every individual be developed to their fullest extent so that there might be established "among the citizens an equality in fact, making real the political equality recognized by law." His educational philosophy is strikingly similar to that of Jefferson in America.



To attain the ideals of the French democratic state, he would have established primary schools, secondary schools, institutes, and *lycées*, and place the system, not under political officials, but under the control of a self-perpetuating, non-political, scholarly National Society of Arts and Sciences, so that the freedom of human thought and teaching might be safeguarded, and science and true enlightenment be promoted. In his plan of school organization, the institutes would correspond with the traditional secondary schools of Europe, and the *lycées* with universities. The latter, however, would not be professional in their emphasis but schools of advanced study and research in the various sciences, cultures, and art. Condorcet would give the natural and social sciences preëminence over the classics, and would make the development of individuality and the discovery and perpetuation of new knowledge more important than the reproduction of old sterile social and academic formulae. This bill was not acted upon by the Assembly, but it is an important record of the thought of the time.

The democratic enthusiasm of the early revolutionary years was followed by years of political and social reaction which culminated, on the educational side, in the passage of the Daunou Law, October, 1795. Unlike earlier plans, this law provided for the establishment of primary schools in only large population centers and restricted their curriculum to the rudiments. With the exception of the poorest one-fourth, all primary pupils were to pay school fees. Local authorities were to supervise and administer these schools. The law provided for the establishment of a very limited number of secondary schools, called Central Schools, free to talented poor students, and modern in their academic emphasis. "Special Schools" were authorized for advanced study in the special scientific and other fields. In the primary field, the law had no effect, but there were established ninety-seven Central Schools upon which the state spent annually 2,500,000 francs. These, however, remained unpopular, and most parents continued to patronize church and private schools.

**Napoleon I and Education, 1799–1815.**—The régime of Napoleon was despotic and reactionary. While an advocate of national education for state ends, he did little to improve the existing facilities for popular education. His ideals and purposes may be discerned in his words and his acts. Said he: "Of all political questions, that [of . . . education] is perhaps the most important. There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely fixed principles. Except as the child is taught from infancy

whether he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, a Catholic or a free-thinker, the state will not constitute a nation.”<sup>15</sup> He sanctioned a political catechism designed to foster in his subjects a religious worship of the emperor and his empire. A brief citation will reveal its character and purpose:

*Question.* What are the duties of Christians towards those who govern them, and what in particular are our duties towards Napoleon I, our emperor?

*Answer.* Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the state. . . .

*Question.* What must we think of those who are wanting in their duties towards our emperor?

*Answer.* According to the Apostle Paul, they are resisting the order established by God Himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.<sup>16</sup>

The first end of education he thus viewed as that of political indoctrination of his subjects. He brought the secondary schools under rigid state control, even to the point of requiring students to wear a common costume. In 1808, he completed the work of organizing the Imperial University, which was in effect a national ministry of education having control of education in the empire from the universities down to the primary schools. He decreed that, in all schools, loyalty to the Catholic religion and to the emperor be inculcated in students as a basis of instruction. The members of the university council were chosen directly or indirectly by the emperor. For educational administrative purposes he divided (1812) France and its possessions into subdivisions, called academies, each with its rector and educational council. National school inspectors were appointed by the grandmaster of the university to report on regional conditions to the central authority, and local inspectors were chosen to supervise schools in local districts. In 1808, he set up in Paris a national normal school for the training of secondary school teachers, in which the students were supported by the government.

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<sup>15</sup> W. H. Kilpatrick, *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1934, 17-18 (by permission).

<sup>16</sup> C. J. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1919. I. 535 (by permission).

**The Effects of Napoleon's Reforms.**—The administrative system which Napoleon established has, with minor changes, survived in France to the present day. State (*lycées*) and municipal secondary schools (*collèges*) were put by him on a solid footing, although they remained unpopular with many parents who continued to patronize private and church secondary schools. As a result of imperial neglect and of social conservatism and vested church interests, but little improvement was made under Napoleon in the provision for primary education.

**The Primary School Law of 1833.**—Following the defeat of Napoleon (1815) came the restoration of the monarchy (1815–1848) and with it a policy of social and educational conservatism favorable to the church and its schools. Fearful of social unrest and determined to extend its control over the mind of the masses, and possibly also for motives of benevolence, the July Monarchy (1830–1848) organized a national system of elementary education by the law of 1833. This law required every commune (smallest political subdivision of France) to support a lower primary school; every department (larger political subdivision), a primary normal school; and cities of over 6,000 population, a higher primary school. In the lower primaries the law required instruction in reading, writing, French language, arithmetic, the French system of weights and measures, and morals and religion. In the higher primaries, there was required, in addition, instruction in practical geometry, the elements of science, history and geography, especially of France, singing, and, where feasible, a modern language. Private and church primary schools were permitted, but their teachers had to meet state requirements regarding their age, teaching qualifications and moral character. Fees were required in public schools from all students deemed by local education authorities to be able to pay, these fees supplementing school funds raised by local taxation. The appointment of teachers, under the law, rested ultimately with the minister of education, and they were required to take an oath of allegiance to the king and the laws of the nation. Minimum salaries, to be supplemented by fees, were fixed for appointees, who were also provided with dwellings, rent free.

The years of the Second Republic (1848–1852) and the Second Empire (1852–1870) were years of official repression of elementary teachers, socially and politically suspect, as they were, by conservative groups. The earlier extensive curriculum of the normal schools was limited almost to the rudimentary subjects taught in rural primary



schools, and normal students were forbidden to explore the books in their school libraries. The central authority acted upon the principle that the less a primary teacher knows the less dangerous he will be. A law of 1850 restored much of the former power of the church in education. Its teachers had no longer to submit to state examination of their qualifications, and ecclesiastics and private parties might, in future, establish secondary schools without difficulty. The law, however, strengthened the educational authority of the state by giving to the Minister of Public Instruction undivided and supreme control over all schools of all grades, and by improving the machinery of administration everywhere throughout the system. When Napoleon III came to power, in 1852, he inaugurated a régime of tyranny over education. He went so far as to decree that university teachers shave off their moustaches which he viewed as evidences of rebellion, and he prohibited the reading of "dangerous books" in the Higher Normal School.

**French National Education, 1870–1918.**—Under the Third Republic, established in 1870 after Napoleon's defeat by the Germans, the French national system gradually assumed the form which marked it until the rise of the recent Pétain régime. While universal male suffrage was adopted, political power, following the Napoleonic pattern, remained extremely centralized. The church opposed the liberalism of the new régime, and suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the anti-clerical Gambetta party in the 1877 election. The anti-clericalism of the period culminated in the laws of 1901 and 1904, which were provoked by circumstances connected with the alleged treason of Alfred Dreyfus, and which seemed to show that the church was plotting against the Republic. These laws placed drastic restrictions upon religious teaching societies or "orders," that of 1904 requiring their complete suppression by 1914. One of the first acts of the Pétain government, according to press reports, was the restoration of their old privileges.

Among the educational developments under the Third Republic, the following have been the most significant: (1) In 1881, primary education was made free, and, in 1882, compulsory for all children between the ages of six and thirteen. (2) In 1882, the teaching of religion in public schools was abolished, and moral and civic instruction was substituted for it, thus secularizing state education. (3) In 1886, the unification of French education into one single national system was effected, and the highly centralized state machinery of administration and supervision was given the perfected and finished

form which has marked it to the present day. Under this plan, the Minister of Public Instruction possessed very great power over education, although the schools and teachers were protected against the arbitrary exercise of that power by the central Superior Council, and the Academy and Departmental councils, upon which specified duties and privileges were conferred by law. There are seventeen academies and ninety departments in France. Local boards of education, in the American sense, while they existed in the several communes, had practically no authority over schools and teachers in their areas. (4) The law of 1886 called for the establishment, or further development, of post-primary courses and higher primary and other schools with a pre-vocational or vocational bias, local authorities being allowed much freedom in determining the curricula of the higher primaries to meet the commercial and industrial needs of their areas. (5) The spirit of nationalism and of the French concept of democracy have marked the work of the public schools of republican France, and these schools have been deemed as essential to the defense of the nation as its great military machine. And (6) private schools (mostly parochial and diocesan in character) have been permitted and left free from state requirements in methods and curriculum, although individuals wishing to open such schools have had to submit to the closest official scrutiny before receiving the necessary state approval.

**The French State and the Internal Aspects of Education.**—While politically France, under the Third Republic, has been thoroughly democratic, guaranteeing to its citizens freedom of thought, speech, and worship, and safeguarding individualism, its government, and its control of education have been the most highly centralized in the world prior to the schemes established in the totalitarian states of Russia, Italy, and Nazi Germany. Politically, such a practice has back of it the force of three centuries of tradition, and republican France accepted it because it was efficient and was believed to provide security for the nation mainly against its old enemy, Germany, and for the republic against the monarchists and the church. On the educational side of the picture, the central authorities controlled not only the *externa* (school buildings, finance, etc.) but the *interna* (curriculum and methods) of education as well. The French state, through its central educational authority, has acted as custodian of French culture, that spiritual inheritance which, emanating from the ancient fountain of Roman life and thought, and strengthened by centuries of growth, is fostered as the bond of unity and the life-blood of the nation. Therefore, the state determines, as a primary

duty, what constitutes this culture, and assumes the obligation of transmitting it, though in different amounts to different groups, to the children of France. The curriculum and methods of the schools have thus been fixed by governmental regulations from which local authorities may not depart.

The regionalist movement (*régionalisme*), originating in 1892 and growing in influence especially since 1918, has advocated political decentralization and the stimulation of local cultures through the use of dialects, such as the Basque and Flemish, in the schools of regions where they are spoken.<sup>17</sup> Yet, French officialdom has clung rather stubbornly to the view that one cannot be truly French unless he speaks and reads the approved language of the nation. It may be noted here that the British government, in almost identical circumstances, has not opposed, in recent times, the preservation and revival of local cultures such as the Welsh and Irish. In America, where the problem has been different in some important respects, state authorities have frowned upon the use of foreign languages as a medium of instruction and have, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Germans, used the schools to wean away non-English-speaking groups from their old cultural moorings. France has adopted the policy of keeping national culture under its direct control by acting as the patron of art, science, and literature, and by fixing the content and methods in all cultural subjects of instruction such as French language, history, geography, morals, and civics. Teacher training, school inspection, and a state system of examinations are the chief devices by which the government attains its ends in as far as the school can contribute to them.

**Caste as a Basis of Educational Differentiation.**—In France, democracy has existed side by side with a caste system which, of long duration, has persisted in the midst of political change. From the bottom upward, republican France has had its rather nicely marked classes of laborers, lower, middle and upper bourgeoisie, and nobility. The free elementary schools have been those attended by laborers and lower bourgeoisie, who comprise the great mass of the French people. The classes above these, desiring various degrees of social exclusiveness, sent their children to tuition schools. By a system of scholarships, the government made it possible for the talented poor to continue their studies in the higher primary schools, which trained an intermediate personnel for commerce and industry, and in the sec-

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<sup>17</sup> I. Kandel, *Comparative Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933, 279-280.



ondary schools, which were the gateway to the universities and other higher schools, and to the professions and all leading positions in the nation. The First World War, as we shall note later, intensified the demand for a system free from class distinction, and for a unified system (*école unique*), in which differentiation would be based not upon wealth or social rank but upon the native ability of pupils.

**French Secondary Education Prior to Recent Reforms.**—The present plan of secondary education began with the establishment of the *lycées*, or state secondary schools, in 1802, and the official recognition of the *collèges*, or municipal secondary schools, in 1808. In the latter year a higher normal school was created to train teachers for secondary schools. Since 1814, seven years have been required to complete the secondary school course. The studies prescribed at the start were Latin, Greek, French, history, geography, mythology, mathematics, optics, astronomy, natural history, physics, chemistry, logic, ethics, metaphysics, and philosophy. To the present day, the seventh year has been devoted chiefly to the study of philosophy. Controversy between the advocates of the classics and of the sciences and modern studies led, in 1852, to the adoption of a plan of a three-year common course for all students, upon which, for the remaining four years, were superimposed two courses, the literary and the scientific. The former led to the degree of Bachelor of Letters, and to university schools of arts and law; the latter, to the degree of Bachelor of Science, and to university schools of science and medicine and to special higher schools. In France, the bachelor's degree is granted on the successful completion of the secondary school course. The plan of 1852 was abandoned in 1863, and the single-course system was reestablished.

Until 1902, in spite of frequently voiced dissatisfaction with the schools, those in power upheld the classical, literary, and disciplinary tradition in education, and ignored utilitarian demands and needs. The modern course was, however, restored in 1890. The development of intellectual power was viewed as the goal of secondary education, and the classics, as the surest means of attaining it. It was also urged with force and eloquence that, since French culture is rooted in that of classical antiquity, France must cling to the classics or suffer a spiritual decline. The first significant reform came, in 1902, when a single *baccalauréat*, open to students in both the modern and classical courses, was set up for secondary schools. At that time, the course was divided into two cycles of four and three years. In the first cycle, students could choose between (a) the classical and (b)

the French-scientific course, either one leading to a certificate of secondary studies. During the first two years of the second cycle, the students had a choice of four courses: (a) Latin and Greek, (b) Latin-modern language, (c) Latin-scientific, and (d) modern language-scientific. In the seventh year, during which work for the *baccalauréat* was completed, students specialized in (a) philosophy or (b) mathematics. France thus recognized the place of science in modern culture but emphasized the liberal, not the applied, aspects of that study. Thus stood practice in secondary education until the First World War, which brought changes that will be discussed later.

**Secondary Education as a Class Privilege.**—Until 1930, tuition fees were charged in all secondary schools of France. For the talented poor a limited number of scholarships existed since the reforms of Napoleon I, but in practice few poorer people could afford to accept them because of their financial inability to meet the cost of subsequent professional training and incidental expenses of secondary schooling itself. Until 1902, there was very poor coördination between the work of the primary and secondary schools. They were separate systems, in which studies were so organized that it was practically impossible for one who had spent even a brief time in a primary school to transfer to a secondary one. The law of 1902 provided that the work of the first secondary school class follow directly that of the fourth primary school class. This shows an official desire to make the transition to the secondary school easier. In practice the law had little effect, and the plan of organization remained undemocratic. It was partly to abolish the dual system of schools and caste in education that a reorganized system, resting upon a common-school foundation and called the *école unique*, was strongly advocated during the First World War and realized, to a marked degree, since 1925. Secondary education, traditionally the education of a social élite, has become, in the present century, what it long aspired to be, the education of an intellectual élite for leadership in the nation.

**Vocational Schools.**—During the régime of Napoleon III, complementary courses, supplementing the work of primary schools, became partly vocational. In 1880, manual apprenticeship schools were established by law, and recognized, in 1886, as a part of the primary system. The law of the latter year revived higher primary schools around which vocational education has since been organized. In 1881 and 1882 there were established by law three "national vocational schools." Local educational authorities have been left free

to choose for their higher primary schools the course best adapted to their commercial and industrial needs. In 1897, highly vocationalized higher primary schools were legally named "practical schools of commerce or industry," and placed under the control of the Minister of Commerce and Industry. With few exceptions the higher primary schools have not been narrowly vocational and, even on the practical side, have been pre-vocational rather than vocational. Much of the technical training, they have left to be acquired on the job. In addition to such provisions as these, the state and local authorities, as well as private agencies, have established a wide variety of vocational schools of all grades and purposes. Among these are higher and lower special schools of a great variety of arts and crafts, and schools of agriculture, mining, navigation, and of the fine arts as related to industry. Official concern for the enlargement of such provisions was increased during the First World War, but the only practical immediate result was the requirement by law, in 1919, that young workers in certain industries attend part-time vocational day schools up to the age of eighteen. Traditionally the vocational schools have been designed for primary school graduates, but only about one-tenth of these have availed themselves of such opportunities.

Until 1920, specialized vocational education was under other ministries than that of Public Instruction, such as the Ministry of Commerce, of Agriculture, or of Public Works. In that year all vocational education was placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction. It has thus become an integral part of the state system.

**The National Spirit in French Education.**—Observers have described the French as the most patriotic of peoples.<sup>18</sup> A few brief extracts from a public school address of the educator Ernest Lavissee, in 1905, will reveal the spirit of French schools. Said he:

The fatherland is a territory inhabited by men who obey the same laws. . . . There grew up a habit of feeling the same emotions simultaneously. France possessed a national consciousness. . . . The French nation created the French language. If today we speak a language which is one of the most beautiful in the world, it is because our fathers took a great deal of pains to make it beautiful, and their effort lasted for centuries. In our language, our fathers expressed their feelings and their ideas. . . . My children, our fatherland is then not merely a territory; it is a human structure, begun centuries ago, which we are continuing, which you will continue. . . . It is our country, the daughter of our spirit. . . . Suppose, then, you

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<sup>18</sup> C. J. Hayes, *France a Nation of Patriots*, Columbia University Press, 1930.



say to me: "It is an accident that brought me into the world in France. . . . First of all, I am born a man. I wish to belong only to humanity. It is humanity that I wish to serve." I will answer: "Humanity, that does not exist as yet; it is a great and beautiful idea; it is not a fact. You must have a fixed place in which to act, and I defy you to serve humanity otherwise than through the medium of a fatherland. . . . What accusation of inhumanity rises against France? . . . Have we an Ireland, a Schleswig, a Finland, a Poland? . . . Friends, feel free to take advantage of the right to love, the right to prefer France, . . . for to serve her is the most efficient means of serving humanity." <sup>19</sup>

### Development of National Education in England

Elsewhere we have discussed the influence of the Reformation and of philanthropy upon the education of the poor in pre-nineteenth-century England. When the century opened, England was a democracy only in embryo. Society was marked by a class fixity which made it very difficult for the individual to change his social position. The masses were disfranchised. While wealth accumulated, poverty increased. There were two kinds of schools, both provided by the voluntary effort of churches and private philanthropists: (a) elementary schools for the poor, deplorably bad, and (b) secondary schools, called grammar schools, for the rich, in varying degrees exclusive and aristocratic, of which the "great public schools" catered to the demands of the "upper ten," not "the four hundred" as American democracy would have it. The "great public schools," thoroughly Anglican, were feeders for the Anglican universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and they were class, not national, schools. Latin and Greek made up their curriculum almost entirely. English language, literature and history were ignored by them. Yet, from their graduates came the builders and administrators of the empire, men noted for self-control, class loyalty, and pride in the achievements of the nation. Of the poor, it is probable that the great majority attended, for at least a brief period, some charity or "dame school." There was also the apprenticeship system, through which poor boys and girls were trained practically for their humble manual pursuits. Against the abuses to which poor children of tender years were subjected in factories and mines child labor laws were passed, beginning in 1802. Philanthropic educational reform movements arose partly to correct the same evils. Bills calling for state action in edu-

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<sup>19</sup> F. Buisson and F. E. Farrington, *French Educational Ideals of Today*, Yonkers, N. Y.: The World Book Co., 1919, 91 *passim*.

cation were introduced into Parliament. It was an age marked by demand for social, political, and educational reform. The political Reform Act of 1832 was the first of a series of breaks in the stronghold of political and social privilege. Other acts, in 1867, 1884, and 1918, the last of which inaugurated the enfranchisement of women, continued the building of national democracy. Each of these acts was followed by another which extended the control of the state over education.

Since the opening of the nineteenth century, Englishmen, while opposed to state interference in their lives and activities, have submitted to increasing intrusion of the government into realms traditionally private, and, to remedy social evils, have frequently invited such intrusion. They have, in the present century, become reconciled to many forms of governmental interference as necessary evils. For a long time, state activity in education remained a subject of bitter controversy, both political and ecclesiastical. There were those who opposed it as a most dangerous interference with parental rights and duties, and as a step toward political domination of the human mind, leading to the worst form of tyranny. There were those who opposed it as a violation of a privilege bestowed by God upon parents and the church. The powerful Anglican church opposed it on religious grounds, and claimed the right to be recognized as the national educator of England. Non-conformists, fearing that state education would be dominated by the Anglican church, which they hated, opposed it, not on grounds of principle but of expediency. These, in whose group were many influential middle-class capitalists, withdrew their opposition after the government had become representative following the Reform Act of 1867. Until 1870, when the first public school law was passed, the subject remained a storm-center of prejudices and of bitter debate. Thus political, class, and ecclesiastical prejudices, coupled with vested interests in education long established by the churches and private agencies, thwarted the designs of those who saw the need for state support of education.

The period 1833-1870 was one in which the foundation of the national system was gradually laid. In 1833, the government appropriated £20,000 as an annual grant to the Anglican National Society and the Non-conformist British and Foreign School Society. In 1839, the grant was increased to £30,000, and gradually many other sectarian and non-sectarian educational societies were permitted to share in the distribution, supervised, after 1839, by a Committee of the Privy Council. The annual grant rose gradually to about £800,000 in 1860. In 1861, the vicious practice of "payment by results" was

introduced, which made the amount granted to any school depend upon the quality of the teaching as determined by annual examinations given by state inspectors. Teachers, thereafter, worked with eyes only upon formal examination questions and grants. Until 1870, England thus entrusted the education of the masses to voluntary, private agencies to which she gave limited support, and over which she exercised a modicum of supervision. Reports of state commissions revealed the inadequacy of these provisions, but reform had to wait until the need for it had been dinned into public consciousness.

**Elementary Education Act of 1870.**—The Act of 1870 required the election of school boards for the purpose of providing by local taxation elementary school accommodation in districts where existing provisions were inadequate. Government grants to “voluntary” schools were continued, but these were refused any share in funds raised by local taxation. The Act continued the requirement that, in voluntary schools, no child be compelled to submit to religious instruction against his will. And, for Board schools, it was provided in the Act that “no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination is to be taught.” Yet, “Bible reading without note or comment” was permitted in Board schools. This Act left England with two systems of elementary schools: one, chiefly denominational, called the “voluntary” system; the other public and, in religious matters, “undenominational.”

**Elementary Education Compulsory and Free.**—In 1876, elementary education was made compulsory up to the age of ten, and, in 1891, it was made free in state-aided elementary schools, grants to such schools being thereafter so increased as to compensate them for the loss of students’ fees. In 1899, school attendance was required to the age of twelve.

**The Education Act of 1902.**—This Act was passed to satisfy the persistent demands of the “voluntary” schools for a share in school money raised by local taxes, and to permit school boards to establish higher elementary and secondary schools. While the Act continued the dual system of elementary schools, it brought both of them under one authority, the elected council of the political administrative divisions of England—the county, county borough, municipal borough, and urban district. It was these councils, known as L.E.A.’s (local education authority), and not the central Board of Education, created in 1899 and presided over by a President, that controlled education. The British state, unlike that of France and Germany, has



considered its function to be merely that of insuring, through stimulation of local effort, that each child be provided with a minimum of instruction. Since 1902, the Board schools have been officially designated the "provided schools," and the "voluntary schools," the "non-provided schools," although both are provided for out of public funds. After thirty years of struggle for a share of local school funds raised by taxation, the churches won, but they were forced to permit the L.E.A.'s to be represented by two members on the board of six managers of each of their schools. They thus got support, but they lost much of their independence, for the agency that supports the school will, in some degree, control it.

Thus out of the charity schools of post-Reformation England there emerged the English national elementary school system, composed of denominational and board schools. In addition to these schools which form the "system" there have been thousands of purely private, proprietary schools, with which the state did not concern itself until very recently. Education, not schooling, has been compulsory in England, and parents were free to choose any type of school they desired. Before 1918, when two additional years of compulsory education were made mandatory for the nation, compulsory attendance ended at the age of twelve, although the L.E.A.'s had power to raise the leaving age to fourteen. While the Anglican church has been retained as a national establishment, the state guarded itself fairly successfully against involvement in sectarian strife by insisting that church schools respect the rights of conscience of the pupils who attend them, and that the religious instruction authorized for public or board schools be undenominational in character. Yet, some Anglican and Roman Catholic divines have accused the government of subsidizing a new religion which it calls "undenominationalism." The British state, however, did not approve, as did France under the Third Republic, the secularization of education.

**The Elementary Curriculum in England.**—The Newcastle Commission, which studied the condition of schools in the years 1858–1861, found that some of the schools, whose curriculum they studied, taught only religion and reading; that less than four-fifths of them taught, in addition, writing and arithmetic; and that a small fraction of better schools added such studies as geography, history, grammar, drawing, and elementary science. The Commission, marked by a "Heavenly-Father" attitude toward the poor, evidently felt that the whole duty of the elementary school consisted in teaching youths to spell and read simple words, write legibly, to locate foreign countries

on the map and to know enough about the Bible to follow "a plain Saxon sermon." After 1870, religion ceased to be the core of the curriculum and became an appendage thereto. The law of that year permitted school boards to expand the elementary school and its studies. Wealthier districts added grades above the sixth, and some of them organized "higher grade elementary schools," in which such subjects as French, mathematics, science, grammar, and history were taught. Public evening schools, too, were organized for post-elementary school students. In many higher elementary schools science became the chief study. Until 1895, however, when the practice of "payment by results" was abolished, expansion of the curriculum was slow. Regulations adopted in 1861 made government grants to schools depend upon results in reading, writing, and arithmetic in grades one to six. Cramming for examinations in these subjects followed, and adding grades was officially discouraged until 1882, when a seventh and an ex-seventh grade were approved.

Generally, in the nineteenth century, elementary education was limited to the 3 R's, and its aim was to master them. In the present century emphasis has been shifted from a mastery of subject matter to character formation. The *Code* of the Board of Education from 1904 to 1926 carried the following statement: "The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life."<sup>20</sup>

The government has not prescribed the curriculum, as did the Prussian and French governments. It has merely indicated purposes and made "suggestions." It is the principal of each school, aided by his staff, who has determined the curriculum, but the inspector, who represents the government, has had the power to disapprove it, a power seldom or never exercised. To provide the elements of a liberal education, rather than to inculcate in youth national or political ideals, has inspired the program of the schools in the present century. The studies that have come to constitute the curriculum, as an almost uniform practice, are Bible instruction, prayers and hymns, reading, writing, English, history, geography, singing, drawing, science and practical work, and physical education. Since the First World War, extra-curricular activities have been increasingly stressed. Faith in

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<sup>20</sup> M. Sadler, *Our Public Elementary Schools*, London: Butterworth, 1926, 15-16.

the dissemination of knowledge as a cure for social ills was strong in nineteenth-century England, but the results of universal education did not justify that faith, for crime and industrial evils continued. The elementary school is no longer viewed as an informative institution, but as formative in purpose. It has become a center of varied activities designed to develop children mentally, physically, and morally for their own and the nation's well-being.

**The Elementary School Student.**—Sprung from the charity school system, the elementary schools of England have traditionally served only the poor and the near poor, although all except the very poor paid small fees in them until 1891. Those who could afford it received their elementary education at home from tutors, or in the elementary departments of secondary schools, where the desired degree of social exclusiveness could always be had for a price. The growth of a strong Labor Party, since 1900, has been largely responsible for a new kind of liberalism which has concerned itself with social reform in the interest of the laboring class, rather than with the protection of vested interests, long oblivious of their social obligations. Education felt the influence of that movement. By 1907, laws had been passed authorizing free meals for poor children, and recreation centers and medical examination for all public school pupils. The Act of 1902, authorizing local boards to establish secondary schools, required that 25 per cent of those admitted annually be from the public elementary schools. Since then there has been an increased mingling of the social classes in many secondary schools. The social stigma, long attached to elementary schools, has been gradually removed, though it has not yet disappeared.

**Developments in English Secondary Education.**—Before 1902, England had old aristocratic and very exclusive "great public schools," few in number, such as Eton and Rugby, and many endowed grammar schools and "private adventure" schools, these last having come into prominence in the nineteenth century to meet a demand of a middle class for modern and practical studies, long neglected by the other schools because of their religious, social, and educational conservatism. The "great public schools" catered to the cream of the social élite and, like most of the endowed grammar schools, were Anglican in religion. All of these schools were private. After 1902, public, "undenominational" secondary schools were established by local education authorities. The Act of that year provided national grants for all schools, public or private, meeting the requirements of



the Board of Education. The public secondary schools were, and still are, pay schools, though, as we have seen, they must, to receive a grant, provide many free places for students from public elementary schools. In more recent years, the Board of Education has classified recognized secondary schools as (1) grant-earning and efficient and (2) non-grant-earning and efficient. The number of English and Welsh schools on the grant list rose from 407, in 1904, to 1,381, in 1934. Of these latter more than one-half were public, or Board, schools. In 1934, there were 393 schools recognized as efficient which did not accept a grant. There were also many secondary schools which, desiring complete independence, did not apply for inspection by the Board and which, consequently, are not represented in these figures. There has been strong opposition to state meddling with private schools, and even some good schools would rather be poor than surrender any of their freedom. These independent schools, of which there were about 10,000, in 1936, did not fall into the Board's lists of recognized schools. Of about 400,000 students enrolled in these independent schools in 1936 about three-fourths were receiving elementary education only. A government committee appointed to investigate these schools, in 1931, found many of them excellent, the majority of them satisfactory, and a small number of them seriously defective. The government was slow in bringing them under its supervision, but it took that final step in 1944.

**The Scholarship System in Secondary Schools.**—The free-place system goes far back into the history of English secondary schools but, until the present century, such privileges were rarely extended to children of the masses, for secondary education was viewed as a right of the classes. Free secondary education for all, which is our practice in America, is an open door to social privilege and makes for social fluidity. The rulers of English society, wishing to make the transition from one class to another difficult, have kept secondary education a pay education. The Labor Party has been demanding "free secondary education for all," but it has not had the power to make its demand effective. Tuition fees in secondary schools range from about \$30 to \$150 per year, the average fee being about \$75. Families with incomes of \$70 per month, or less, and there are many of them, cannot bear the burden of such fees. After 1902, grant-earning secondary schools were required to provide entirely free places for at least 25 per cent of their yearly admissions, and that percentage could be increased to fifty with the approval of the Board of Education. These free places were to go to pupils from elementary

schools selected usually by a competitive test. In 1933, for reasons of national economy, "special places" were substituted for "free places," it being required that at least 25 per cent of the "special-place" admissions come from elementary schools. Since then students must pay fees according to their parents' means, those whose means are very low being exempted from all tuition fees. The change resulted in a public saving of \$2,000,000 yearly at the expense of parents, some of whom have to make great sacrifices to meet the cost of secondary schooling. Later we shall examine the changes in the fee system contemplated in the Education Act of 1944.

**Aim and Curriculum in English Secondary Education.**—Character formation and the preservation or advancement of the students' social status have been the traditional basic goals of secondary education. Englishmen credit their secondary schools with the building and preservation of national character, to which they attribute the greatness of the nation. To them, also, they have entrusted the function of providing for the nation a conservative social evolution. The third goal aimed at is that of general intellectual training, but this is deemed of less importance than that of character formation and the safeguarding of one's social status. We have noted earlier that the secondary school system arose as a separate one unrelated to the elementary system. It has thus been the embodiment of a social and educational tradition peculiarly its own, with the result that efforts, in the present century, to coördinate it with the elementary system have encountered many difficulties, and progress toward that goal has been slow.

The classical tradition became firmly rooted in England. Chiefly after 1800, private adventure schools with a practical and modern curricular bias arose in answer to growing needs. Yet, the great public schools and the endowed grammar schools clung to their classical prejudices. The Clarendon Commission (appointed 1861), which investigated nine great public schools, found their chief work to be a formal study of the classics. The Commission reported that they were neglecting to teach everything which Englishmen needed to know. The Taunton Commission (appointed 1864), which studied endowed grammar schools and endowed non-classical schools, reported that the former, which were mostly Anglican, were too classical and gave but scant attention to mathematics, modern languages, and natural science. This Commission, however, while in favor of modernizing the curriculum, assumed that the purpose of

education is mental discipline and that modern studies can be justified only on that basis.

Twentieth-century England thus inherited an academic and largely literary concept of secondary education. The Board of Education has defined a secondary school as one which, among other marks, provides "a progressive course of general education of a kind and amount suited to an age-range at least from twelve to seventeen."<sup>21</sup> The Board further stipulated that the curriculum of a recognized school must include English language and literature, at least one foreign language, geography, history, mathematics, science (including practical applications), drawing, organized games, physical exercises, manual instruction (for boys), domestic subjects (for girls), and singing. In the present century, French and German have become more popular than Latin and Greek. The curriculum, however, has remained predominantly academic.

While, here and there, vocational studies have been introduced, they have been merely an adjunct to the curriculum, and specialized vocational curricula leading to a secondary school certificate have not been approved. Though a few districts have introduced such courses, there is, generally speaking, but one curriculum, the general or academic. While a student may present himself for examination in a handicraft, to earn the school-leaving certificate he must pass an examination in: (1) a foreign language, (2) mathematics or science, and (3) an English study. Since 1917, when the Board of Education established the Secondary Schools Examination Council, the leaving examination, taken by students at the age of sixteen plus, has been fairly well standardized for the whole of England. Serious questioning of the suitability of the curriculum for students of different aptitudes, interests and needs has developed because of the failure of about forty per cent of the students to pass the leaving examination. The recent World War brought an increase in the demand of the army, navy, and industries for technical instruction. Urgent national needs may force a reform of the curriculum.

For qualified students, who have passed the examination at the age of sixteen plus, two-year advanced, special, academic courses are provided. These students may specialize in such courses as (1) classics, (2) science and mathematics, (3) modern languages and literatures, or any subject or combination of subjects approved by

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<sup>21</sup> *London Times Educational Supplement*, March 26, 1932.



the Board of Education. These advanced courses lead to a higher certificate, and to state scholarships in the universities. It should be noted here that the conviction is strong in England that specialization, whether it be vocational or academic, should begin only after the foundation of a broad general education has been laid. In its program leading to the first leaving examination, the secondary school, it has been felt, ought to lay the foundation of vocational training and not provide such training. While English psychologists have questioned or rejected it, the belief in formal discipline and the transfer of general training remains strong. To make men and citizens by developing the mental, moral, and physical powers during the primary and secondary stages of education has been deemed more important than to make technicians.

**Vocational Education in England.**—The first evidence of direct state interest in vocational training appears in a small grant, in 1836, to aid in establishing a normal school of design in London. That indicates that the government was conscious of needs which the old apprenticeship system was not meeting. In 1852, there was created in the government the Science and Art Department, grants from which brought the establishment of science schools after 1862. There were 948 such schools with 36,783 pupils in 1872. In 1889, a law was passed authorizing larger local government councils to levy a tax for the support of technical education, among other purposes. In 1890, the government provided a national grant in aid of technical schools and classes. The Act of 1902 legalized higher elementary schools, chiefly vocational in character, which local authorities had established under the name usually of "Central Schools." This Act, however, set fifteen as the upper age limit of students in these schools. These "Central Schools," still few in number, while not strictly vocational, have been marked by a commercial and industrial bias, and are classified with the elementary schools. The Act of 1902 gave the L.E.A.'s power to supply "education other than elementary." Since then they have established many Junior Technical, Junior Art, Junior Commercial, and Junior House-wifery schools. In the technical and commercial schools the course is usually a three-year one, and might be described as a broad scientific pre-apprenticeship preparation for the various trades and business. The Junior House-wifery schools offer girls generally a one-year course in home economics. During the past forty years the L.E.A.'s have taken over evening continuation schools, which are attended usually by adults. Much of the work in these is of an advanced technical character. They had an enroll-

ment in 1933-1934 of 842,325.<sup>22</sup> In addition to these, the L.E.A.'s provide part-time day, technical, and art classes, and day continuation schools. They have also absorbed, or now direct, many Technical Colleges, frequently of polytechnic character, which admit part-time and full-time students, and grant degrees.

**Teacher Training in England.**—Professional teacher training originated in the demand of churches for orthodox teachers, although the churches did little to provide formal professional training for them in subject matter and methods. The first important development came in 1839 when the National and British and Foreign societies, with the aid of government grants for the purpose, began to establish training colleges. Other church education societies soon took a similar step, and the number of training schools increased rapidly. In addition to the training-college plan, there developed also the pupil-teacher plan of training, introduced from Holland in 1846, although the practice seems to have existed among English Quakers in the eighteenth century. It was an apprenticeship plan by which boys and girls, beginning at about the age of thirteen, became legal apprentices to elementary schoolmasters for five years. Then they took a competitive government examination by which the best of them were chosen for free further training in the teachers' colleges. Those who failed to earn scholarships were frequently employed as uncertificated teachers, for whom the government provided an opportunity to earn a certificate by examination and without attendance at a training college. Until 1902, when L.E.A.'s were authorized to establish public secondary schools, elementary school teachers were trained outside of the secondary system, and the universities were almost entirely closed to them though, for over twenty years, they had teacher-training departments.

After 1902, many elementary school graduates found entrance to elementary school teaching by earning free places in secondary schools and pursuing general secondary studies until the age of sixteen. These, if they met certain requirements, were given a special government grant to remain an additional year in the secondary school, part of which was to be spent in observation and practice teaching in an elementary school. That year's work being completed, the successful student was ready to pursue a two-year course in a training college, or a three-year course (raised to four years in 1911) in a university. Since 1928, the Board of Education has surrendered its traditional

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<sup>22</sup> I. Kandel, Editor, *Educational Yearbook*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936, 301.

rôle of examining future teachers to regional boards formed by training colleges, universities, and other groups interested in teacher training. It should be noted that the British government leaves the training and examination of lawyers and doctors to private agencies. Today, teachers who hold certificates from the regional boards and who have satisfied the inspectors of the Board of Education as to their skill in teaching are, after a year's probation, put on the government list of certificated teachers. Uncertificated teachers still remain, but the government and the profession are on their way to eliminate them.

The training college, though supported by the state, is not a state institution. Of 74 two-year training colleges, in 1931, 39 were denominational, 12 undenominational, 22 provided by L.E.A.'s, and one by a university. The best of the pre-education students in secondary schools usually go to university training departments. In L.E.A. training colleges tuition is free; in the so-called non-provided colleges students pay small fees, made necessary by the inadequacy of grants and endowments to meet all costs.

Since 1929, the government has left the determination of the curricula for future teachers to regional boards, mostly professional in personnel. Special teachers of method have disappeared, and each teacher of subject matter in the training colleges is responsible for instruction in method in his field, and for observation of teaching in demonstration schools. Psychology, history of education, and principles and theory of education are taught by specialists. It should be noted that the British teacher has ceased to be a servant of the government, and is regarded as a member of a liberal profession to whom wide opportunities for broad learning, determined by groups with varied knowledge and experience, are provided. The pupil-teacher plan has practically disappeared, and its offshoot, the student-teacher year in the secondary school, discouraged by the Board since 1926, has also rapidly declined.

In the universities, future teachers pursue regular academic work leading to a degree for the first three years, and spend the fourth year on professional work. University graduates usually find employment in secondary, senior, and central schools, while the graduates of training colleges go to schools for children below the age of twelve.

While teachers may be dismissed for incompetence, misconduct, or (in church schools) for theological reasons, such an occurrence is rare, and the teacher thus treated may appeal to the courts. The



powerful National Union of Teachers has a legal department ready to defend anyone who has need for free legal aid. The salaries of teachers, fixed by agreement between the Board and the L.E.A.'s, vary according to the estimated cost of living in various areas, and are lower for women than for men. In 1930, the average salary for men was £334, and for women £254. Teachers must retire at the age of sixty-five, but on a pension to which they and their employers contribute.

**British Educational Ideals.**—The schools of a nation reflect its mind and the character of its people, both of which change with the changing world. Observers have been almost unanimous in listing respect for individuality as a mark of the Englishman. Mill, in his *Essay on Liberty*, laid a firm philosophical foundation for that attitude. While the government has restricted individual liberty in many ways, the view persists that progress is best attained through individual and local initiative. The freedom which local education authorities and teachers in their classrooms enjoy reflects that view. While the student has but little choice in the studies he pursues, he enjoys much freedom in the extra-curricular and social life of the school, in which, if he so desires, he may not participate. If he prefers the library to the cricket field, he may spend his playtime in the library without being considered an emotional misfit. With his freedom, however, go responsibilities which he may not shirk, for school life, as is social life, is a blend of freedom and responsibility. In the national culture the idea of "self" has been, and remains, a motivating force. Such words as self-activity, self-respect, self-control, self-help are in frequent use in the everyday language of the people. Said Tennyson:

Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,  
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.

As a reflection of respect for individuality, variety rather than uniformity is aimed at in the education of England. Out of variety of experience, it is felt, rather than out of a planned system, the best practices are more likely to be discovered.

Among educational ideals, we find emphasized those of religious and ethical character and healthy bodies. English educators, perhaps without convincing reasons, take credit, as once did American educators, for what they consider to be a favorable criminal record in the nation. Perhaps because of national interest in sports and games;

perhaps because of wars; perhaps because of social, economic, and individual needs; but more likely because of all of these, health has come to be listed high among English educational ideals, and the health program of the schools has assumed great importance.

Lastly, citizenship as an ideal and a practice of English education needs special mention. Much has been written on the rights of Englishmen; little, on their duties. Yet the word "duty," like "self," might be said to be an idea-force in England. No thoughtful English educator disregards the need for moulding citizens loyal to British institutions, though there is much disagreement as to the method by which that end can be attained. The problem is linked to the whole structure of the Empire and the British Commonwealth of Nations, upon which the island kingdom depends for many of its supplies, for its prosperity, and for its power among the nations. The English citizen, it is felt, must not only be conscious of the rôle he must play in English affairs, but he must be made empire-conscious as well. That feeling has been heightened by world events since 1914.

Foremost among the devices by which civic loyalty is created is the cult of the king-emperor, made all the more effective by the teaching in and out of school that he is indispensable for the unity of an empire on which "the sun never sets." In the culture of England we thus find not only the fratriarchal, or brother-idea, but also the patriarchal, or father-idea, as well. Through all dignified channels of communication the people are constantly reminded of their king-father. Should he depart from the accepted ways of good kingly life, as did Edward VIII, the office will be bestowed on one who shows proper regard for its traditions. Respect for the king bears many marks of a cult. The national anthem is "God Save the King." The only restriction on freedom of speech in England is that one is not free to say anything derogatory about the person of the living king. Socially the king is the head of the nobility, an exclusive group that the common people worship in a way foreign to our American tradition.

In addition to the cult of the king, there is also fostered a cult of England—of the island, the countryside, and its historical landmarks. The schools do much to stimulate love of the land that is England through the teaching of English literature and through school excursions. The Cockney, whose speech always betrays him, and the nobleman speak different dialects, but in school their children read the same literature, in which are depicted the greatness and the beauties of England and its various regions. Poets and novelists for centuries have been building the cult of the land that is England. There are,

for instance, probably few in England who have not read Shakespeare's stirring lines:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise;  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war;  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea. . . .

The green fields, the church bells, the brooks, the mountains, the valleys, the flowers, the trees, the holy wells, the schools, the army, the navy, and the people of England are among the themes that, through the sheer beauty and force of literary expression, develop in school children a devotion to their native land and its people. Historical associations and others work to preserve historical shrines and the beauty of the countryside. "The stars look down," however, upon city slums and miseries which call for improvement if "this happy breed of men" is to increase in happiness.

The building of loyalty to the empire has been systematically carried on by empire societies and other groups, which provide the schools with maps, pictures and films, and encourage the interchange of and correspondence between students and teachers of England and her dominions. A *Weekly Bulletin* devoted to empire matters is widely used in the schools, and the lessons of the empire are taught in courses in history and geography. "Every schoolboy knows" that imperial needs demand British naval supremacy. Yet, in moulding the national mind, there has been more of the rational and less of the cult element in the English method than in that of most of her world neighbors. For teaching domestic citizenship, English teachers depend more upon school government and the activities program than upon formal instruction. For imperial citizenship, the problem is different, and resort must be had to other devices such as those we have mentioned.

British educational leaders, generally, have little faith in the value of indoctrination, and oppose the cultist approach to the teaching of doctrines. In official and professional pronouncements, the use of the schools—which exist in the interest of the nation and all its citizens—to propagate doctrines, whether social, economic, political, theological, or military, has been frequently condemned as harmful in a nation and a world in a rapid state of change. The interests of England, it is felt, are best served by telling the truth, at times unsavory, about



the past of England and her empire, and by looking realistically at her problems inherited from that past. The principle of imperialism may or may not be defended, but imperialism as an historical fact and as the source of stark necessities for modern England is defended. Scott, in his *Menace of Nationalism in Education*, though his account shows some evidence of bias, found English textbooks far less offensive in their treatment of international history and relations than those of the other nations which he studied. Whether or not the schools have had much to do with it, the English mind has been marked by remarkable loyalty to the nation and the empire, the well-being of which, observers are wont to remark, comes first with Englishmen.

### Education of Girls under European National Systems

**In England.**—Until the second half of the nineteenth century but little public concern was shown in England for the secondary and higher education of girls. Many social reformers, both women and men, among them John S. Mill, had long been pleading the cause of women, and the struggle for women's emancipation was similar to that in the United States. The Charity Schools and, later, the Board Schools admitted girls, while girls of the middle and upper classes were provided with more exclusive facilities, elementary and secondary, by private and church agencies. Until about 1880 relatively few girls attended secondary schools. In the seventies Oxford and Cambridge began timidly to make a little provision for women. Unlike American women, English women were opposed to coeducation. While school opportunities for English girls came more slowly than in America, the present century has seen them enlarged to the point of sex equality. Of 1,367 grant-earning secondary schools, in 1931, 500 were for boys, 485 for girls, and 382 were coeducational. The girls constituted about 47 per cent of the total enrollment in these schools at that time. Only one-third of the students who entered universities in 1930–1931 were girls.

While English law forbids any sex discrimination in appointing teachers, there is still marked opposition to the teaching of older boys by women, and to bestowing principalships, even of mixed schools, upon them. These prejudices have been aired in Parliament in recent years.

**In France.**—Until the public elementary schools were established, all education for girls in France was provided in private and church schools. Provision was made by law, in 1880, for public secondary

schools for girls which would not, however, lead to the *baccalauréat*. Coeducation being officially reprobated, separate elementary and secondary schools for boys and girls are the rule wherever local conditions permit. Until 1930 girls were not admitted to boys' secondary schools if a girls' school was within possible reach. Moreover, until then they were admitted only to boys' schools of small enrollment, of which they might not constitute more than one-fourth, nor number above fifty. Since 1930, girls may be admitted to larger boys' schools, but wherever they number fifty, a separate school must be established for them. Before 1924, special arrangements had to be made to prepare girls for the *baccalauréat*, but in that year a seven-year course, leading to the degree, was provided for them. Girls constitute about one-third of the total enrollment in public secondary schools.

**In Prussia.**—The traditional state attitude in Germany was opposed to any public provision of secondary or higher education for girls. The so-called higher schools for girls in Prussia, some of them private and some public, were denied the recognition and privileges accorded to secondary schools. The universities began to admit girls as auditors in 1895. In 1908 secondary schools for girls were authorized by the government, and thereafter girls were admitted as regular students to universities. The Weimar Constitution (1919) enfranchised women, and threw all public offices open to them. The republic, too, made more liberal secondary-school provision for them, but the universities remained reluctant to enlarge the meager privileges previously accorded them. Under the republic, as under the preceding régime, coeducation in secondary schools was officially opposed and was permitted only in cases where separate schools were not available. The *kinder-küche-kirche* ideal for women was but little shaken by the First World War and its aftermath. The secondary schools even of the republic looked forward to the crib, the kitchen, the family laundry, and the elementary classroom as God's special gifts to women.

### The Development of the American Public School System

**The Colonial Period:** (a) **THE TRANSPLANTED ENGLISH SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH.**—In discussing humanism and the Reformation, much has been noted regarding colonial society and the beginnings of the American school system. While the religious motive operated everywhere in the founding of schools and in shaping their work, certain differences, rooted in different theologies and different national and social traditions, existed between the practices of the

colonies. The early Anglicans of Virginia, attached to the English social and ecclesiastical tradition, and typifying the mind of the South fairly well, came to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude toward schooling, except in the case of apprentices, orphans and neglected children, for whom apprenticeship training in preparation for trades and, later, instruction in reading and writing were legally required. For those more favored by Heaven education was provided by private tutors or in secondary schools established, as in England, by private philanthropists or voluntary groups. Many parents, particularly in Virginia, sent their sons to schools in England. In 1693, the College of William and Mary, the only colonial college in the South, was established to train leaders for the church and state, but it remained little more than a secondary school for many years. Thus the rich had their college and endowed Latin schools, while the poor, who comprised the bulk of the population, had only apprenticeship training and a few "poor schools" provided for them. Similar conditions prevailed from Maryland to Georgia, a territory in which Anglican influence was strong during most of the colonial period. The S.P.G., active in the defense and spread of Anglicanism, subsidized a few schoolmasters in Georgia and the Carolinas, but not in Maryland and Virginia, where the denomination was strongly entrenched.

(b) THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES.—In New York, before the Dutch lost it to the British (1674), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, in all of which Calvinists and the more radical dissenters to their left were numerous and strong, the parochial school became the prevailing type. These people believed that God had imposed upon men the personal obligation to learn "to read his holy Word." That duty called for at least a minimum of elementary education. Schools were, therefore, frequently established in connection with churches by the several denominations, the governments pursuing the policy of entrusting education to the churches. Under the Dutch, the New Amsterdam city government, and the town authorities in other Dutch villages, controlled and partly supported schools, their supervision being left to church officials, who selected the teachers. New Amsterdam itself had a schoolmaster continuously from 1638 until 1664, when the English took possession of the colony. These Dutch schools were church-state schools, but were free only to the needy. Following the English occupation, some of the old schools became parochial, but others in the outlying Dutch and Dutch-English communities continued as town schools after the original Dutch pattern, and like the New England schools, soon to be



described. Town schools were established also in Dutch and New England communities in New Jersey. The colonial English government of New York considered its duty discharged when it licensed schoolmasters.

In the Middle Colonies, the S.P.G. established many schools to spread Anglicanism and win back "foolish" dissenters, particularly Quakers, to the ways of truth. The secondary schools of the region, except for those of the private masters, were almost entirely of the Latin type, and were inspired by denominational needs. Many ministers, Presbyterians in the lead, established such schools in connection with their churches. There were others, more permanent in character, which received some support from a church governing body such as a Synod, a Presbytery, or a Quaker Meeting, the Quaker Meetings establishing, and largely supporting, a well-organized system of elementary and secondary schools. In New Jersey, the College of New Jersey (Princeton) was established, under Presbyterian, and Rutgers, under Dutch Reformed, control. In New York, King's College (Columbia) was established under Anglican control. The College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), in the founding of which Franklin was most active, was the only non-sectarian college in all the colonies. As in the South, the apprenticeship system of vocational training existed for the servant class, New York and Pennsylvania requiring it by laws which provided for instruction of apprentices in reading and writing. With the exception of apprenticeship education, religious dissent in the Middle Colonies was accompanied by better provision for education on all levels than existed in the Anglican South.

(c) THE TOWN SCHOOL OF NEW ENGLAND.—In Chapter 8 we have given fairly adequate attention to the rise and character of the legally authorized town schools in Puritan New England, of which practice in Massachusetts furnishes an excellent example. The "old deluder Satan act" (1647), approving the earlier voluntary practice of many towns, required the establishment of an elementary school in every town of fifty families and, in addition, a Latin grammar school in every town of one hundred families. The Puritan church thus used the Puritan state in its effort to promote and preserve Puritan ideals. Similar practice was adopted in the other New England colonies with the exception of Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams on the principle of individual freedom and the right of men and groups to reject orthodoxies.

The town school declined with changes in Puritan society. Com-

mercial activity brought the Puritans into contact with their non-Puritan neighbors, and with the exchange of merchandise came an exchange of ideas, and eventually the admission of non-Puritans into Massachusetts. Trading and religious tolerance are closely related, and wealth turns minds to worldly things. Increase in the population of the towns forced men away from the original central town settlements into small and, sometimes, isolated communities miles removed from town churches and schools. New towns were established on the moving frontier, and adventurers kept seeking new and more fertile land beyond new horizons. Wars with the Indians and the French were disturbing to Puritan morals. Political and commercial activity gave rise to the legal as a rival of the ministerial profession. The Charter of 1692 made the church subservient to the state. Baptists, Episcopalians, and Quakers were gradually admitted from 1679 onward. A Puritan, Biblical commonwealth exclusively for Puritans could not survive in the growing civilization of the New World.

In the towns, the central school could not serve children in distant communities, and it gradually became a moving school, the master dividing his time between the different districts of the town. The new conditions in time gave rise to district schools, and the legislature legalized the district system in 1789 to meet the needs created by the dispersion of the population of the towns. Under the district system, each district, or subdivision of a town, fixed its own local tax rate for education, provided its own school and controlled it. It was a democratic change, but it brought a decline of educational provision and of school efficiency.

(d) APPRENTICESHIP EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND.—The Massachusetts Law of 1642, long in force, authorized the selectmen of the towns to require apprenticeship training for children whose parents or masters neglected to do so. That law also required that such children be instructed in reading, religion, and in the capital laws of the country. Similar laws were passed in the other New England colonies. Here, as elsewhere, apprenticeship training was the chief provision made for the laboring class.

(e) COLONIAL PRIVATE SCHOOLS.—In addition to schools established or authorized by colonial governments and churches, there were in the colonies schools of a purely proprietary character, conducted by individuals for profit. Some of them were elementary, and others of an advanced character. Those of Virginia have been called the "old field schools" of which only a few gave instruction beyond the rudiments. They were taught by redemptioners, wandering

teachers, and sometimes by ministers. Well-to-do families in the South often employed private family tutors, many of whom were indentured servants. Sometimes neighboring families united to support such a teacher. The "old field schools" appeared toward the end of the seventeenth and continued well into the nineteenth century. In the trading centers of the colonies, chiefly along the coast, and occasionally in inland towns, the growing need for a practical education, which the classical schools neglected, led to the rise of numerous private, semi-vocational "English" schools from 1700 onward. In these, emphasis was placed upon applied mathematics, bookkeeping, penmanship, modern languages, and English grammar. Private schools, usually teaching only the 3 R's, antedate the town schools in many places in New England, and were sometimes aided by the towns in order to escape the fines imposed by the law of 1647.

(f) DAME SCHOOLS.—While the Dame School, popular in England, appeared in many colonies, it was only in New England that it became common. Here, the town school often excluded girls, and demanded that entering students know at least the alphabet. The Dame School met these needs of youth, and received some public support in the districts, especially in the period of transition from the town to the district school system. The dame, who taught the school, was poorly educated, often nearly illiterate, and always poorly paid. The townsfolk acted on the principle that one month of instruction under a male teacher was the equivalent of two months in a dame school. The dame often received only fifty cents yearly per pupil for her services. She usually taught only the alphabet, the catechism, and the rudiments of reading. To meet the needs of girls, whom the town school excluded or admitted only after school hours, an occasional dame offered instruction in advanced reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic.

(g) EDUCATION OF GIRLS.—European tradition, carried to America, limited woman's sphere of activity to the home. Besides, her mind was viewed as different from and inferior to that of man. Prior to 1700, according to the information now available, about 75 per cent of women were unable to read. They were admitted to dame schools, and occasionally to town schools for boys after the regular hours. The Dutch admitted them, along with the boys, to their town-parish schools, and the Quaker elementary school admitted them on a basis of equality with boys. In all of these the emphasis was placed upon moral and religious training. The home provided the necessary domestic training. After 1700, with increasing wealth,



many women found escape from domestic servitude, and schools arose to provide education in the "accomplishments"—music, dancing, French, fancy needlework, etc.—for wealthier girls. The private masters, sensitive to demands, opened many schools of this "charm" type for girls in the larger centers, particularly in New York and Philadelphia. The growing need and demand for a solid intellectual education brought, after the Revolution, the seminary, or academy for women to which we shall refer later.

**The Early National Period, 1776–1860.**—The earlier part of this period, ending about 1830, was marked by a groping for a scheme of education adapted to the economic, political, and social needs of the evolving republic. Ours was then an aristocratic republic, but, with the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency, an era of universal male suffrage and common-man democracy was ushered in. Between 1830 and 1860 the framework of our public school system had been outlined in thought and practice. Those thirty years saw the struggle for free public schools fought and won, and the right to support and control education vested in the people. Following the Revolution, emphasis was placed by prominent statesmen and educators upon the idea that the welfare and endurance of the republic depend upon the enlightenment of the people, and that the nation owes it to itself to educate its youth. That principle being widely accepted by 1830, the next step was the building of a school system in harmony with the emerging ideal of a common-man democracy. The political and educational views of French liberals, like La Chalotais, were well known to our leading statesmen and educators.<sup>23</sup>

The founders of the republic were anxious to correct the political and social evils of the old order. Among the many leaders who attacked, directly or indirectly, the old order and the old education, and proposed a substitute for it were Jefferson, Du Pont de Nemours, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, and James Madison. As early as 1743, Benjamin Franklin had seen many of the shortcomings of the old education and had laid the basis of a non-sectarian, semi-public, semi-democratic, and semi-realistic, or practical academy in Philadelphia, after which was patterned, in part, the secondary school (called academy) of our early national period. In the educational writings of our early national leaders may be seen some of the noblest

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<sup>23</sup> F. de la Fontainerie, *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1932; A. O. Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Macmillan, 1926; V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927, Vol. II.

and most inspiring liberal thoughts to be found in democratic educational literature. It is true that most, if not all, of them were pre-occupied with the discovery and proper education of a natural intellectual élite, and that there is a touch of the aristocratic tradition in their views, but they all recognized the national need for universal elementary education, to be provided by governmental authority, and the development of natural talent wherever it might appear. The idea of free secondary and higher education, except for the talented poor, was not current in the thought of the time. Many public school plans were written and published between 1780 and 1800, and may be found described in other works.

The spirit and hope of the time found expression in the first state constitutions of Pennsylvania (1776), North Carolina (1776), Vermont (1777), and Massachusetts (1780). The Pennsylvania Constitution, similar to that of North Carolina and Vermont, provided for the establishment by the legislature of a school or schools in each county "with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices." The Constitution of Massachusetts stressed the relationship of popular enlightenment to the perpetuity of the people's "rights and liberties," and pledged the state to promote learning and schools "among the different orders of the people." The national Constitution made no mention of education, thus leaving its provision and direction to the several states. Views favorable to the establishment of a national university were expressed in the Constitutional Convention. President Washington favored such a project, and recommended it to Congress, but Congress later (1816) defeated a bill to create such a university.

**Ordinances of 1785 and 1787.**—Between 1781 and 1802, the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi became a national possession. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided that lot No. 16 of every township in that territory be reserved "for the maintenance of public schools." The Ordinance of 1787, relating to the government of the territory, reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." By later acts of Congress most states west of the Mississippi received from two to four township sections for township schools, and grants of two townships for university purposes. The land (about 80,000,000 acres) granted to public schools by the federal government is greater in area than Italy and twenty-five times the area of Connecticut. After the Civil War the government again began to aid education.

**Development of State Systems before 1830.** (a) **IN THE OLDER STATES.**—The Massachusetts law of 1789, which legalized the district system and destroyed the administrative authority of the town, or larger unit, was a backward step. A law of 1827 made the district system mandatory. Many districts were too poor to support schools and, in them, the school committee was too often composed of men of little ability. The public school being thus weakened, many parents sent their children to private schools. A similar development occurred in Connecticut, where the district system was legalized in 1798. Here, in 1795, money received for Western lands was set aside as a common school fund, and the income from it was substituted entirely for state school taxes between 1821 and 1854, and district levies were put on a voluntary basis. As a result the once free schools became fee schools and the poor remained away from them. In the rest of New England the development was similar to that in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

In New York, where there were no public schools at the time of the Revolution, the University of the State of New York, an administrative device, was organized in 1784, and, subsequently, the state aided the counties in supporting common schools. In 1812, the legal basis of a permanent system was laid, and the office of state superintendent (the first such in America) was created. The county, the town, and the district were assigned administrative functions under this law. Notable progress was made in building the system until the state superintendency was abolished in 1820, but the schools were free only to the very poor.

The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 required the legislature to provide such facilities "that the poor may be taught gratis." As a result, until 1834, and with the exception, for a part of the time, of Philadelphia and Lancaster, public lists of poor children were published, and provision was made for them as "paupers" in private and church schools.

In New Jersey and Delaware, the pauper-school practice was adopted. Opposition to free schools in these states and in Pennsylvania was rooted mainly in the tradition that education was an affair of the family and the church, and in the opposition of property owners to taxation in aid of other men's children.

In the South, such public school laws as that of Virginia (1797), of South Carolina (1811), and of North Carolina (1825) were abortive attempts to establish free state schools, and little was accomplished beyond the establishment of state school funds, the income from which was used to assist the poor. Maryland pursued a similar policy. In Georgia, until 1817, all state monies were assigned to



colleges and academies. In that year a very limited provision was made for aid to free elementary schools. Throughout the South, free education was generally conceived not as a public service but as a charity, although men like Jefferson, and Archibald D. Murphey of North Carolina were strong advocates of the public-service principle.

(b) IN THE NEW WESTERN STATES.—The desire to democratize education and to remove the mark of caste from the school in the interest of democratic citizenship was strong among the pioneers who settled in the new states of the new West. Liberal land grants from the national government made it easier to realize their desires. Most of the state constitutions in both the Northwest and Southwest territories made provision for some scheme of public education. The first schools established were, however, proprietary, or of the academy type. Pioneer conditions and intense individualism retarded the establishment of free state schools, and the early laws indicate chiefly a striving to escape from educational burdens by finding the most profitable way to use the school lands. The district system of administration came to be generally adopted in the new territory, and the support of schools was left to small localities. Prior to 1830, little was actually accomplished in the new West except the incorporation and encouragement of many academies and the laying of the beginnings of a legal basis of state school systems.

(c) SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE ACADEMY.—Although the public high school had appeared before 1830, and was actually required in Massachusetts by the law of 1827, the secondary school of the early national period, which remained the strong rival of the high school until after the Civil War, was the academy. In our treatment of humanistic and Protestant influence upon education in colonial America, we saw that our first type of secondary school was the denominational Latin grammar school. That school was required by law in the Puritan colonies of New England, and appeared under private, ecclesiastical, or state-church auspices elsewhere in the colonies. In Massachusetts, the legal requirement, long neglected by many towns, ceased in 1827. All but seven towns were exempted from that obligation in 1824.

Economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual change created gradually, in the eighteenth century, the need for a new secondary institution, and the academy arose to meet that need. Institutions bearing the name "academy," and institutions of the academy type, but bearing other names, appeared at different times and places and

in such a variety of forms that generalizations about the institution are dangerous.

(1) *Marks of the Academy.* The academy, in its more advanced form, was not a denominational school. It was not a town school, nor an exclusively boys' school, nor primarily a college-preparatory school, nor a school catering to the aristocratic few, nor a free school. Many of them, aspiring to national distinction, did not want to be schools of a state but schools of the nation. To state accurately in a few words what the academy was is more difficult than to state what it was not, but the following description of the academy has wide applicability: It was a semi-public, non-sectarian, boarding and (or) day secondary school, which, catering, in curriculum and fees, to the needs of the rapidly increasing middle class, from its upper to its lower economic stratum, met the educational demands and aspirations of that class in our period of transition from an aristocratic to a common-man republic. While a few schools of the type, notably that founded by Franklin in Philadelphia (1750), appeared prior to the Revolution, it was in the period between the Revolution and the Civil War that it became our dominant secondary school, and spread into every section of the country. Developments in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania typify the academy movement everywhere.

In Massachusetts, Dummer Academy, opened in 1763, was given public recognition by a state charter, in 1782. In 1778, the Phillips Academy at Andover was founded and, in 1780, chartered. Twelve others were chartered by the legislature before 1797. In that year the state adopted the policy regarding them, namely, that each one should serve an area with a population of between thirty and forty thousand, and land grants should be provided for properly located and endowed academies. By 1830, 68 academies had been chartered and that number had more than doubled by 1860. The annual enrollment in all of them seems not to have risen above 4,000. Some of them, such as Andover, were for boys; others, such as Leicester (1784) were for both sexes; and still others, such as Ipswich Seminary (1825), were for girls only.

In Pennsylvania, the legislature circumvented the spirit of the state constitution by encouraging the establishment of semi-public academies, in most of which provision was made, by meager state grants, for the education of a few poor children gratis. In 1838, a system of annual grants to academies and "female seminaries" chartered by the state was adopted, but that practice was abandoned in 1843. The legislature chartered approximately 70 academies between

1780 and 1830, and a total of 155 prior to 1870. It was reported to the State Superintendent of Schools in 1841 that there were 4,154 students enrolled in academies and seminaries which were receiving aid from the state. In addition to these state-chartered schools, approximately 178 others were chartered by county courts between 1840 and 1909, but these were purely local or sectarian schools which never received state aid. To these there ought to be added the female seminaries of which the state chartered 59 in the period 1829–1879, and the county courts, 26 in the period 1840–1909.<sup>24</sup> In addition to grants of money, many of the earlier state-chartered academies were given grants of land. Some of these state academies were, by legislative plan, county academies, and their trustees were elected by the county electorate, and their accounts audited by the county auditors. With a few exceptions the state-chartered academies were non-sectarian in control and in spirit. With the exception of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia, purely denominational academies seldom or never received state grants.

Because the state aid was most meager, the academies depended for their support upon student fees and private gifts. When public high schools and state normal schools came into competition with them, and the state withdrew its support entirely, they closed one by one. Some of them were sold for debt, others became normal schools and colleges, and a large number were transferred to public school districts and became, in many places, the nuclei of high schools. The merging of older with newer institutions has gone on continually throughout the United States. Many old Latin schools became academies, and these have been often converted into high schools. There has been a significant continuity in our institutional development.

(2) *The Academy Curriculum.* In keeping with our developing democracy and expanding industrial and commercial life, the academy offered instruction in such a variety of subjects that there were few, if any, whose interests and needs it did not serve. In the variety of its offerings, the academy stands in marked contrast with the Latin grammar school, which catered to an aristocratic few who were preparing themselves for college rather than for life. The academy prepared students for anything and everything, and was not very systematic in doing so. While organized curricula appeared, students enjoyed much freedom in selecting from the conglomerate mass of offerings the studies they desired. The academy thus tried hard to

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<sup>24</sup> J. Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, 1933, 252, 416.



meet the needs of our emerging democracy, and to give recognition to the new elements that science and economic changes had added to the culture of western nations. It is worthy of note that religious and moral instruction, without sectarian bias, was frequently provided in academies.

(3) *Popularity of the Academy.* Catering to a large middle class, the academy attained wide popularity. By 1850, opposition to it had become marked on the grounds (1) that it was socially exclusive and beyond the reach of the poor who could not pay fees, however small; (2) that it created class distinction; and (3) that grants to it came from everybody's pocket, while some could not afford to attend it. The demand for a secondary school, free to all, and supported by public taxes, arose, and the public high school appeared and gradually supplanted the academy.

**Development of State Systems, 1830-1870.**—The middle decades of the century were marked by a great increase in industry and wealth, greatly improved means of transportation and communication, a rapid growth of cities, and the influx of foreigners in increasing numbers. In 1860, over four million of our population were of foreign birth. Our slave population increased from about 700,000 in 1790, to nearly 4,000,000 in 1860. By the close of the period male suffrage had become almost a universal practice, property qualifications for citizenship being abolished. The period ended with the abolition of slavery. Generally, it was a period of very significant and rapid economic, social and political change, when, at least in broad outline, there was moulded the form of America's destiny until the present day. Education felt the impact of all these changes. With the exception of New England and, to a degree, of New York, where it was one of "revival" of public schools, the period was one of origin of our state school systems.

Among the many influential forces operating to produce our public school system in this period were: (1) the organized labor movement and the growing consciousness among all workers of the social implications of democracy, (2) foreign influence, and (3) the activities of our own social and educational reformers. Organized labor, sensing its political power and adopting the Baconian philosophy that "knowledge is power," demanded that the children of workers be admitted to all the educational advantages traditionally enjoyed by the rich. To this end labor demanded state systems of public schools in which rich and poor should meet on a basis of equality. While labor was urging its demands, American educators were studying

European educational developments and publishing reports on happenings abroad, particularly in Prussia and France. John Griscom, William C. Woodbridge, Calvin Stowe, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard were among the many who returned from Europe with important educational messages for America. The report of the French educational reformer, Victor Cousin, on public instruction in Germany (1831) was reprinted by the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, and had much influence in other states. All of these reports strengthened the conviction that our states ought to provide good schools for the masses; that the curriculum ought to be enriched; that improved methods of teaching ought to be adopted; and that the children of the nation have a right to the services of teachers specially trained for their work and adequately compensated. The message of reform was published also in educational magazines which appeared from 1825 onward.

Of our numerous educational leaders of the highest rank we can mention only two here, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, both of whom rose to national prominence. Reforms had already begun before they attained leadership from the late thirties onward. Mann, as first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (1837-1848), found many of the existing school laws neglected, the public largely unconcerned about education, the amount of schooling available entirely inadequate, thousands of children growing up illiterate, teachers untrained, and the quality of instruction of a very low order. He worked indefatigably to enlighten the public regarding the importance of education and the need for reform. He went through the state, year after year, preaching the gospel of better schools. In his annual reports, his *Common School Journal*, and other publications, he continued that program of enlightenment until his message spread throughout the nation and far beyond it. His views on the reform of methods of teaching and school discipline led him into a bitter controversy with Boston schoolmasters who favored the old authoritarian practices. As a result, the reforms he proposed rose in popular favor. He was drawn, however, into a religious controversy more replete with dangers for public education. He and a majority of the State Board of Education were Unitarians and were, therefore, suspected by conservative theologians of favoring secular schools.

While property owners, opposed to taxation, were the chief obstacle to the establishment of free schools for everyone, many church leaders, fearing secular schools, stood in the first ranks of the opposition forces. Many Protestant churchmen objected to non-sectarian

religious instruction on the ground that such is non-religious, and Catholics considered it but Protestant trickery. Mann favored non-sectarian religious instruction but opposed all denominational propaganda in public schools. The Protestant churchmen asked that each school district be left free to decide the issue for itself. To that demand, Mann made a famous reply, easily accessible to students, which has contributed much to the clarity of thinking on the whole issue ever since. He showed how sectarian controversies make it impossible to find a solution of the problem satisfactory to everyone, or to the state itself, which subscribes to no one theology. The state, said he, cannot permit its schools, established for its own preservation, to be used for the advantage of one sect over others. The questions of state control of religion and of compulsory religious training were involved in the controversy. Mann would not have the state dragged into theological quarrels. Nor did he think that school districts should be permitted to settle the question locally. Said he: "This year, the everlasting fires of hell will burn to terrify the impenitent; next year, and without any repentance, its eternal flames will be extinguished, to be rekindled forever, or to be quenched forever as it may be decided at annual town meetings." The debate on the question throughout America brought the acceptance of the principle that free public education in our democratic society must be secular in character, and that the family, church, or some other agency must assume responsibility for religious education. Some states and communities are now departing somewhat from that time-honored principle by providing, on public school time, for sectarian religious instruction of public school students in local churches, and by giving school credit for such instruction.

In Connecticut, Henry Barnard, as secretary of the State Board of Education, was, with a brief intermission, the successful missionary of public education. From 1838 onward, like Mann, he became a national figure, and upon him was conferred the honor of being made first United States Commissioner of Education. In 1855 he began to publish the *American Journal of Education*, and remained its editor for thirty-one years. It was truly a national journal. It carried information about educational developments in every state and in foreign countries. It remains today one of the priceless records of our educational past. The scholarly character of his publications, and his indefatigable labor in the cause of public education earned for Barnard the universal respect of his contemporaries. In shaping the character of our state school systems no other individual has been more influential than he,



**Developments in New England.**—Here the most important developments were: (a) the establishment in each state, between 1838 and 1846, of a state board of education as a central education authority; (b) the establishment of state normal schools, the first being created by Massachusetts in 1839; and (c) the laying of the basis of free schools by the adoption of public taxation for their support, the Massachusetts law of 1827 setting a pattern for the other states.

**Developments in the Middle States.**—In New York, the office of state superintendent of schools, created in 1812 and abolished in 1820, was reestablished in 1854. In 1812, local taxation for schools, previously permissive, was made compulsory. While the state added annual grants to local school funds, the money available from these sources was inadequate, and it was not until 1867 that the schools were made free through increased taxation. In educational administration, important steps were taken between 1841 and 1862 in establishing the office of county and town superintendents and of town supervisors. These local authorities worked actively to improve the schools in their areas. State interest in teacher training appeared in 1833, when a grant was made to some academies in support of a teachers' training course. In 1837, city school systems, under local boards, were authorized by law. In 1844, the first state normal school was established at Albany. The important Union School Act of 1853 authorized adjacent districts to create a board of education. These union boards were given the power to take over academies and to establish public high schools.

In Pennsylvania, districts were permitted by the law of 1834 to establish free public schools. In 1849, that permission was made a requirement. Yet, it was not until 1886 that all districts complied with the law. Until 1857, the Secretary of State was the state superintendent of schools, but in that year a separate office of superintendent was established. In 1854, the county superintendency was authorized by law, and the township, rather than the district, was made the administrative unit. In the same year, local school boards were given power to establish schools of different grades, thus clearing the way for more efficient organization and for the establishment of high schools. Developments in the other middle states were similar to that of Pennsylvania.

**Developments in Virginia and the South.**—In 1829, the legislature of Virginia authorized districts to establish public schools to be supported in part by public taxation. The charity school plan of educating the poor was, however, strongly entrenched here, and only a

few districts used the power given them by the law of 1829. Slavery, an aristocratic social tradition, and strong opposition to the centralization of governmental power were among the chief forces retarding the establishment of a state system of public schools. The law of 1846, however, permitted counties to vote on the question of a system of tax-supported schools if one-third of the electorate so wished. Before the Civil War, the principle of public education had been adopted in nearly one-fourth of the state, but only a few districts had resorted to taxation for the support of schools, with the result that the education of the poor remained in the realm of charities.

North Carolina passed a permissive free school law in 1839, which provided for an allotment of \$60 to each district, one-third of which was to be raised by county taxes, and two-thirds to be provided by the state. The free schools thus established were popularly branded as pauper schools, and were opposed by influential and conservative social groups. In 1853, the state superintendency was created, and Caleb H. Wiley held the office until 1865. His achievements were similar to those of Horace Mann in Massachusetts, but the reforms he introduced suffered a decline after the Civil War.

Elsewhere in the South, though progress was slower, developments were similar to those described. Free school laws were usually rendered ineffective by the lack of that strong middle class which, outside of the South, was the most influential force on the side of free public schools.

**Developments in the Middle West.**—Though the pioneers on the moving frontier carried the traditions of their old environments with them, some of which were antagonistic to free public schools, conditions on the frontier were hostile to old social prejudices, and demanded pioneering in the social as in the economic sphere. Our democracy is, in a significant degree, a child of the frontier. In Ohio, where New England tradition was strong, the state superintendency of schools was created in 1837, and a public tax-supported school system was established in 1838. Yet there was opposition to centralization of control, and there came some retreats from this early advanced position. In 1853, public school tuition fees were abolished legally, but, often, not in practice.

In Indiana and Illinois the struggle for free schools was largely one between the settlers in the southern sections, who came mostly from below the Ohio River, and those in the northern sections, who came usually from New York and New England. Those from the South thought of public education as a charity; those from the East

thought of it as a public service and a right of all children. And the settlers from the East, in revolt against privilege in education, eventually won in their struggle for democracy in education. The first Constitution of Indiana (1816) required the legislature to establish a state system of free schools ascending from the first grade to, and including, a state university. Township schools were permitted by a law of 1816, but, proper provision for their support by local taxation being rigorously opposed, the schools did not become free until 1869, when the legislature passed a law, approved as constitutional by the courts, which permitted local taxation. Educational control was completely decentralized by the substitution of the district for the township system in 1833, and by permitting, in 1836, a family to employ its own teacher and receive a share of state funds. In Illinois, the influence of settlers from the South had results similar to those of Indiana. Here a law was passed in 1827 which provided that no citizen should be taxed for schools unless he had given his written consent. In both of these states private schools and academies flourished until public sentiment in favor of common schools had been fully aroused by leaders such as Caleb Mills, in Indiana, and Ninian W. Edwards, in Illinois.

In Michigan, where French, German and New England influences were at work, the Territorial Legislature authorized, in 1817, the establishment of the University of Michigania to provide higher education and to control all education in the state, as had been done in New York and Georgia, in 1784. The law remained inoperative. In 1827, a township common school system to be supported by taxation was adopted, but the taxation plan was soon replaced by a tuition or rate system. In 1837, an effective law was passed which created a state superintendency and local school authorities, and provided for the support of schools by state and local taxes plus tuition. The present University of Michigan was founded in the same year. After 1850, free schools became a reality.

**Public Schools Become Free.**—Following the Revolution, there spread generally the belief that universal education was essential to our democracy, but it took nearly three-quarters of a century to secure popular approval of taxation for schools, without which universal education is unattainable. In the meantime resort was had to various other schemes of support. Chief among these was that of charity or pauper education, generally adopted in the middle and southern states, Pennsylvania furnishing a good example of the practice. Here, the Constitution of 1790 called for the education of the poor *gratis*, and



the laws of 1802 and 1804 gave effect to that provision by requiring all teachers of reading and writing to instruct all poor children sent them by overseers of the poor. The cost should be defrayed out of poor relief funds. The amount of free schooling was limited by state or local regulations usually to three or four years. Private and church schools thus profited at the expense of the feelings of the poor, whose poverty was made a public matter. While the rich did not want their children to sit beside paupers, the paupers were even more uncomfortable, and many of them preferred illiteracy to public scorn. Out of 350,000 children of school age in the state in 1829, less than 10,000 were being educated as charity pupils, and apparently about one-half of them were not attending any school. Here, as elsewhere, the system was a failure.

Another method of reaching the poor appears in the work of "Public School" societies, supported by philanthropists, and conducting schools free to the poor and with low tuition rates for others. There were twelve of these in Philadelphia in 1830. The work of such societies appears at its best in that of the New York Public School Society, founded in 1805, and known as the Free School Society until 1826. Its first school was opened in 1806 on the Lancasterian monitorial plan. The city and state made grants in aid of its work. The Society established a system of graded free schools open to all classes. The churches, particularly the Catholic, attacked the Society for alleged sectarianism and protested against the grant of public funds to it. After years of controversy the Society, in 1852, turned over 115 schools and other property to the city Board of Education. While it operated, it educated over 600,000 children and trained over 1,200 teachers. Societies like these pointed the way to tax-supported free schools.

Lotteries were another device frequently used for the support of schools. Churches, colleges and academies were often authorized to raise money in this way. Many states, too, conducted public lotteries, or demanded a share of monies raised in this way by colleges and academies, in order to augment state school funds. When the moral evil of the practice came to be sufficiently sensed, it was soon abandoned.

A plan of school support adopted by every state when taxation was unpopular was that of a state school fund as a form of permanent endowment of education. Land endowment of individual schools or of schools of a town was not unusual in colonial times. In 1726 and again in 1753, Connecticut set aside public land as a basis of a school fund for the whole colony. In 1795, a permanent school fund was

created from the proceeds of the sale of her public lands in the Western Reserve. Other states with public land took similar steps. States without public land created a permanent school fund derived from a variety of fees, special taxes, lotteries or, sometimes, direct appropriations. At times, these funds were administered as local funds and, at times, as state funds. Ohio, by law in 1802, permitted each township to administer its sixteenth section given to it for schools. Such local administration proved to be wasteful, and the demand for state administration grew. Yet, the states also, in most cases, squandered the public school endowment. It was hoped that the income from such funds, when distributed over the state would, when supplemented by a small local tax, make tuition fees unnecessary. Where the state used the power of the purse to stimulate local effort, progress toward free education and better schools was hastened. In Connecticut between 1821 and 1854, a free school system was supported by the fund without resort to local taxation.

Lastly, there was legally authorized in New York, New England, and the northwestern states a local tuition tax on every parent who had children at school and could afford to pay. That tax was called the "rate bill." The practice was but a disguise for the charity-school practice of Pennsylvania and the South. In the rate-bill states, the schools were public, and the teacher received a small salary out of public funds which, being inadequate, had to be supplemented by rates levied upon parents. The practice was a survival of that of colonial New England towns. Many districts in the whole rate-bill area did not exempt the poor from the tax, and many parents, who could afford to pay, kept their children at home to avoid paying it. The result was vicious. Social reformers and educational leaders struggled against the evil, and gradually local taxation was adopted and the schools of the nation became free.

The struggle for the abolition of rate bills was long and bitter, but tax-supported free schools were authorized by law as follows: Massachusetts, 1827; Delaware, 1829; Vermont, 1850; Ohio, 1853; Iowa, 1858; New York, 1867; Rhode Island, 1868; Connecticut, 1868; Michigan, 1869; and New Jersey, 1870. Other states, such as Pennsylvania and Indiana, moved slowly from permissive to compulsory free school laws and enforced them reluctantly when they finally enacted them.

During the period, private schools, in thousands, existed in every state. Upon them rather than upon public schools the rich bestowed the support and patronage which, since 1870, has rapidly gone to the making of good public schools. Opposition to state interference in

education, to taxation, to the principle of equality of educational opportunity and to the secular idea of education had to be overcome before our present system could be firmly established. Reformers, however, gradually convinced the public of the national need for free, universal, public and secular education, of the possibility of its support, and of its greater advantages for society. Growing world nationalism and the changing social scene at home made the adoption of state school systems a national necessity.

**The Rise of the High School.**—We have noted the semi-public character of some academies. An occasional one, usually called a "free academy," came to be supported in part by local taxation and was free to local pupils, but it remained under the control of a board of trustees and not of a public school board. These "free academies" first appeared in some of our cities in the late eighteen-forties, that of Norwich, Connecticut, probably being the first.<sup>25</sup> Some preferred this type of school to the public high school which had begun to appear. Twenty years before the coming of "free academies," there appeared, first in New York and then in a few other cities, monitorial "high schools," supported mainly by philanthropists, and, while open to all classes, designed to reduce the cost of secondary education and bring it within the reach of some of the poor. Such a school for boys was opened, in 1825, by the New York High School Society, a stock company, and, a few years later, a similar school was opened in Philadelphia in connection with the Franklin Institute. Governor De Witt Clinton of New York urged the legislature to provide for the establishment of such schools throughout the state, but without effect. In the twenties and later many stock companies were incorporated in the East, and some in the West, to establish "high schools," and some of these companies were assisted by local taxation. Providing instruction in the "higher English branches" and the sciences seems to have been among the leading aims of many organizers of such "high schools."

**Public High School in Massachusetts.**—In 1821, Boston established, as a part of the city system, the English Classical School, but changed its name, in 1824, to the English High School. It was to be for those interested in "mercantile or mechanical" pursuits what the Latin classical school was for those preparing for college. And it was designed to enlarge the free public school offerings so that parents need no longer send their children away from home to academies for

<sup>25</sup> Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, II. 696.



instruction preparatory to "active life." It was not to be a college-preparatory school, as was the Boston Latin school of that day. It was organized as a three-year school as against the five-year plan of the Latin school. Advanced English studies, mathematics, pure and applied sciences, and some social studies constituted the first curriculum. It was, for that day, a "modern" curriculum which embodied a semi-vocational motive. As such, it was not new in America. Similar studies, prompted by a similar motive, were taught in many colonial schools and in academies from Franklin's time onward. Indeed, an organized English curriculum had been well developed in many academies before the high school appeared. The most significant aspect of the Boston school was that it was under public control and was supported by public taxation. It was, too, a free school. The essential features of the American high school of today were stamped upon it. However, the four-year coeducational high school preparing both for college and for life had a gradual emergence in Massachusetts and elsewhere in the United States. In 1826, Boston established a high school for girls, the popularity of which made it so costly that it was closed in 1828. Other Massachusetts towns soon followed the example of Boston. Worcester, in 1824, established a Female High School; and a high school was opened in Salem, in 1826, and in Lowell, in 1831. Of greatest import, however, was the enactment, in 1827, of the Massachusetts law requiring towns of five hundred families to establish schools of the English high school type, and towns of four thousand inhabitants to provide instruction in Latin, Greek, and other specified subjects. That was the first high school law in America, although it was often ignored until 1859 when its requirements were made more definite by a new law.

**The High School Movement.**—The rapidity with which the movement spread through other states indicates that there was at work in the changing social scene of America a democratic spirit which created, among other things, the "poor man's college," as the high school was commonly called. In 1838, the Central High School of Philadelphia was opened. In 1839, high schools were established in Baltimore, and in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1847, the New York legislature authorized the establishment of high schools in Lockport and New York City. Prior to the Civil War, high schools had appeared as far south as New Orleans (1843) and as far west as San Francisco (1858). Many of our earliest high schools were planned in advance of their founding, but the typical high school of the American panorama just "grew up" as the top of the expanding "common"

school. The way had been prepared for that development by the grading of students for the sake of school efficiency, in place of individual recitation by each student. In the graded system, the pupils were grouped according to their advancement, and each group came to have its own teacher, its own room and, later, its own floor or building. The grading movement was under way in the forties and was completed in rural areas about 1900. In the process of grading, the upper grades were frequently called "the high school grades," although they might have been but the fifth and sixth grades in a district. To these, higher grades were later added, these being again called the high school grades. This upward expansion showed a general tendency to terminate with the twelfth grade, the upper four grades becoming our high school. As it evolved, the high school conformed closely with its definition as formulated by Henry Barnard, in 1839: "A public or common school for the older and more advanced scholars of the community . . . [offering] a course of instruction adapted to their age, and intellectual and moral wants, and, to some extent, to their future pursuits in life."<sup>26</sup> The curriculum of most earlier high schools was much narrower than that of the academy because of the cost to the public. The curriculum, however, expanded in response to public demands and with the enlargement of its purposes to include preparation of youths for higher schools and for a variety of vocations.

**Democracy and the Inner Life of the School.**—The changing spirit of democracy affected the inner life of our schools as it did also the external aspects of our education. Thus our curriculum grew in answer to popular demand, and trained teachers carried a new attitude into the school. Not the least significant of the reforms hastened by the democratic spirit, and the only one to which we can refer here, was that of the method of teaching. Imitation of the teacher, repetition and memorization of subject matter and its rules marked colonial method. Texts were then scarce and costly. In the early national period, texts became plentiful and students were required to memorize them. Horace Mann denounced this textbook method as well as the practice of permitting different students to use different texts in the same subject. Both subject matter and method had become very formal. Ponderous rules for performing equally ponderous and often useless exercises in the several subjects taught had to be memorized. Pupils' interests and abilities were ignored. Educa-

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<sup>26</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of Connecticut*, 1850.

tion was viewed as an intellectual, moral, and religious discipline, and corporal punishment insured its effectiveness. After 1820, Pestalozzianism began to change the atmosphere of the school. With it came the more sympathetic teacher who thought of education not as a discipline but as a development of child nature through interesting and useful experiences and activities. The selection of appropriate subject matter, and its better organization and presentation appeared as a phase of the new education of the period. The gloomy supernaturalism and discipline of earlier times gradually disappeared as we came to feel that in a democracy children, too, have rights. Teachers of the past would make studies difficult for the sake of discipline; the new teacher would make studies easy for the sake of the full growth and happiness of children. The hopes of "geography made easy," of "grammar made easy," and of mastering spelling "in a few easy lessons" now began to approach their realization.

**State Universities.**—The idea of publicly controlled universities spread widely in the Revolutionary years, and the Ordinance of 1787 provided, as we have seen, large land grants for universities in the Northwest Territory. The old colleges of the East, after a struggle, were rendered inviolate by a Supreme Court decision, in 1819, which declared that the state of New Hampshire must respect the old charter of Dartmouth College. Because of a colonial heritage, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are the only states without a state university. In 1789, the University of North Carolina was chartered, but it did not open until 1795, and the other southern states followed that lead one by one. Jefferson, influenced in part by French ideas which had operated earlier in New York and Georgia and later in Michigan, planned, in 1818, for Virginia a state university as the head institution in the state public school system. The university did not open until 1825. In the West, one of the first activities of the legislature of each new state was to lay the plans of a state university. Thus, by 1860, a state university had come to be viewed as a part of our public school system. Colonial colleges were liberal arts colleges. A professional course in medicine, however, was offered at Pennsylvania in 1765, and at Columbia in 1767. After the Revolution professorships of law began to appear. From 1850, graduate schools stressing research slowly emerged. There was a rapid expansion of the curriculum of our higher institutions from 1820 onward.

**Developments in Girls' Education.**—We have seen how the academies and female seminaries enlarged the educational opportunities



of girls, and how stress upon ornamental training gave way to a stress upon solid intellectual training for the female sex. For women the world had been changed by the breakdown of authoritarianism consequent upon the Reformation, by the growth of the spirit of rationalism, by the rise of political liberalism, and by the growth of economic opportunities for them resulting from the Industrial Revolution. Conscious of this new and larger world, American women began to demand for themselves "a college like a man's." The nearest approaches to the attainment of that goal before the Civil War were Mary Sharp College, Tennessee (1848), and Elmira Female College, New York (1852). Vassar College, which opened in 1865, was the first woman's college which, in endowment and solidity of its offerings, was the equal of good colleges for men. Long before, in 1833, Oberlin College had admitted women, as did coeducational Antioch College from its opening in 1853. Iowa State University opened in 1856 as a coeducational institution. The other state universities west of the Mississippi admitted girls from the start. In addition to the separate and coeducational colleges, there were established by some older universities, such as Tulane (1886), Columbia (1889), and Harvard (1894) coöperate colleges for women.

While these developments were in their earliest stage, separate high schools for girls and coeducational high schools were appearing. In 1826, Boston opened its girls' high school, and other Massachusetts towns soon followed that lead. But separate high schools for the sexes were the rule until Lowell, in 1840, began the practice of coeducation. The desirability of coeducation was long debated throughout the country but, for many reasons one of which was lower cost, the coeducational high school became the almost universal practice in America. In the middle western states high schools were coeducational from the start. Only the older section of the country hesitated, but the period of hesitation was not long. State public school laws did not discriminate against girls. Only in a few large cities in the South and East do separate high schools for boys and girls still survive. The provision of coeducational high schools was one of the most significant triumphs of democracy in education in the nineteenth century. That victory was largely won by 1870. It opened to girls the same secondary educational opportunities which boys enjoyed in the public system. By 1900 there were more girls than boys in public high schools. Given the opportunity, girls demonstrated their ability to master the solid subject matter which had long been thought to be beyond their intellectual power.

### Expansion of Public Schools, 1870-1940

By 1870, the groundwork of our public school system had been firmly laid, but the superstructure was still very imperfect. The legal right of districts to establish high schools as part of the common-school system of states was challenged in the courts but was upheld, probably the best known decision being that of the supreme court of Michigan in the Kalamazoo Case, in 1872. Legal obstacles to the establishment of high schools were thus removed. Since 1875, when the National Education Association first undertook the task of bringing order and unity into the studies in our schools from the primary grade upward, a number of attempts have been made to standardize the work of our secondary schools. Such attempts appear in the work of regional standardizing agencies, like the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1885), the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland (1892), and other similar organizations. In addition to these regional efforts, there were others made with a view to producing order on a national scale. Such was the work of the Committee of Ten of the N.E.A. (1892), of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1895), and of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1918). These agencies contributed much to the clarification of thinking regarding the objectives, curriculum, and organization of public secondary education. The earlier national commissions bequeathed to us the somewhat dubious principle that all subjects studied for the same length of time are of equal value, thus clearing the way for the recognition of non-academic studies in our high schools.

Since 1870, there has been a rapid growth of facilities for training teachers. Between 1870 and 1890 more than fifty state normal schools were founded but, until after 1900, few of them required their entering students to be high school graduates. Before the Civil War, "normal departments" had appeared in some colleges to train high school teachers. After the war, the movement was taken up by the universities, the state universities of the Middle West leading the way. While progress was rapid in the closing decades of the century, schools, outside of cities and larger towns, were small and their standards were low. Until 1890, the work in public elementary schools was frequently confined to the 3 R's. During and after the Civil War, women rapidly replaced men as teachers, first in elementary schools and then in high schools. Outside of cities and large towns teachers' salaries were low. In the seventies, rural women teachers

were paid from thirty to forty dollars monthly, and men about five dollars more. In 1900, the average annual salary of American teachers was \$310. In the same decade, the majority of rural schools were taught by one teacher. The grading movement, however, spread rapidly after 1870.

When the century closed, education was compulsory in nearly all states outside of the South, and in the majority of the states the age of compulsory attendance was from eight to fourteen, no state requiring attendance below the age of seven. In 1900, the minimum school year ranged from eight weeks in some states to eight months in others. In the South, the Civil War was followed by a forty-year economic depression. For education the burden was increased by the need for separate Negro schools. Rich philanthropist, came to the assistance of the impoverished states. Thus, in 1867, George Peabody, of Massachusetts, established a \$3,500,000 fund for education of poor whites and Negroes. Yet until the close of the century, the masses were very poorly provided for. In 1900, approximately 40 per cent of the people of the South were illiterate. There were yet no compulsory education laws there. The average annual salary paid to southern teachers was \$159 in 1900. Among the significant reforms for Negroes during the post-war years was that of the organization of industrial training for them. The movement, of earlier origin, resulted in the founding of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, in 1881, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington, and of a number of other similar private institutions later.

By 1900, pioneering in public education had ended. Since then its expansion has been very rapid, and private schools, numerous throughout the old century, quickly disappeared, until today less than 10 per cent of youths of compulsory school age are enrolled in private schools. In 1938, the total expenditure for public education had reached the 2½ billion dollar mark.<sup>27</sup> In 1890, there were about 200,000 students enrolled in public high schools. The high school enrollment in 1941-1942 was estimated by the U.S. Office of Education at 6,834,000,<sup>28</sup> and free secondary education was within the reach of nearly every child, children living at a distance being given free transportation to their high schools. On school buildings and their equipment huge sums have been expended. From a physical standpoint many of our schools have no equal in the world. The rapid increase in school enrollment, particularly in high schools, since 1900, has created the very difficult problem of providing proper education

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<sup>27</sup> *National Education Association, Research Bulletin*, May, 1941, 145.

<sup>28</sup> *School Life*, Nov., 1941, 55.



especially for non-academic students who seem to be in the majority. Our earliest high schools arose to prepare youths for practical life but, in time, the high school became largely subservient to the college, and tended to revert to traditional intellectualism. Colleges, it is true, were forced by the high school attitude of independence to broaden their entrance requirements but, becoming wedded to the college, the high school tended toward academic conservatism. Since 1900, however, the vocational ideal has gained ground in it.

**The Junior High School.**—While dissatisfaction with the graded school system, as it took shape, appeared earlier, and attempts, foreshadowing the coming of the junior high school, had been made, here and there, to correct its defects, the movement proper began when Charles W. Eliot, in the eighteen-eighties, called for a shortening and enriching of the elementary school curriculum. The Committee of Ten recommended that Latin, algebra and geometry be taught in the upper elementary school grades, and the Committee on College Entrance Requirements suggested that the high school should begin with the seventh grade. To bridge the gap between the elementary and high school, as well as to meet some other needs, the junior high school was organized. While schools of this type, bearing the same or other names, existed from 1880, or earlier, the most influential step toward complete reorganization was taken when, in 1909, the 6-3-3 plan was adopted in Berkeley, California. The movement spread quickly to other large cities. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, appointed in 1912, approved the view that secondary education should begin with the seventh grade, a view that has received national acceptance. In keeping with it our schools have come to be organized very frequently on the 6-6 plan or 6-3-3 plan, although the old 8-4 plan is still followed in many local systems.

**The Junior College.**—The upward expansion of public education eventually brought the public junior college. In 1902, President Harper, of the University of Chicago, feeling, as did others, that the work of the first two years of college was of secondary character, recommended a six-year high school course. Almost immediately, a junior college department was added to the high school at Joliet, Illinois. In 1907, the legislature of California authorized local boards of education to establish junior colleges. The movement has spread rapidly. In 1930, there were 171 public and 279 private junior colleges in the United States. In 1940, these figures had risen respectively to 261 and 349. Enrollment rose from 67,627 in 1930 to 236,162 in 1940.

**Vocational Education Since 1800.**—With the exception of a few private commercial schools, the apprenticeship system of vocational training was used exclusively until the nineteenth century. General education was then viewed as the work of the school. Beginning in 1820, there arose a few Mechanics' Institutes to provide secondary and technical instruction. Higher technical instruction came to be provided in such schools as the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1824), the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University (1847), and the Worcester Polytechnic Institute (1868). Such schools aimed to apply science to our industrial needs. In the meantime the manual labor schools, borrowed from Pestalozzi through Fellenberg, contributed to our growing interest in vocational training. From 1876 onward the manual training idea and practice held the center of the stage on the elementary and secondary school levels. While shop-work had a prominent place in manual training high schools, it was but a part of the whole course which continued to include basic high school subjects. The early leaders in the movement stressed the educational rather than the vocational value of such shopwork, which they considered an important part of general education. Special trades were not to be taught, but the mechanical principles underlying them all were to be. Students would not make specific articles, but they would learn how to use tools and materials. Yet, these leaders, at times, advocated such training so that we might not have to import our skilled workmen from abroad. The movement spread widely throughout the country, and from 1880 onward manual training gradually found a place in the program of normal schools. Teachers College, of Columbia University, had its origin in the need for teachers of manual training, and the Industrial Education Association, organized in 1884, was its founder. In 1893, it became a part of Columbia. The movement to train teachers of the manual arts spread gradually through the universities.

While these developments were taking place special private trade schools were appearing. Of this type were the New York Trade School (1881), and the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades, near Philadelphia (1891). In the former were taught not only trades but the scientific principles underlying the procedures of each. In the latter, which was designed to be a substitute for the apprenticeship system, only practical work was taught. As yet, the public, which approved of public manual training schools, opposed the idea of teaching trades at public expense. The acceptance of that idea spread rapidly since 1900. The breakdown of the apprenticeship system, specialization in industry, constant change in industrial tech-

niques, the rise of great industries, and the danger that workers might be exploited by distant employers and labor unions hastened the development.

What is known strictly as the vocational education movement dates from the appointment of a commission by Governor Douglas of Massachusetts, in 1905, to study how the schools can meet the needs of industry for trained workers. The report of this and later commissions led, within a few years, to the development of vocational education as a function of the public schools. In the meantime there was organized (1906) the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, on the board of directors of which were educators, manufacturers, social workers, and representatives of labor. Labor leaders feared that the movement would create a surplus of cheap labor, but approved of public trade schools if labor were given a voice in their control. The manufacturers, however, wished to hold complete control over them. Both groups recognized the need for such schools. The Society eventually brought agreement between industrialists and labor leaders, and public support for trade education followed. The opposition of educators, influenced by the academic tradition inherited from Greece and Rome, was more difficult to overcome, and some of them in our own day continue to scorn the vocational emphasis in education. Yet, most American schoolmen today define a liberal education not in terms of subject matter but in terms of the capacity and needs of individuals.

Between 1907 and 1917, vocational schools of different types, some private and some public, made their appearance in different parts of the country. Beginning, too, with the Massachusetts law of 1906, the states, one by one, authorized local school boards to provide industrial training, and appropriated funds in aid of such local effort. Yet, the most important step in the movement was the passage, in 1917, of the federal Smith-Hughes Act, for which the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education long had worked. That law provided federal aid for the states by (a) paying the salaries of vocational teachers in secondary schools and (b) aiding higher institutions in training such teachers. The states were required to match the federal grant. As we have seen, the federal grants to vocational education have been greatly increased since then, particularly as a result of needs created by the Second World War.

**Vocational Guidance.**—The need of youth for scientific aid in choosing between occupations and vocational courses led to the estab-



lishment in Boston, in 1908, of the Vocation Bureau and Breadwinner's Institute. Men and women workers as well as college and high school students sought advice from the Bureau. The Boston School Committee asked the Bureau to assist in organizing a program of vocational guidance for the city schools. Soon the movement became national in scope. In 1912, the National Vocational Guidance Association was organized, and Professor Frank Leavitt, of the University of Chicago, its first president, offered, in the same year, the first graduate course in the subject of guidance. Guidance counseling has now become a prominent activity in many of our schools, and specialists are being trained for that work.

**American Educational Ideals.**—Since the Revolution, individuals and groups in the nation have given expression to the purposes of American education. Jefferson and a host of others have presented the ideals that they thought ought to guide our educational efforts. An examination will reveal that all such statements have much in common. The following statement by the superintendent of schools of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1869, represents a widely accepted philosophy: "The aim of our Public School system is to level society. There is no system of political economy in existence, nor was there ever one devised so efficient in destroying caste, and abolishing grades in the community. All systems that preceded it were artificial, and perished; this one is natural and must prevail. It does not promote its aims by lowering the hills to the level of the valleys, but by filling the valleys to the height of the hill-tops, thereby producing the broad, grand plain, where the chances are equal in the great battle of life."<sup>29</sup>

In 1918, there was published by the United States Bureau of Education a report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education called the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Therein appears the following statement: "Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the ideal of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of the individual by society, nor the disregard of the interests of society by the individual. . . . Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *First Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 13.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, 9.

The "seven cardinal principles" embodied the following seven objectives as guides to educational practice: (1) health, (2) command of the fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) worthy use of leisure time, (5) vocation, (6) citizenship, and (7) ethical character. The philosophy stated by the Commission has been very influential in determining practice, particularly in our secondary schools, during the past twenty-seven years, and represents one of the most important statements of our educational ideals. As has been our practice thus far, our philosophy has not been formulated by state officials but by professional educators who have thought of the well-being of each individual, and then of society, rather than of the state which is, in our view, but the creature and servant of both.

### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. Western nationalism originated in the city-states of ancient Greece, and even Christianity could not prevail against it. It is as unalterable a fact as the universe.

2. Nationalistic education, provided in national schools, is an essential counterpart of nationalism.

3. While the Reformation contributed much to the growth of modern nationalism and of national education, these developments would have occurred even if there had not been a Reformation.

4. Education, to be nationalistic, must be controlled, in all of its aspects, and supported by the central government of the nation-state.

5. The national school systems of Europe and that of the United States have developed in exactly the same way in all their essential aspects, and have been marked by the same general characteristics.

6. Because governments have always been the servants of economic and social interests, national school systems have always reflected the social stratifications existing in the nations themselves.

7. Education, said Aristotle, is a function of the state, and the servant of political systems, with the character of which it must conform. National school systems confirm that philosophy, and may have been influenced by it.

8. National education everywhere has meant the death of humanism and of humanistic educational ideals, although some nations have professed to be their protectors.

9. National education everywhere has been an instrument of political and social indoctrination. That has been its greatest defect.

10. The merits of national school systems have far outweighed their defects.

11. England can point with justifiable pride to the slow and reluctant encroachment of the state upon education, and to her success in keeping political ideology and all forms of propaganda out of her national schools.

12. The segregation of social classes, races, and sexes for educational purposes is not indoctrination.

13. There is some plausibility in the Communist charge that the scholarship system has robbed the laboring class of its best brains, and, thereby, has perpetuated social injustice.

14. There can be no equality of educational opportunity until education on all levels shall have become tax-supported and free, with maintenance provided by the state for all students in secondary and higher schools.

15. Teacher training has been made in every nation a function of the state. No nation can take the risk of leaving it in the hands of private agencies.

16. The lavish support of vocational education by governments reflects their concern for the welfare of the laboring class and of individuals.

17. The liquidation of illiteracy has been of greater value to the individual than to the state.

18. Education in the United States, as it developed, has reflected very clearly our changing civilization.

19. The American high school is uniquely American.

20. The development of educational opportunities for girls in Europe and the United States has reflected the same social attitudes and prejudices, has been determined by the same influences, and has been marked by the same characteristics.

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PART IV

THE DAWN OF THE NEW SOCIAL  
AND EDUCATIONAL ERA





## Chapter 14

### THE CRISIS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

While these words are being written the Second World War has come to an end. It was more than a titanic struggle between the nations for economic and political advantages. It was also a struggle between conflicting ways of life and conflicting ideologies. It is too soon to attempt to predict the shape of things to come. Wars breed fears and hatreds, and fears and hatreds breed other wars. Yet wars themselves are but the result of economic, social and political forces which, long gathering momentum, lead to violence, not because of necessity but because nations have not accepted the way of arbitration and peace in international disputes. As a condition rather than a cause of war there has come into active operation a psychological factor rooted in fear, greed, and feelings of national pride and frustration. That mental condition has been systematically fostered through formal education and a variety of propaganda devices. What has passed during the past century and a half as mass enlightenment, under the control of governments shackled by economic and historical forces, has been to an alarming degree the sowing of the psychological seeds of war. Our century of strife promises to be in important ways another turning point in history. While it is difficult to place one's own age accurately in the panorama of history and to untangle its intricate web, we know that the present, often bewildering to the social prophets, is the offspring of the past, and holds the secrets of the future, though they must as yet be labelled probabilities. Where the Socratic faith that, by reason and intelligence, men can build the nobler world still endures, we seek and critically examine the facts of the past and the present as guides to the world of the future. A summary statement of the outstanding characteristics of the twentieth-century world and its educational practices will help to reveal what has been, and stimulate inquiry as to what ought to be. For the teacher, or future teacher, it will serve as a useful conclusion to the story of the rôle of education in social evolution.

### Some Economic Aspects of the Century

Since the turn of the century, the world has been in a state of rapid change. The various parts of each modern industrial society and, indeed, of the whole modern world, because of its advanced industrial character, are so interdependent that changes are no longer piecemeal and gradual, but total and sudden. Different methods of social control of the economic machinery have been tried by the totalitarian and liberal states. The application of atomic power to industry, when and if that occurs, must lead to radical reforms in the social and political thought and practices of the world. Until the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, private capitalism, inherited from the preceding centuries and firmly entrenched, was the economic system of the civilized world. In its development it had passed through certain stages, the last being that of finance capitalism of our own day. At this latest stage, bankers and holding companies got control of industries, and organized them into huge combines and sometimes cartels. Stockholders, the real owners, often retained but a nominal voice in the management of their property. In the United States, for instance, a small number of great corporations controlled by a small number of directors, interlocking the corporations with a few great banks and insurance companies, control nearly half of our corporate wealth, in the name of absentee owners who have been removed farther and farther from their property. Profit for the financial experts directing the great machine, rather than social service, has been the predominant motivating force in the development. In the financing of new industries, and in manipulating the stock of old ones, the financial capitalists and the management, for their own gain, have often victimized the security holders, many of them small investors. The cost of financing corporations and their mismanagement led often to receivership and reorganization, with more profits for the insiders and more loss for the investors and the workers, whose wages had to be kept as low as possible. The chief social evil resulting from the system is the weakening of mass purchasing power essential to the well-being of capitalism and free private enterprise, the merits of which are attested by great achievements in every field of human effort in the past century and a half.

The chief danger that capitalism faces arises out of the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, who can consume but little, and the consequent lowering of the purchasing power of the masses, whose capacity for consumption, if properly educated in the use of our material culture, is as great as that of the wealthy. The rich



take their "spare money," and create new industries with it at home and abroad, where they come into conflict at times with foreign interests, and produce goods which the masses cannot purchase because of their poverty. The vicious circle created by overproduction and underconsumption threatens the whole private capitalistic system. The difficulty is increased by the fact that nations, like the United States, where the standard of living and wages are relatively high, have to compete in world markets with nations where living standards and wages are low. They are thus forced to cut production costs by keeping wages low and by substituting machines for men, and to set up high tariff barriers against goods produced in countries where labor gets a bare subsistence. International commercial rivalry, intensified by rapid improvement in industrial machinery, brought our First World War. That war brought the abandonment of capitalism in Russia, the bankruptcy of the defeated nations, staggering domestic and foreign debts for the victors and vanquished, the abandonment of international monetary standards, inflation, and world economic chaos. The crash of the New York Stock Market in 1929, which reverberated throughout the world, was a climax to the confusion created by the war and the causes back of it. Among the great nations, England weathered the storm of world depression best, largely because of commercial advantages derived through her Commonwealth of Nations, India, and her colonial empire. Heavy estate taxes have been forcing the gradual liquidation of great feudal property holdings in England itself, while small property owners have slowly but steadily increased in number, though many of the newcomers into the middle class accumulate very little property in a lifetime of effort. England, by minor and gentle adjustments, has, since the war, increased mass purchasing power slightly.

Economic dislocations and international rivalries since 1918 have brought a demand from some quarters for national self-sufficiency, or autarchy. The idea that the world can have peace only by ending international trade was advanced by J. G. Fichte, "the father of modern planning," in the early nineteenth century. He would make nations self-sufficient by the freeing of colonies, and by peaceful exchange of territory designed to ensure for them necessary raw material. Nazi-Fascist statesmen, the most vociferous advocates of autarchy in our time, were apparently inspired not by peaceful intent but by the desire for economic independence for the sake of waging successful wars. They would acquire wider self-sufficient territory by force and economic pressure. So many difficulties stand in the way of equalizing the wealth of nations and keeping it equal that the

scheme seems to be impossible of attainment. Autarchy, were it introduced, would inevitably bring economic collectivism within each nation and a further intensification of nationalism. Foreign trade creates commercial ties between nations, and promises better international relations than does exclusive economic nationalism. That autarchy should be proposed is but evidence of the vicious state into which the world has fallen. As against it there are those who believe that commercial jealousies, the basic cause of wars, can be eliminated, and an age of plenty for all nations created, by making trade competitive, free, and universal. Such a plan, it is urged, would make interruption of trade so costly that nations would not risk war.<sup>1</sup>

Underlying the economic unrest within each nation as well as in the international sphere are the developments of the last stage reached in the Industrial Revolution, characterized by the application of electric power to industry and by inventions of revolutionary import. Manufacturing processes have been placed under electric control, and automatic machinery of great power and increasing productive capacity has gradually replaced men in industry. Radio has annihilated space and time in the field of communication. Air transport has made all men neighbors and promises significant commercial results. Armies have become mechanized; wars have become *Blitzkriegs*; and bombers rain death and destruction upon cities and their civilian inhabitants. Wars, indeed, have become "total" wars, in which all individuals are engaged, and they are won or lost in factories as much as on battlefields. Industrial power has become master of the world. If men cannot control it, humanity is entering an age of slavery. Grief and misery for the workers in factories accompanied the flowering of the machine age. Yet, men hoped, as they still hope, that somewhere ahead lay Utopia. Have we created a Frankenstein which will destroy us, or shall we make that monster our servant in shaping a better life for humanity? We have the intelligence to meet the crisis. Sufficient knowledge of the important aspects of the problem, for which we look to our social scientists, while it may exist, is not enough. There must be the will to apply it. Perhaps the world needs a new mind. We worship machinery and the technical power it gives us. We have no desire to curb that power, even though it may destroy in a few hours, as it does in war, what it has taken years of labor to create. We often admire the gallantry and courage of an enemy who, using his technical might, destroys our lives and property. If we capture him, we are expected to treat him humanely. Into the hands of man,

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<sup>1</sup> M. J. Bonn, "The Structure of Society and Peace," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1940, 6-13.

whose spirit is still that of our savage ancestors, we have put not a club but a deadly machine. In our greed, hatred, envy—our whole emotional nature—we are still cave-men. With the aid of applied science these traits may destroy civilization. But technological progress has created another grave problem.

The struggle for foreign markets becomes more intense as foreign countries, one by one, become themselves industrialized. Canada, Australia, and India, for instance, which used to produce mainly raw material, are now manufacturing nations competing with the older ones in world trade. China has been taught the lesson that her life as a nation depends upon her factories. Thus the multiplication of machines adds new competitors, and progressively restricts the market of the older manufacturing nations, while home markets cannot absorb the increasing output. To meet the problem governments have, in different ways, attempted to control machinery, or have provoked war in the hope of expanding their markets. Technology has become a threat to liberty. The revival of old handicrafts, and the substitution of handmade products for those of machinery, a movement now assuming larger proportions, promises to alleviate unemployment, and to give some relief from the difficulty created by the machine. But the machine is here to stay, and the problems it gave rise to are the basic problems confronting the statesmen of the world.

### Some Social Aspects of the Century

**The Closing of the Frontier.**—The easy movement of people across national frontiers came to an end with the First World War. Between 1900 and that event there was a heavy tide of migration between European countries, and between the Old World and the New. That has now practically ceased. Throughout the world the frontier has been closed, with the result that the international struggle, and the social struggle within nations have been intensified.

**Population Increase and Pressure.**—The world's population has trebled since 1750, and has been largely urbanized and industrialized. Birth rates were not adjusted to economic changes, and kept rising beyond the overpopulation point. Foreign settlements were sought to relieve the pressure. Since the First World War, the birth rate in the more advanced industrial nations has reached a low mark, but the death rate in these has been kept low also. In more backward countries both rates have remained high. Japan, Russia, and Italy have had an increase in population due to a fairly steady, or increased,



birth rate and a decreasing death rate. Mussolini called upon his people to provide the nation with large families at a time when there were no migration outlets for his surplus millions except through conquest. When a people feels that its standard of living is low, due to overpopulation, it is likely to support a policy of aggression against its neighbors. The 1933 birth rate of Germany was 30 per cent less than enough to prevent the long-time decline of the population. The Nazi leaders were alarmed and called upon Germans for more births. More recently they have claimed the right to more *Lebensraum* at the expense of their neighbors. Even overpopulated nations wish to maintain their numbers for the sake of military strength. The lack of adequate resources to support such a population can be made a basis of aggressive, nationalistic sentiment. Nations with large resources such as the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and the United States, must rely upon other motives than population pressure to foster national sentiment. In these, too, evidence of decline in population causes official and unofficial concern. Free migration and free trade would ease for a time the tension created by population pressure, but nations with high standards of living and large territories quite reasonably oppose such measures. Free trade would be easier to adopt than free migration, but even that seems to offer but a temporary relief. The problem created by population pressure is one that must be dealt with, sooner or later, by the statesmen of the world.<sup>2</sup>

**Communication and Propaganda.**—Men live in two worlds: the world of fact, of reality, and the world of fancy. This latter world is almost universally a very inexact copy of the real one, but it alone we know. Each of us, in a lifetime, gathers a few facts about the real world, or a small segment of it. What we accept as knowledge of the world is almost entirely but cultural prejudice, not something based upon fact. Thus, the citizens of different nations see the world in different ways. What is regarded as fact in one nation is often a lie in another. Even well-educated people accept the myths of their own different mental worlds as realities. The modern world is so well supplied with news-gathering agencies and means of communicating information that it is possible to bring our mental world much closer to the world of reality than ever before in history. Yet, the

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<sup>2</sup> Ellsworth Huntingdon, "Agricultural Productivity and Pressure of Population," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1938, 73-92; Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "Levels of Living and Population Pressure," *Ibid.*, 93-100; Frank H. Hankins, "Pressure of Population as a Cause of War," *Ibid.*, 101-108.

two worlds are still almost as far apart as they have ever been. This is due in part to the fact that, because of technological advance and the impact of forces released by the First World War, the world of the twentieth century is almost a new world, the newness of which few have yet begun to realize. Most of us, for instance, still think of it as divided into wholly separate countries of different color, each one leading its own independent life. The truth is that the world has become an economic unit in which the individual has become an inhabitant not of one nation but of the earth. One fact will suffice to show the economic unity and interdependence of modern nations: Thirty-seven raw materials, of which only twenty-three are found in the United States, go into a telephone. We could not have a single telephone without materials for which we must go to China, India, South Africa, New Zealand, and other countries. The shortage of rubber, tin, tea, sugar and other products in America during the war is likely to make our people conscious of the economic interdependence of all countries. We learn more about the world through war than in our school courses in economic geography, but that is a costly way to get knowledge. The changes in the present century have been so rapid that even our highly efficient means of communication and of disseminating knowledge have not been able to keep pace with them. But, still more, some governments have controlled communication in order to hide the real world from their people.

Respect for truth, and the right of men to seek it have marked democratic social thought and practice. If our mental world in America, for instance, has been far removed from reality (and it has been), that was not due to obstacles to truth created by agencies of the state. Private news agencies, for motives of their own, may have at times given us distorted, or even untruthful, pictures of events, but none of these had a monopoly in the field, and the road to truth was never closed, though at times it was a tortuous one. For the totalitarian states, the story is an entirely different one. In them, governments have attempted not to change the mental world of their people, but rather to change the real world so that it might conform with their conception of it. And they have tried to shape the physical world of tomorrow by building a picture of it in the minds of their people. To these ends, academic freedom, and freedom of speech and of the press were abolished, and all news and ideas were brought under rigid government control. In Nazi Germany, for instance, listening to foreign broadcasts was made a crime, to which very severe penalties were attached.

**Propaganda.**—The difficulty in bringing our mental world and the real world together has been increased by official and unofficial agencies of propaganda whose aim is to mould public opinion in order to further some desired ends. There are numerous forms of propaganda, some of which are useful and some harmful. Propaganda to prevent syphilis is useful; propaganda to create a market for an injurious drug is harmful. There is propaganda within one's own nation, and propaganda from without. Governments, churches, labor organizations, commercial agencies, political pressure groups, individuals, etc., engage in propaganda of one form or another. In a democracy, propaganda can and ought to play a socially useful rôle, because we often do not have facts, and the public is more likely to act wisely in public affairs if it can hear the opposing arguments of different schools of thought. In debates some elements of truth are likely to emerge. It is important that the public shall know what interests the various propagandists represent, and it has a right to insist that their pleadings conform with rules of fair competition. Deliberate falsehood ought to be forbidden. In the international sphere no standards of fair pleading exist, and the propagandist is expected to lie for the good of his country. Had the League of Nations and the World Court survived, some rules of international honesty might have emerged. The world needs some international agency possessing the power to curb international liars through the enforcement of rules of honesty in presenting national policies to the world. Indeed, such an agency ought to control the internal propaganda of individual nations when it is used to stir up race hatred, international tension, or any prejudice inimical to peaceful and orderly relationship between men.

One of the greatest evils of our time has been the propaganda of the totalitarian dictators by which, through schools and other very effective channels of mass impression, they have converted their youth into racial and national bigots, who, regardless of any re-education program, will transmit that bigotry to their children and their children's children. Such a procedure must be ended if civilization is to survive. The almost complete control of the dictators over all instruments and agencies of communication apparently shut out very effectively the opinions of those opposed to them both at home and abroad. The views of people in democratic countries about their totalitarian neighbors have probably been distorted, but they have been crystal-clear compared with those of people living under the dictators. That propaganda has been so successful is due in part to the fact that it has been grounded upon an understanding of human



nature. Environmental factors, including culture, affect man's behavior in very important ways, but his instincts, which environment and cultural habits can never eradicate, remain as a potent determiner of his actions.

Propaganda is a technique of influencing our actions, and it is a cheaper means of securing mass support for some policy than force or bribery. Its purpose is to make people think and act as we want them to do. It does that by promising them certain gains, and by appealing to some primitive instinct before real knowledge has had a chance to influence their reason. Indeed, most people do not avoid certain dangers, let us say, to health, because they know the dangers, but rather because they fear the consequences of ignoring them. It is fear, in such a case, that makes men reason. We are basically feeling or instinctive animals, as Aristotle taught. We feel first; we think afterwards. Yet we proceed from feeling to a rational justification of our behavior, and then disavow its instinctive basis. All this the trained propagandist knows, and he proceeds accordingly. He knows that men are passive beings, whose egotism, false pride, and other human traits he can use to attain his ends. He also knows that men have active drives, such as those of fear and hate, which he can also use in attaining perhaps other ends. The propagandist plays upon love, hate, and fear. In peacetimes we find release for our emotion of hate in political campaigns and in some sports; in wartimes we substitute savage for civilized modes of hatred. The trained propagandist knows that. When normal, civilized outlets for men's emotions are restricted, as they are to a greater degree in totalitarian than in liberal states, and when the individual's life becomes regimented and largely passive, the pent-up, repressed instincts may easily result in internal revolution or war against a neighbor. A régime built upon hatreds must keep fostering those hatreds, or perish. Hatreds of neighbors, spies, races, counter-revolutionaries, and the fear of all such enemies must be constantly stimulated to keep the masses in frenzied loyalty. Primitives had their witches and evil spirits; more civilized peoples had a Satan and his host of minor devils to hate. Today we turn our hatred not upon Satan, but often upon innocent people. And the motive prompting modern mass hatreds is not the love of God and righteousness, but usually the strengthening of a tyranny.

International tensions are psychological, and are rooted in a feeling of insecurity, or some other form of dissatisfaction such as poverty, real or imaginary. Real causes of dissatisfaction, we probably can do something about. The imaginary causes, when they are the result

of organized propaganda, we can remove only by controlling propaganda itself, and that presents many practical difficulties. Besides, we still know but little about the psychological enigma that is man. While propaganda goes back to our cave days, propaganda as a function of government, and operated according to official plans, has attained its perfection in the present century. The school, always an instrument of propaganda, is now but one of many agencies which governments use to influence public opinion. Our American universities have begun to study the phenomenon scientifically, and in some high schools pupils are being taught some facts regarding it. Must we have propaganda against propaganda, or may we not hope for a world in which harmful propaganda shall not be permitted to exist? <sup>3</sup>

### Some Political Aspects of the Century

**The German Nazi State.**—On the political side, and basically as a reflection of economic change, the present century has been marked by the rise of new political régimes, which have come to be designated as totalitarian. They represent almost a complete abandonment of the political liberalism that had been developing for a century and a half prior to the First World War. While the revolt against liberalism and the liberal state has been world-wide, the totalitarian systems of Germany, Italy, and Russia present the most extreme form that the movement has assumed. All three were the results of the First World War, the causes that produced it, the forces it unleashed, and the problems it failed to solve. The picture of causes is not, however, complete if we leave out of it national political ambitions, and the thirst for power of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and their supporters, who took advantage of the times to attain their ends.

(a) **THE GERMAN CRISIS.**—The First World War brought revolutions, of different forms and degrees of intensity, in Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. It also created social unrest in Italy. The German revolution was led by more conservative men than was that of Russia, and a liberal government was established and remained in power for fourteen years. The fear on the part of the upper classes that the workers' revolutionary party might get control of the machinery of the liberal state brought the National Socialists and Hitler to power in 1933. It is worthy of note that conservatives outside of Italy and Germany welcomed the coming of

<sup>3</sup> Harwood L. Childs, "Public Opinion—First Line of Defense," *Ibid.*, July, 1938, 109-115; Gregory Zilboorg, "Propaganda from Within," *Ibid.*, 116-123; Ralph D. Casey, "The Press, Propaganda, and Pressure Groups," *Ibid.*, January, 1942, 66-75.

Fascism, and gave it moral and sometimes financial support, because it put a curb upon labor unions and ended the threat of Communism. A few facts about conditions and changes in post-war Germany will contribute to an understanding of the rise of Nazism.

There were the following fairly clearly marked classes in the Germany that lost the war in 1918: (1) the landed aristocracy, (2) the bourgeoisie, (3) the middle classes, (4) the peasants, (5) the industrial proletariat, and (6) the agricultural proletariat. The bourgeoisie, or the industrial-commercial aristocracy, dominated the Kaiser's state, the great landowners having been converted to bourgeois policies. The loss, resulting from the war, of colonies, merchant shipping, foreign markets and foreign investments was a hard blow to the bourgeoisie. The agrarian nobility, owning 20 per cent of the land of Germany as large estates, suffered far less than the bourgeoisie from Germany's collapse, but they feared the spread of Bolshevism and the confiscation of their property. The middle classes, which we might call the "white-collar" group, comprised the lower bourgeoisie and the upper proletariat. They included such groups as skilled artisans, small shopkeepers, pensioners, clerical workers, minor civil officials, and professional people. Most of these, in pre-war days, had a little property and enjoyed varying degrees of economic independence. They considered themselves, in the days of the Kaiser, a privileged class and were extremely patriotic. The peasants, or small farmers, constituted a large agrarian middle class. Deriving a living from their own property and labor, free peasants are always small capitalists. As such, German peasants were very conservative, and the landed gentry and bourgeoisie considered them a bulwark against socialism. The industrial proletariat, organized, after 1875, into trade unions, and sometimes into a political party, had gradually been made friendly to the old state by the civic training of the schools and governmental paternalism. During the privations of the war, some radical laborers openly espoused Marxian ideals, and denounced the conflict as an "imperialist war." The agricultural proletariat comprised the very poor peasants who were forced to work during part of the year for wages, their children who worked on neighboring estates, and the completely propertyless farm laborers. Such people often drifted to the cities and became a part of the industrial proletariat. Indeed, the economic conditions of the industrial and agricultural workers were so similar that the two groups might be considered as one. Farm laborers had long complained of low wages, poor housing, and long hours. As city workers wished to control factories, so farm workers wished to see the great estates divided up.



All of these classes were affected by the war and the economic changes resulting from Germany's defeat.

As we have seen, the bourgeoisie suffered serious financial reverses due to the defeat of Germany, while the landed aristocracy fared much better. The post-war inflation wiped out the property of most of the middle classes, with the result that they became restive and ready to support any change which promised to restore their old status. Many of these not only had lost their property but were thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. The peasants, with the landed aristocracy, got rid of their indebtedness during the inflation, but the stabilization of the currency, in 1924, hurt both groups by making money scarce and interest rates high. In the post-war years the agricultural proletariat had enough food, and suffered less than industrial workers from unemployment. The industrial proletariat became the chief victim of the economic collapse of Germany, swelling the ranks of the unemployed, whose number passed the 6,000,000 mark, in 1932. The story of economic distress and unemployment would not be complete unless there is included in it the fact that the opening of secondary schools and universities, during the republican régime, to social groups formerly excluded from them, added to the mass of unemployed many thousands of educated youths who found their hopes for profitable service blighted. It is worthy of note that unemployed university graduates were prominent in the Nazi drive for power.

(b) THE RISE OF THE NAZIS.—(1) *The Old Parties.* In pre-war Germany there were the following political parties: (a) the Social Democratic Party, of moderate socialist leanings and pursuing a policy of gradual, peaceful social reform; (b) the Democratic Party, composed of left-wing liberals; (c) the Catholic Center Party, organized to protect Catholic interests; (d) the German People's Party, representing big business and strongly imperialistic in policy; (e) the Conservative Party, representing the Prussian landed aristocracy, and opposed to bourgeois liberalism and every departure from Prussian social conservatism. The motto of the Conservatives was "God, King, and Fatherland." These parties continued under the republican post-war régime, with some changes in their political ideals, as forced upon them by new conditions.

(2) *The New Parties.* After the war two new parties appeared: (a) the Communist Party, and (b) the National Socialist German Labor Party (Nazis). The Communist Party was formed to represent the views of the industrial proletariat on the solution of the



economic crisis. The roots of the party run back into the nineteenth century. In 1919, its leaders organized many uprisings. They set up a soviet republic in Munich, and later (1923) they got partial control of Saxony. Their revolts were, however, suppressed. In the national election of 1924 the Communist vote was about 4,000,000; in that of 1932, about 6,000,000. In the movement, the workers gained a little support from some elements of the "middle classes," but the middle classes, generally, though impoverished or completely dependent upon the state, considered themselves socially superior to the workers. The political gains of the Communists were, however, significant and alarming to non-proletarian groups.

The Nazi Party represented the answer of the bourgeoisie and most of the middle class elements to the economic and social crisis. Its first adherents were army officers and impoverished middle class people. In the July elections of 1932 the Nazis received nearly 14,000,000 votes. The bourgeoisie, having failed to secure their ends through parliamentary government, and fearing that the Communists might get control of the state by republican means and overthrow capitalism, threw their support increasingly to the Nazis. The Nazi Party provided the bourgeoisie with the mass support necessary to establish a Fascist dictatorship, through which capitalism would be saved and the workers' revolutionary movement suppressed. The National Socialist German Labor Party (Nazis) catered, as their name indicates, to many forms of prejudice, and resorted to various forms of demagoguery. Thus they diverted the workers' hatred of German capitalism into a hatred of "foreign" capitalism and "international Jewish bankers." Their bitter opposition to Marxism gained for them the support of conservative elements, while their patriotic outpourings drew still others into their camp. But it was his political acumen and ultimately his support by the bourgeoisie that brought Hitler, the Nazi leader, to power, and inaugurated the Nazi dictatorship.

(c) THE POST-WAR LIBERAL RÉGIME.—The Social Democrats got control of the government after the war and called a National Assembly, which drafted (1919) the Weimar Constitution, upon which the republican régime was based. That instrument established the practice of proportional representation in electing representatives to the Reich government, but the privilege was abused by party bosses, who used it to increase their personal power. The Constitution was a conservative, though liberal, instrument and was, when drafted, acceptable to all anti-Communist groups. As framed, it embodied many compromises and concessions. The new Social Democratic government

suppressed Communist uprisings, but the bourgeoisie feared that revolutionary pressure, which kept increasing, might force upon it the socialization of basic industries. It retained the pre-war state administrative bureaucracy which, with the army, represented the all-powerful state, and which had long been a force of oppression to the middle and lower classes. The upper classes, particularly the bourgeoisie, developed that bureaucracy, and through it they maintained their power over the other classes. The members of the bureaucracy were appointed for life, or until they were convicted by a special court of serious offenses. When the great army was reduced after the war to 100,000 men, the bureaucracy remained as the bulwark of bourgeois power over society, and the Social Democrats defended it against attacks by insurgent workers and soldiers. The administrative bureaucracy was one of the chief objects of attack by the Communists. It must be noted, however, that social, economic and political antagonisms developed within the bureaucracy itself, and political bosses, in the post-war years, interfered increasingly in the appointment of officials. As a result of that interference, the loyalty of the bureaucracy to the republic grew weaker. Low salaries paid to lower officials caused further discontent, and the Communists tried to win these over to their side. The Nazis promised to set up a more powerful and contented bureaucracy which, with the army, would support a dictatorship.

The new army of the republic (*Reichswehr*), limited by the Allies to 100,000 men, was kept free from all revolutionary, and even liberal, elements. Its loyalty to the liberal government was not strong. Outside of this official army, militaristic organizations were formed by groups with various sympathies. Among these were the monarchistic "Steelhelmets," the republican "*Reichsbanner*," the Communist "Red Front Fighters League," and the Nazi "Stormtroops." All of these groups engaged in military drills, and had bloody clashes from time to time. In 1931, the Steelhelmets and the Stormtroops united chiefly against the Communists, but in part against the then semi-Fascist bourgeois republic.

While these developments were occurring, the ebb and flow of power between parties and coalitions in the government went on. In 1923-1924, the Social Democratic, Center, Democratic, and People's parties formed a republican coalition, though differences in ideals between them continued. Political conflicts, reflecting social conflicts, raged within the government, and the controversies extended even into the schools, parents and students being split into hostile groups. In the crisis, the conservatives, led by the bourgeoisie, who dreaded

Communism, turned to the Fascist dictatorship of Hitler in order to save Germany from Bolshevism and their own property from confiscation, though it is very probable that the liberal government, if given a chance, would have served those same ends.

**The Italian Fascist State.**—Social unrest arose in Italy upon the termination of World War I. Strikes of factory and, sometimes, professional workers occurred frequently. The cost of living kept mounting, but wages remained nearly stationary. In August, 1920, about 500,000 workers, victims of a lockout, seized factories, and the movement spread until about 1,000,000 took part in it. In Sicily, dispossessed peasants joined the movement and seized land. There was, however, no violence connected with these acts. One month later, the workers surrendered the factories in return for a voice in their operation and a small wage increase. That was a triumph for the state, and for the principle of orderly change in industrial relations. It is very generally agreed by observers on the scene and by later investigators that there was no real Bolshevism in the unrest, and that a revolution similar to the Russian could not have occurred in Italy. Mussolini, once a radical socialist, stood on the fence while the struggle was occurring, ready apparently to save the victors. When it was clear that a proletarian revolution was most improbable, he threw in his lot with the industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie, and became a violent nationalist under the reactionary banner of the Fascists, organized by himself and others during the war to foster military and civilian morale. Unlike the Italian proletariat, the Fascists resorted to violence to secure their ends.

From October, 1920, onward, the Fascist "Black Shirts," encouraged and aided by the police and the military, roamed around in squadrons, wrecking workers' meeting houses, socialist newspapers, and coöperative stores in the name of patriotism. They killed and wounded many workingmen, the police and state authorities offering little interference with them. In 1921, the Socialists expelled all Communists from their ranks, and the little danger of Bolshevism that once existed thus disappeared entirely. The armed Black Shirts, however, did not disband, but remained as organized defenders of the state. A new parliament, elected in 1921, consisted of 195 Democrats, 126 Moderate Socialists, 91 Catholics, 40 Nationalists, 32 Fascists, and only 18 Communists. The Italy of that year was thus highly conservative. But the bourgeoisie and great landowners still saw the specter of Communism, and resolved that Italian liberalism must be destroyed in order to remove its threat altogether. They



armed additional Fascists, many of them unemployed ex-army officers, and quickly won the vacillating Mussolini over. When the liberal element in the Democratic Party struggled for proportional representation in 1922, conservative democrats, representing bourgeois interests, swung to the Fascist ranks. With the defection of liberals (1921-1923), the Catholic Party, led by a priest, Don Sturzo, became the chief opponent of the Fascists. Again, the Black Shirts resorted to violence, wrecking Catholic institutions. In 1923, Don Sturzo, for the sake of peace between the Fascists and the Vatican, resigned and fled to London. During the years 1921-1923, the Catholic, or Popular, Party sponsored a program of liberal social and political reform, and opposed Communism and Fascism alike. With its collapse, the last strong barrier to the dictatorship of Mussolini had been removed.

Mussolini and his Fascists came to power by force, and they remained in power by violence or the threat of violence. Il Duce brooked no opposition to his will. He acted toward his enemies on the principle *mors tua vita mea* (your death is my life). His rise to power was due to the uneasy, wealthy classes, agrarian and bourgeois alike, the oligarchic elements in the government who represented those classes, the army and unemployed ex-army men and the police, who were easily won over to the side of violence and reaction. Back of these forces was the war, an unpopular peace, and post-war economic and social dislocations. The war and its aftermath heightened the nationalistic ambitions of Italy which, while growing noticeably for half a century, had not kept pace with those of neighboring states. Fascism captured the forces of patriotism in Italian life, and created out of them the ultranationalistic strivings of Mussolini and his devotees. Like Nazism, Fascism was nationalism run to tribalism.

**Principles and Practices of Nazi-Fascist Society.**—German Nazism and Italian Fascism were alike in all basic aspects. Both sprang from the soil of despair and social decay, and triumphed because of the weakness of the forces opposed to them. Mussolini and Hitler came as messiahs leading despairing nations out of a wilderness in the direction of a promised land of plenty and national satisfaction. As Christian leaders pointed to the evils of paganism; as monarchists, like Machiavelli, stressed the weakness of the Christian state; as liberal statesmen built strong arguments upon the defects of monarchies; so Mussolini and Hitler justified totalitarianism largely as a remedy for the evils of liberalism. The negative aspect of these totalitarian régimes assumed large proportions in their total picture.

It is yet too soon to say that their ideologies have fallen with them. Yet we shall write of them largely in the past tense.

(a) They are *anti-liberal*. Their creators proclaimed that all the social ills of the modern world have been due to the liberalism of the past century and a half, and that civilization can be saved only by destroying liberalism for ever, and by putting in its place a régime of absolute authoritarianism imposed by the totalitarian state. While the philosophy of liberalism deals with all aspects of social life, individualism is its central thought. It proclaims the individual and human personality to be of supreme value, in comparison with which the state, the race, the church, or other institution is of secondary importance. Nazi-Fascist philosophy and practice are a complete denial of individualism, and under them the individual became the abject slave of the state. Under these systems, the leader, whether a *Duce* or a *Führer*, became the state. These dictators claimed to be the people's voice, and elections were provided for by them in order to convince their people and the world of the popularity of their rule. The voters, however, found on the ballots no names of opposition candidates. They voted for the hand-picked candidates of the dictator, or they did not vote at all. Different political parties with different programs were not permitted to exist. The Nazi Party, in Germany, and the Fascist Party, in Italy, alone could exist, and each was but the tool of its dictator-leader. The Nazi-Fascist state was not only anti-individualistic and anti-liberal in its ideology, but in its political and, in many respects, its economic practice as well.

(b) They are *anti-plural*. That is, they opposed the breaking down of the state into groups with conflicting loyalties and interests. Capital and labor, Protestant church and Catholic church, rival political parties and other opposing groups, which diverted the citizen's loyalty from the state and dissipated its power, did not enjoy the freedom of expression and action which they did under the liberal régimes of the past. There must be no divided loyalties in such a state. *Anti-pluralism* means also that the dualism which had been assumed under liberalism between the state and society does not exist. The distinction, and sometimes antagonism, between them was said to have been created by liberals in order to weaken the power of the state. For the Nazi-Fascists nothing exists but the state. There is nothing outside it; it embraces, and is, everything within it. The state is the indivisible totality of everything within the nation. The primary function and duty of every individual, school, church, club, scientific society, etc., is thus the political one of service to the state.

Any activity of an individual or group which diverts any part of the citizen's loyalty from the state is inimical to the state, and the citizen must not engage in it. Secret societies, political or non-political, were forbidden. Free-masonry was abolished. The political precepts rooted in *anti-pluralism* applied with special force to teachers and publishers, because they were builders of Nazi-Fascist minds. Academic freedom, and freedom of the press and of speech were destroyed by law.

(c) They are *anti-rational*. Emotion has always been the chief basis of social unity. Culture is predominantly an emotional thing, though philosophers have often intellectualized it. In the liberal world of the past century and a half there has been a glorification of reason and of science. The rational, doubting, problem-solving man became the ideal man. Nazism and Fascism were revolts against the rationalism and against the "science without preconceptions" of the liberal era. They were a return to the age of myths and irrationalism. Their ideal man and citizen was not the thinking man, but the feeling, believing, doing man. Said Goebbels: "I think with my blood." And only those of undefiled Nordic blood are, according to Hitler, capable of correct feeling and action, for such are rooted in blood and soil. This philosophy was a revolt against every social theorist and social scientist who, since the days of Socrates, believed in the possibility of a science or sciences of human society. It was a revolt against the idea that reason, intelligence and objective facts can help men to build a better world. Upon myths, not upon science, Nazi-Fascist leaders built their states. Their position was a negation of the Renaissance, the Reformation, rationalism, science, and every other step in the process of man's emancipation from spiritual, intellectual and social slavery. Here again we see nationalism returned to the worst aspects of tribalism.

(d) They are *anti-Semitic*. Anti-Semitism was but one phase of the extremely racial nationalism of the Nazi-Fascist régimes. During the era of Catholic domination of Western society, the church enacted tyrannous laws against the Jews, and subjected them to barbarous punishments and restrictions aimed at their total destruction. The church had become anti-Christian. What the church failed to do, Hitler undertook in order to purge the Nordic state of the impure blood of the foreigner from the East, who had refused to abandon his racial and cultural exclusiveness. The myth of race and blood superiority, a product largely of long social conditioning and group conflicts, is as old as human society. Christ and other early social reformers, as we have seen, would substitute universalism for racial-



ism, but the older feeling and practice triumphed even over Christianity. When Fichte, in 1807-1808, reminded the German people of the superiority and purity of their race and their folk-culture, he stirred up feelings that were easy to arouse but difficult to still. A whole array of Germans, and many outsiders like Chamberlain, the author of *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, kept adding fuel to the fire which Fichte had kindled. Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century* was the official bible of Hitler's racial creed.

Down through human history, all societies have had their devils, or something else to hate. Among the chief things to be hated, Hitler gave his people the Jews, with their non-national religious culture, and whose alleged vices he described in his *Mein Kampf*. Under the Nazi régime, since its triumph, they were systematically, and sometimes brutally, persecuted and deprived of practically all political and civil rights. They could not be citizens, nor peasants, nor civil servants. Inter-marriage between them and Germans was forbidden. Much of their property was confiscated. Those of them who could escape fled into exile. All "non-Aryans," Christian or not, were legally subjected to the same disabilities as the Jews, though the latter were the chief sufferers. While Mussolini, in early days of Fascism, denounced racial prejudice, he, under the influence of Hitler, launched a program of anti-Semitism. He forbade (1938), as did Hitler earlier, inter-marriage between Italians and non-Aryans. Indeed, an Italian might not marry a foreigner without special governmental permission, and no male employee of the state might ever marry any foreign woman. The Italian law of 1938, though not nearly so sweeping as those of Germany, excluded Jews from teaching, forbade foreign Jews in future to settle permanently in Italy, and required all Jews, with few exceptions, who had settled in Italy since the First World War, to leave the country. With the exception of a few Jews who were privileged because they fought for Italy, or belonged to the Fascists before 1922, Jews might not be members of the Fascist Party, hold leading positions in any large business, serve in the Italian army, or own more than 125-acres of land. Exclusion from the Fascist Party barred them from all state offices and from holding contracts with the government. In banning inter-marriage between Italians and non-Aryans, Mussolini denied the demand of the Pope, which he officially accepted in 1929, that the validity of marriage is to be determined by the laws of the church. In enforcing German and Italian laws against the Jews, a Jew was defined in terms of blood alone. In Germany, one Jewish grandparent and, in

Italy, one Jewish parent made one legally a Jew. A little Semitic blood was enough to bring defilement. Thus the new nationalism of the Nazi-Fascists was a blood nationalism founded upon the myth of race purity and race superiority. Here again we have a return to the primitive feeling of tribal blood unity. Perhaps it is a survival rather than a return.

(e) They are *anti-feminist*. In the liberal world men slowly and reluctantly emancipated women from an age-old bondage. The enfranchisement of women in England and America since the First World War was a last step in a long struggle for freedom. The Weimar Constitution gave German women equal civil rights with men, and the earlier German concept of women's duty—*Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (Children, Church, Kitchen)—was officially rejected. Hitler immediately denounced the idea of woman's equality as "a product of decadent Jewish intellectualism." Her one duty, said he, is to bear strong children for the state. It is a man's duty to die for the nation; a woman's, to furnish another soldier-son to take his place. In the official Nazi view, a woman's nature is different from a man's, and in creative ability she is his inferior. The home was declared to be her natural sphere of activity. In political and social affairs she, with the rest of the "anonymous masses," both male and female, had no voice. The military needs of Germany, however, brought failure to the "back to the home" movement, and the number of women in industry and in many poorly paid jobs rose rapidly after 1933.

Mussolini's views on woman's nature, ability and sphere were similar to those of the Nazis. Said he: "Woman must play a passive part. She is analytical, not synthetical. . . . Ask her to build you a mere hut, not even a temple; she cannot do it. She has no sense for architecture, which is the synthesis of all the arts; that is a symbol of her destiny. My notion of woman's role in the State is utterly opposed to feminism."<sup>4</sup> After his rise to power, Mussolini called upon women to perform their "natural female function" of childbearing, in the military interest of Italy and "Christian civilization."

In practice Nazism excluded women from political offices, and those under the age of thirty-five, or the wives of employed men who were over thirty-five, from government employment. A law of June 3, 1933, required all private employers to dismiss all married women whose husbands could support them, and all single women

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<sup>4</sup> Cited in M. Rader, *No Compromise*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939, 121 (by permission).

whose parents, brothers, or sisters could support them. Military needs resulted in the neglect of that law. Not more than 10 per cent of the officially limited enrollment in German universities might be women, and women who graduated found the professions for which they prepared hard to enter. Only 75 women might enter the medical profession yearly. Said the Nazi medical journal: "The woman doctor is a hermaphrodite who offends the natural and healthy instinct of the people." Women teachers might hold only subordinate positions. Said a Nazi educational journal: "The men teachers' aversion to women superiors is in keeping with the healthy instinct of men."<sup>5</sup> In industrial and agricultural occupations the wages of women were about two-thirds of those paid to men. A state program of training girls for their future duties was thoroughly organized.

All girls between ten and eighteen years of age had to belong to the League of German Girls, the activities of which were chiefly physical. Those between eighteen and twenty had to perform compulsory labor service. Labor camps were provided for these. Among their duties were draining swamps, farming, and domestic service in homes where there were more than three children. In the camps they lived in sheds or barns, slept on straw, worked from ten to twelve hours daily, were under rigid discipline, and received no wages. Dismissal from camp made future employment extremely difficult to find. Reports have circulated outside of Germany that illegitimate births were very frequent in these labor camps, and that they were welcomed by the government. The Nazi state was perhaps stronger because of these developments, but women lost much of the ground they had won by centuries of struggle for their rights as free human beings.

In Italy the drift was also backward. The minimum age for marriage of girls was lowered from fifteen to fourteen. A husband might inflict physical correction on his wife, provided it was not so violent as to injure her health. Should she die as a result, the penalty was but eight years' imprisonment. A wife was severely punished for leaving her husband, but a husband might abandon his wife with impunity. Sex irregularities of men were legally approved, condoned, or but mildly punished; those of women and girls, severely punished. Courts seldom upheld the criminal charges of women, or even minor girls, against their attackers. Fascism in Italy was a return to the double standard of morality at its worst.<sup>6</sup> Nazism and Fascism were masculine creeds and systems. Their ideal virtues of martial

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<sup>5</sup> Sylvia Parkhurst, "Women in Totalitaria," *Living Age*, June, 1939.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



spirit, brute courage, and indifference to pain and affliction were opposed to the traditional concept of woman's nature and ideal character. When, however, women were called upon to bear soldier-children they were asked to participate in the brutalities of the state, and to abandon some of the finer traits that had long been thought to be theirs.

**The Positive Aspects of Nazi-Fascist Society.**—Thus far we have seen these régimes as a negation of beliefs and practices of the liberal world. Each of the negations has, however, its positive aspects. Thus the rights and will of the all-powerful state are opposed in theory and practice to individualism, and the state is put at the top in the list of values. Irrationalism, emotionalism, and subjectivity of truth are substituted for intellectualism and the objectivity of truth. The feeling and active man replaced the man of thought as the ideal of Nazi-Fascist manhood. Truth is not an objective, scientific thing, but only that, be it myth or fact, which serves the ends of the state. Truth is essentially a subjective thing, said the Nazis, and Nordic feeling, not science, is the only reliable testimony to it. Among the important positive aspects of the régimes are the following:

(a) They are *aristocratic* and *timocratic*. That is, they asserted that only the leader and a select few have the right to rule. Society, and not nature, determines who are fit to be leaders. There are no "natural" and "inalienable" rights. Society gave each one even his life, and can take it away from him. Yet, while the doctrine of "natural" right was rejected, the dictators and their spokesmen justified the rule of their governments on the ground of the natural gifts and demonstrated ability of those in power. The ruling élite were not of Plato's philosopher type, but they were, in theory, heroic, ambitious, strong men of indomitable will. Mussolini wanted leaders who love to "live dangerously," and he compelled high officials to jump through flaming hoops and over fences of bayonets. The courageous despot who demonstrates his awe-inspiring hold upon the masses is the one fit to rule. The benevolent, humanitarian ruler who is beloved, rather than feared, by his subjects is unfit to rule. Young men possessed of the desired traits were prepared through Nazi and Fascist youth organizations and special schools for positions of political and military leadership.

(b) They are *collectivistic*. That is, they stressed the idea of the collectivity of the *Volk*-state. It is a unity in which the fratricidal struggle between individuals and groups is no longer to be countenanced. The Marxian doctrines of economic determinism and the

class struggle were denied by the Nazi-Fascists. The Nazi-Fascist man is not, it was said, an economic animal thirsting for the property, or blood, of his fellows. He does not live by bread alone. He is nourished more by the common spirit, or culture, of the national *Volk* than by bread. In Italy and Germany collectivism did not mean, as it does in Russia, collective ownership of property or unity of the laboring class, but the political and spiritual collectivity of the national community (*Gemeinschaft*). Property was not collectivized, and labor unions were abolished as detrimental to the common interests of the *Gemeinschaft*. Individual and class interests were subordinated to the interests of the state, and the laboring class was forced to make the chief sacrifice in the building of the new collectivized society. The destruction of individual liberty in Italy and Germany was, however, but the carrying to an extreme of a tendency long apparent even in the democracies, and particularly noticeable in war-time when all individual interests are restricted so that the national community may survive.

(c) They are *activistic*. While they have been given a philosophical basis, Nazism and Fascism were activistic movements, and it is the movements that were stressed rather than the philosophies. The Nazi-Fascist man was a doer rather than a thinker; he demanded action rather than talk from his leaders. The movements were led by men, and they appealed to men, who had grown tired of the speech-making and the alleged do-nothingism of the preceding republican régimes. All social systems, either explicitly or implicitly, rest upon some conception of the nature of man. *Activism*, whether we find it in America or in *Totalitaria*, rests upon a monistic view of man's nature which negates the old idea of a dualism between mind and body. While the Nazi-Fascist régimes embodied the Hegelian idealistic conception of the state, which was viewed as a spiritual and moral reality, they operated on the pragmatic basis that what is useful for them is reality and truth. Man, for them, is an active, unitary organism, and it is the collective activity of all individuals that produces the strong state. Intellectualism was accordingly rejected in favor of activism both in school and society. The physical, emotional, willful, active man was substituted for the intellectual man of the past, and action was exalted above thought. Upon Italian Fascist thought the influence of Vilfredo Pareto, author of *The Mind and Society*, has been paramount.

Such are the chief characteristics, both negative and positive, of the latest nationalism in Italy and Germany. The clash between this way of life and that of liberal societies is apparent. Between them

there can be little compromise. While liberal governments have been forced to restrict laissez-faire economic practices, they have zealously safeguarded the spiritual and political liberties of their citizens, and have recognized the fact that human rights are distinct from property and state rights. Elemental human rights had no place in the thought or practices of the Nazi-Fascist world. The rights of this new state are absolute. With them no other rights may conflict.

**The Communist Society of Russia.**—Humanism, the Reformation, the scientific movement, political liberalism, the spread of common-man democracy, and the Industrial Revolution, which brought the modern world of Europe and America into being, left Russia almost untouched. She stood, in 1914, as a mediaeval society in a modern world—a political, social, and economic anachronism. While the upper classes were educated, and some Russians stood in the ranks of world intellectuals, about 75 per cent of Russians were illiterate. Intellectually and culturally the teeming masses were still in the Dark Ages, while even many of them led a pre-literate, tribal existence. They lived by superstition not by science. The state church helped to impose, through its control of culture, the will of the Tzars upon the masses. In keeping the masses ignorant and unaggressive it did more than any other agency of the state to perpetuate political despotism. Revolutionary ideas had been spreading for about a century before the Revolution of 1917, and many revolutionists were exiled or executed. A parliament (*Duma*) was established after the abortive revolution of 1905, but it was given but little power. The First World War brought internal unrest to Russia, and renewed demands for political reform which Tzar Nicholas opposed. The reactionary measures of Nicholas brought the Revolution of 1917, and the execution of the royal family in 1918. The Marxian Socialists, headed by Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks, got control of the provisional government in 1917. The new government made peace with the Central Powers but, between 1918 and 1920, the new régime was threatened by foreign invasion, civil war and famine. The proletariat, however, retained power and persecuted the old nobility and the bourgeoisie. The liquidation of the old privileged classes, accompanied by much suffering for the victims of the social change, was gradually accomplished.

The Revolution was a violent reaction against political and social tyranny and economic injustice. In the eighteenth century, Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, influenced by the growth of science, rationalism and enlightened despotism of Western Europe, enlarged



the educational opportunities of the upper classes. As a result, there appeared an intelligentsia from which sprang many social reformers, in the nineteenth century, some of whom, as would Rousseau and Pestalozzi, would free the masses by education, while others advocated revolution as the approach to that goal. The policy of the Tzars throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth was generally opposed to all liberal demands, and their rule was marked by autocratic repression of the masses and reformers alike. The reform movement was driven underground, where its revolutionary aspects became enlarged and intensified. The tyrannous repression of teachers, students, reformers, liberals, religious dissenters, racial and national minorities, serfs and peasants was the method adopted by the government to perpetuate political, social and ecclesiastical despotism. To the same end, the masses were kept in ignorance and superstition. The overthrow of autocracy and all its approved orthodoxies in 1917 is proof of the instability of such a régime and the futility of the methods used to preserve it.

(a) BASIC COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY.—Some elements of Communism may be found in many societies from primitive times onward, and the theory can be traced far back through the stream of distant thought. Marx, Engels, and Lenin crystallized the idea and brought it into touch with modern conditions. In the Communist Manifesto (1848), Marx and Engels issued the call: "Workers of the world, unite." The workers were told by them that they had nothing to lose in the struggle but their chains. It was a call to international revolution by the working class against their employers, and against an economic system in which they were presumed to have no stake. The international and class character of the movement thus took shape. Communism embodies the ideas that the economic force determines human actions and social institutions, that there is a class struggle, that revolt of the workers against their bourgeois masters is inevitable, and that capitalism is doomed. Contrary to the theory that the revolution would occur first in the most advanced industrial nation, it came first in Russia, one of the most backward of the industrial nations.

The philosophy of Communism looks forward to a society operating upon the principle: "From each according to his capacity; to each according to his need." When that goal in individual and social evolution has been attained, the state, it is asserted, will "wither away," and the individual will become really free. That goal can be attained by applying the philosophy of dialectical materialism to

social problems and to all human activities. This philosophy teaches that all life and institutions are in a state of continuous change, and that every social institution carries the germ of its own decay. In all society, and in all its parts, there exists a continuous struggle between the conflicting forces of conservatism and destruction. Eventually the struggle leads to a new stage in social evolution. Man, who is both a creator and a creature of his environment, participates in the struggle. Properly educated, or conditioned, he can shape his environment and direct the struggle toward desired ends. The Russian revolutionists have changed the old environment and hope to produce a new man with a new mind, one who will be social and coöperative rather than individualistic and acquisitive. Economic and educational planning, they hold, will provide the material and psychological conditions necessary to that end. In the practical work of building the new society, the leaders themselves have been in sharp disagreement on important points of policy. Under Lenin's New Economic Policy (1921), peasant proprietorship of small farms was provided for, and the international idea in Communism was kept to the fore. Lenin died in 1924 and, in the struggle for leadership between Leon Trotsky, a disciple of Lenin, and Joseph Stalin, an advocate of radical practices and methods, Stalin won. As secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin, with the power of a dictator, has been preoccupied not with the international revolution of workers but with the internal development of the Russian Communist state. He has tried, by ruthless methods, to destroy the last vestiges of capitalism, and to perpetuate his own power by destroying those opposed to his policies or whose influence he feared.

(b) RUSSIAN COMMUNIST COLLECTIVISM.—Since 1921, the co-operative and collectivist system has developed rapidly. Stores, houses, restaurants, industries, etc., etc., have gradually become publicly owned and operated, and private business and trading have largely vanished. In schools children are taught the practices of collectivism. Collectivizing the farms was the most difficult undertaking of Stalin. Having seized the lands from the landlords in 1917, and having enjoyed their ownership of them for a decade, the little peasant capitalists struggled to hold them. Stalin issued orders in 1929 for the liquidation of the *kulaks*, or richer peasants, who were the chief obstacle to the success of collectivization of farms. It was a bold and dangerous undertaking, but Stalin and his followers knew that socialism would not be complete while capitalism and capitalistic in-

instincts continued to thrive on the farms. A victory for the industrial proletariat in the class struggle was not enough. The class struggle, it was seen, exists in the country, and the poor peasant and the agricultural worker must triumph over the grasping *kulak*. Therefore, farms had to be collectivized and *kulaks* liquidated. Through such a process Stalin saw the coming of the final triumph of the proletarian revolution, and the greater happiness of the masses who compose the socialist commonwealth.

The Five-Year Plan (1928–1933) called for the collectivization of 20 per cent of the farms and of live stock. Many peasants resisted the program and killed their live stock. Food shortage and famine resulted. Some of the opponents of the plan were brutally “liquidated,” and others were enticed to accept it by promises of rewards and by the realization that the collective system offered some obvious advantages under existing conditions. Opposition by the peasants brought some concessions from the government, and some variation in the form and extent of the collective practices. The most popular form is the *artel*, in which the collective owns the land, machinery and work animals, while the individuals own their homes, gardens, and live stock. The wages paid to workers on the collective farms are in proportion to the quantity and quality of their work, for Stalin has found out that initiative must be stimulated and rewarded. Other Plans followed the first Five-Year Plan, and aimed at the completion of the reform of the economic system and at the proof that, by planning, Russia could overtake and outrun the capitalistic countries in the economic race. The ability of the Russian armies to withstand the mechanized might of the Nazi military machine suggests that much progress has been made under the planned economy of the Soviets.

(c) THE STATUS OF WORKERS.—Theoretically, every man and woman in Russia is a worker, and the “idle rich” have no place in the new society. Until the recent war emergency arose, the working-day was one of seven hours, and every sixth day was one of rest. The amount of wages depended upon the quantity and quality of the work performed. Labor of children under fourteen was forbidden. Laborers are organized into powerful trade unions of which there are about 163, with a membership of about 22,000,000 all of them organized in the form of a pyramid, at the top of which stands the All-Union Central Soviet of Labor Unions. Officers in the unions are elected by secret ballot. Union members enjoy many economic and social privileges, such as reduced taxes, free medical service and free vacations. Here, only the state may make profit by the labor



of men, and private interests may not profit by the labor of others. The state is the employer. Parents, subject to certain legal restrictions, may employ their own children in the family labor or business. Employment agencies are public, and labor unions have a voice in their operation. Among the duties of the unions are collective bargaining, inspection of working conditions, administration of social insurance, and the organization of certain cultural activities for workers.

(d) **RUSSIA AND ITS PEOPLE.**—The land of the Soviets covers almost one-sixth of the earth's surface, but a large part of the territory is an Arctic waste and sparsely inhabited. The Ural Mountains separate European from Asiatic Russia. While a majority of the population is European, Asiatic influence upon the culture and ways of life of the people has been strong. The population in 1941 was approximately 180,000,000. It is made up of a motley patchwork of over two hundred peoples, some of them mountain tribes who were pre-literate when the Communists came into power. Great Russians comprised over one-half, and the Ukrainians over one-fifth, of the entire population. Each of the several groups speaks its own language, and many of them do not understand the language even of their nearest neighbors. Under the Tzars, Russian was the officially approved and used language, and the government discriminated against the minorities who did not speak it, force sometimes being used to make them accept the language and culture of the Great Russians. The Tzarist policy of repression probably intensified the national feeling of the non-Russian minorities.

The Communist government has rejected the compulsory Russification policy of the Tzars, and has bestowed equal rights and privileges upon all racial and linguistic groups. In the federal constitution of 1923, the Soviet state was called the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.), a title which implied the equality of all the people of the new Russia. Six republics (now sixteen), or political units, were organized, provision being made to protect the interests and freedom of racial minorities within the republics where they reside. As in the United States, the powers not expressly bestowed upon the separate republics are reserved to the central government of the Soviet Union, and power, in practice, is highly centralized.

The Communist Party exercises control over the whole system, and the decisions of its Central Committee, of which Stalin is the secretary, are binding upon officials in all the republics. Throughout

the whole system, legislative and administrative safeguards of the rights of racial minorities have been established, and they have enjoyed, in practice, a large measure of political and cultural autonomy. The government created new alphabets for pre-literate tribes, and issued and circulated books in the nearly one hundred and fifty languages and dialects of the major linguistic groups. The official policy toward minorities has won for the government the loyalty of peoples who had long known only racial oppression. In Soviet Russia, Jews are treated as are other minorities, and anti-Semitism, whenever it has appeared, has met with uncompromising official hostility. Yet a deep-rooted prejudice against the Jews in some sections lingered on after the Revolution. Today it has practically disappeared.

(e) PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY.—We have seen that *anti-Semitism* and *anti-feminism* are embodied in the theory and practice of Nazi-Fascist societies. Communist theory and practice oppose the placing of restrictions upon racial minorities and women. In Russian society, women have been given an equality of rights and duties with men. They share with men economic, social, political, and intellectual equality. Karl Marx and Lenin urged the granting of such an emancipation to women. Under the Tzarist régime, subjection was their lot, and church and state clung to the tradition that woman's rôle in society must be one of inferiority. The revolutionary movement gave women a chance to destroy that oppression, and in it they took a prominent part both in the battle-line and behind it. Victory for the revolutionaries brought a new freedom for women. Article 122 of the Constitution of 1936 reads: "Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social and political life. . . . The possibility of realizing these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education, state protection of the interests of mother and child, granting pregnancy leave with pay, and provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens." The Constitution, in that article, established legal warrant for what had already become a practice. The only restriction placed upon a woman's right to work is that she may not engage in unduly heavy physical labor. With that exception the whole sphere of human activity is thrown open to her. By providing maternity homes and nurseries, the government makes it possible for married women, if they so desire, to engage in occupations outside of their homes. Marriage is no obstacle to gainful employment.

By some enemies of the Russian system, this emancipation has been called the "nationalization" of women, and a violation of the "sanctity of the home." What evidence we have indicates that the new practice is approved by most Russian women themselves. While divorce is officially discouraged, and frequent divorce and remarriage officially condemned, it is easy for women and men to obtain it. There has been a rapid increase in the birth rate because economic obstacles to large families have been removed. And the new freedom for women has not weakened the solidarity of the family, nor detracted from the traditional benefits of family life. Russian women are now working side by side with men in every field of activity. In the Supreme Soviet, which is the highest legislative body of the U.S.S.R., there are about 190 women. We have proportionately few in the Congress of the United States. Perhaps the greatest victory women have won in Russia is that of economic independence, because upon that hinge all other forms of freedom. There is no convincing evidence that Russia has suffered a moral deterioration by reason of this liberalism toward women.

If we except anti-Semitism, or anti-racialism, and anti-feminism, which we do not find in Russia, the basic negations of the Communist society are the same as those of the Nazi-Fascist world.

Russian society is founded upon the principles of *anti-individualism*, *anti-pluralism*, and *anti-rationalism*. The first two are inherent in the philosophy and practice of collectivism in all the totalitarian states. In Russia the state comes first, and the individual is subordinated to it. The community is paramount. Economic freedom which men enjoy under the laissez-faire system has been destroyed in the interest of the national community. A semblance of political freedom has been left to the individual in choosing his industrial and political representatives, but no party may organize against the Revolution and the existing régime. Regarding the principle of *anti-pluralism*, the Russian state, while it does not attempt to destroy the culture of racial minorities, insists upon undivided loyalty to the Communist Party. The Party, consisting of about 2,000,000 members, controls the U.S.S.R. through its Central Executive Committee, of which Stalin is General Secretary. Very strict rules govern admission to the Party, and those admitted must continue to give evidence of their worthiness by strict devotion to Communist ideals and by indefatigable work in promoting the welfare of the Party and its policies. Party members hold all key positions in the political and industrial life of the various republics.



Because of the responsibilities connected with membership in the Party, many worthy workers choose to remain outside of its ranks. Formal training for membership is provided through the activities of the youth organizations—Octobrists, Pioneers, and *Komsomols*—which have been formed since 1922. Loyalty to the Party is the foremost duty of every citizen. Any division of that loyalty is regarded as a disloyalty to the Party and the state. Party members must show themselves to be worthy of the loyalty of others by leading an austere and disciplined life in strict conformity with the officially approved morality and ideology. Purging the Party of unworthy members has been a frequent occurrence, and the execution of prominent leaders has created opposition to the Stalin régime in some outsiders who had previously not been unfriendly to the larger aspects of the social experiment. John Dewey and others have condemned these executions as an expression of the personal spleen and ambitions of a tyrant whose dictatorship has replaced that of the proletariat. Others, like Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, have seen in the purges a necessary uprooting of "fifth-columnists," who plotted with Hitler and other enemies of the régime with a view to its destruction. As the drama of Russia has unfolded, enemies have become friends, and friends, enemies of the experiment, as Stalin has directed it. Eugene Lyons, for instance, in his *Assignment in Utopia*, paints a black picture of the unfolding scene. The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, in *The Soviet Power*, has continued to see in it the fulfillment of Christianity and of the noblest dreams of democratic social reformers. The loyalty of the people to the new way of life has been tested in their war with the Fascist world, and the evidence we now have indicates a strong devotion certainly to Russia and probably to the Communist system. A very revealing article on this question, "A Photographer in Moscow," by Margaret Bourke-White, appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, for March, 1942. The reader will find there convincing proof by an eyewitness of the fearless, self-sacrificing patriotism of Russian youth in the defense of their homeland and its institutions against those who have been deemed the worst enemies of Bolshevism.

The *anti-rationalism* of the Soviet régime is not linked to any myth of blood or soil, but to a distrust of the mentality of the noble-bourgeois-priestly class, whose training and habits preclude them from "truth." The peasant-proletarian mind is the only one ideally suited to the pursuit of science. Like the Nazis, the Bolsheviks deny the possibility or the utility of an objective science of society. The idea of objectivity in the social field is viewed by them as bourgeois

hypocrisy. History is to be taught to develop in youth a consciousness of the class struggle. In the social world the only truth is that which is officially approved by the Party, and it changes as the Party "line" changes. Soviet authorities view man, not as a thinking, but as a feeling, believing and active being. Thinking and, indeed, all spiritual phenomena of human nature are, according to Russian psychologists, but reflexes of man's physical mechanism. Thinking and feeling alike are conditioned, they say, by biological and social factors. Here, as in the Nazi-Fascist world, men are denied intellectual freedom, and minds, after the official pattern, are controlled by systematic indoctrination through schools, press, radio, and other instruments of communication.

Communist society is *anti-religious*. Any state that claims all of the individual's loyalty for itself wants none of that loyalty paid to a church, and may even deny God a share in it. Soviet society is materialistic and atheistic in its ideals. That is due, in part, to the official acceptance of positive science as the foundation of social life. The traditional religious dogmas, including that of the existence of God, were rejected by the state in the name of science. Many superstitious practices, such as the blessing of crops by priests, hampered the success of the people in their economic struggle. The Communists substituted science for holy water with convincing results. There were other reasons than devotion to science for the anti-religious policy of the government. In addition to the view that religion provided an untrue explanation of life and the world, orthodox Marxists have proclaimed it to be, in practice, aristocratic, and an opiate, robbing the people of their power to revolt against social injustice. The Bolsheviks viewed the old state religion of the Tzarist régime as a governmental instrument of social oppression. In the Revolution a regiment of priests, "The Warriors of Jesus," took the field against the rebels, thus confirming the Communist accusation that the church was aristocratic in its sympathies. Religion, however, has not been banished from Russia. All religions are now tolerated equally and, since the old state church was abolished, the various sects are free to make their appeal to the people. Under the new freedom, the Baptists, particularly, have made noteworthy progress. The churches were forbidden, however, to instruct children in religion outside of their own home. The law did not apply to the instruction of adults. The press and radio might not carry any form of religious propaganda. All permanent sources of revenue, such as land or endowments, were closed to the churches. The basic policy of the state toward religion is stated in Article 124 of the Constitu-

tion of 1936, as follows: "In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the Church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State, and the school from the Church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

Those that we have described are the basic negations, similar and dissimilar, of the Fascist and Communist societies. On the positive side the Communist state has much in common with the Fascist in its principles and practices.

The Soviet system is (1) *collectivistic*, (2) *timocratic*, (3) *activistic*, and (4) *classless*. While Nazi-Fascist collectivism is basically political, that of the Communist is basically economic and social in character. Its purpose is stated to be the protection of the masses from exploitation by the selfish and abler few, the protection of the weak against the strong. By elevating the masses and by the co-operative effort of all, Russia itself will prosper. Said Lenin: "By introducing social, instead of private ownership of the means of production and exchange, by introducing well-regulated organization in the social process of production, so that the well-being and the many-sided development of all members of society may be insured, the social revolution of the proletariat will abolish the division of society into classes and thus emancipate all of oppressed humanity, and will put an end to all forms of exploitation of one part of society by another."<sup>7</sup> With that end in view Russian economy has been almost completely collectivized, and private ownership of the means of production almost completely abolished. If exploitation exists today—and some insist that it does—the state, not private capitalists, is the new exploiter. There is a wide difference in the wages paid by the state to workers in different fields of service, and in the same field, depending upon their productive capacity, but the accumulation of great individual fortunes appears to be no longer possible. In the Communist heaven there is still no place for the hoarder. In theory, at least, all are workers, and work in common for the common good.

The *timocratic* character of the system appears in the official emotionalization of the leader-idea, and of that of the nobility of the proletariat and its right to rule. Lenin was called "Our Leader," and men were urged to follow him. Stalin and the Party are presented to the people as their own friends and brothers. Their dictatorship is emotionalized as the people's dictatorship. Yet only the few are fit to rule. It is better, the Communists say, "to have government in the hands of those who are schooled for government rather

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<sup>7</sup> Cited by Thomas Woody, *New Minds: New Men?*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932, 297 (by permission).



than in those of a 'democratic' heterogeneous mob. . . . Surely, government by those trained in politics and interested in it is superior to that of business men turned politicians because they find it a more profitable form of commerce."<sup>8</sup>

The *activistic* aspect of the new society appears in the demand that all citizens must be active workers for the common good. Party members are expected to be constantly active in organizing and directing the officially approved projects of the state and in promoting Communist ideals. All citizens must be active in promoting the welfare of society according to the plan of the government. The inactive citizen is deemed harmful to society. And action must not be opposed to the common proletarian interests. In this principle of *activism* there is implied a distrust of intellectualism and of freedom of thought and expression. The activism of the system is a controlled and not a free activism.

Theoretically, Soviet society is a *classless* society, in which there is only one class, the laborer-proletarian class. The nobility and bourgeoisie of Tzarist times were effectively "liquidated." The descendants of those classes are still there and, while still distrusted, enjoy, under the Constitution of 1936, equal political rights with the rest of the citizens. The new state is a class state; the new mind is a class mind. The class character of the state can be seen in the personnel of the Red Army, of the legislative and executive branches of the government, in the class bias of the courts, and in the social leveling aimed at in the schools. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class dictatorship. Outside, and often impartial, observers see in it the personal dictatorship of Stalin. Theoretically, the dictatorship of the proletariat is but a temporary step on the road to a pure Communist society, in which men shall have become so socialized and brotherly that there will be no need to govern them. In this evolutionary process, said Engels, "the State will not be abolished. It will wither away." Thus far the Soviet state has shown no signs of withering away. While the old governing class has disappeared, observers see emerging within the proletariat many new classes. It has been remarked that, instead of the three classes of Tzarist times, there are now twenty-three classes in Russia. Differences in native endowment, and differences in the financial rewards provided for different kinds and amounts of labor create obstacles to the Soviet leveling process. Under the system the economic basis of social stratification has, however, been so controlled, and cultural opportunities so universalized,

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 469 (by permission).

that class barriers of the traditional European variety are not likely to reappear while the régime lasts.

**The Changing Liberal State.**—Side by side with the complete rejection of liberalism by the totalitarian states, there have occurred in liberal states themselves some important changes in the traditional principles and practices of liberalism. Pure democracy, which leaves the individual completely free from social control, is anarchy, and would destroy the state. In practice it has never existed in any organized society. We have had only degrees of democracy. We have considered elsewhere the rise and nature of the *laissez-faire* theory of government. The nineteenth century saw that theory reach its highest point of application in the practice of liberal states. In men's economic activities particularly, liberal governments pursued the policy of non-interference. Yet one can trace in the legislation of these liberal states in the same century the gradual abandonment of *laissez-faire*.

Nineteenth century England was forced to pass laws guaranteeing the quality of merchandise in order to save consumers from cheating manufacturers and merchants. It passed laws regulating the working hours and conditions of women, children and, later, of men, employed in industrial establishments. The Employers' Liability Act (1880) and the Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) protected the worker against loss due to industrial accidents, and the latter act was applied later to nearly all classes of employees. The state viewed such compensation as the price which society must pay for the advantages of machine production. The term *social insurance* came to be applied to such forms of workers' protection. In the second half of the century, laws (1871 and 1875) were passed protecting trades unions from legal persecution. While these developments were occurring, government itself, both local and national, was invading the field of private industry. Cities operated such businesses as street railways, water, gas and light systems, markets, baths, and employment bureaux. The national government undertook such activities as postal savings banks, telegraph and telephone systems, and parcel post.

The present century saw a great increase in government activity for the protection of workers and the common good of all citizens. "The old Liberalism had been concerned with securing the rights of the employing class through legislation directed at the enforcement of contracts, removing barriers hampering trade, and perfecting the protection of patent laws. The new Liberalism . . . : the protection of trade unionism, . . . the security of livelihood and the maintenance

of health, as embodied in the Feeding of School Children's Act, . . . Old Age Pensions, and state-aided insurance against the risks of sickness and unemployment. The purposes of the old Liberalism had been served by abjuring state intervention; the new Liberalism stood for the use of state powers and functions to secure minimum conditions of life."<sup>9</sup> Thus came the abandonment of economic and social *laissez faire* in industrialized England.<sup>10</sup>

In the United States, as in England, *laissez faire* was never entirely adopted. A program of steadily increasing state interference checked, almost from the start, the individualistic tendencies of the Revolutionary period. A tariff act was passed in 1789; the Embargo Act in 1807; the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887; the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890; and many similar acts since then, culminating in many measures of the New Deal legislation of the Roosevelt administration. In addition to federal regulatory laws, many states have enacted labor and factory laws, more recent ones covering such matters as workmen's compensation, minimum wages, and hours of labor. The amount of social legislation adopted in America, particularly since 1932, means that we have become, in a large degree, socialists. Yet, such laws have had as one purpose the preservation of the competitive system. They aimed to accomplish that by protecting the conscientious manufacturer and merchant against unscrupulous rivals who operated "sweat shops" and filled the market with inferior and, sometimes, poisonous products. The business men of more progressive and enlightened states, which prohibit child labor, must be protected against unfair competition from rivals in other states where laws are less humane.

While the preservation of the competitive system has been one purpose of state interference in America, we have, as in the case of our public utilities, gone beyond it, and have begun to substitute a state-regulated monopoly for the older private competitive systems. Our government, too, has become a great banking institution. This socialistic tendency is likely to be increased because of the economic shocks, dislocations, and military needs created by the war, and by the economic conditions which must inevitably follow it.

**Social Democracy versus Liberalism.**—Two tendencies appear in the cultural development of Western civilization: the democratic and

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<sup>9</sup> Helen F. Hohman, *The Development of Social Insurance and Minimum Wage Legislation in Great Britain*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933, 10.

<sup>10</sup> John M. Gaus, *Great Britain*, University of Chicago Press, 1929; E. W. Bakke, *Insurance or Dole*, Yale University Press, 1935; Charles W. Pipkin, *The Idea of Social Justice*, New York: Macmillan, 1927.



the socialist. Christianity was an embodiment of both. They are logically contradictory tendencies, for the essence of democracy is freedom; of socialism, equality. Now, freedom and equality are mutually exclusive. Give men freedom, and they will destroy equality. Freedom is an individual need; equality, a social need. We cannot have social equality unless we restrict individual freedom. Viewed logically, then, the problem presents irreconcilable contrasts. But democracy, in practice, has been founded not upon logic but upon human feelings. Viewed from the standpoint of the human heart, rather than the intellect, freedom and equality have not been, and are not, contradictory. The Christian has accepted both, though he may not have attempted to reconcile them logically. In the "human rights," which liberal philosophers and statesmen have long advocated, the principles of freedom and equality have been combined. Though equality was often assigned a subordinate place, it was accorded wide recognition. The socialists stressed the principle of equality, but as a means to a higher and wider freedom. The difference, in this regard, between the liberal and the socialist was not one of fundamental principles but of emphasis; not one of ends but of means. The feeling, then, generally prevailed that a just and workable synthesis between freedom and equality, and between the rights of the individual and those of society, is possible. The alternatives to that synthesis are anarchy and social chaos, on the one hand, or the destruction of personality by social tyranny, on the other. The democratic world must face the problem of freedom and keep continuously solving it, for it is a perennial problem.

The free society must impose certain voluntary restrictions upon its own liberties. It probably, for instance, must, for the sake of its own preservation, deny to its enemies the freedom to destroy democracy. Liberalism, as a theory and practice of non-interference with men by society, may perish, and it has long been perishing, but freedom need not perish with it. Liberalism is a way of life which triumphed in the republican revolutions of the eighteenth century. It had its economic, social, political and intellectual aspects. It was suited to the age in which it arose, and was an expression of the spirit of the times. But freedom is an idea and a feeling which is not a product of any age or period of social change, but which is as old as man, and which has endured throughout all forms and stages of social change since primitive times. It is an idea that was, and is, always young. The world and society may change, but the idea of freedom remains unchanged. The fall of liberalism does not, as some have asserted, mean the death of freedom. The striving of men

for freedom found expression in our political democracies of the past century and a half. As they evolved there emerged the problem of reconciling freedom with equality, and of individual with social rights. In the process of solving it we have found it necessary to emphasize more and more the principles of equality and social justice. What we have now is not democracy but *social democracy*, in which freedom, while restricted, has strong institutional safeguards, and more individuals enjoy it in greater quantities because of the concessions we have made to equality. Political freedom, moreover, has tended to increase. The restrictions have been placed mainly upon our economic activities.

### Some Intellectual Aspects of the Century

While much of man's intellectual adventuring has been linked to the economic, social, and political struggle, revolutionary developments have occurred in the physical and natural sciences.

**The New Cosmology.**—In the field of astrophysics, Einstein's deductions from the principle of relativity have been of paramount importance. Light, like matter, he holds to be subject to the law of gravitation, and rays of light coming to us from the stars are deflected by the sun so that our images of the stars are distorted. Moreover, since everything in the universe is in motion, including the observer, all astral motion is relative to the observer, and there is no evidence of absolute motion in the cosmos. Einstein's doctrines, if true, negate, or modify, the Newtonian views that space, time and motion are absolute; that the dimensions of solid bodies are not affected by motion; that gravitation is due to attraction between bodies; that light travels in a straight line; and that Euclid's axioms are true everywhere in the universe.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps of equal significance has been the discovery of a universe so extended that the human mind is apparently incapable of comprehending it. The Copernican heliocentric view of the universe has been proved to be false. The new cosmos, a boundless cosmic sea, is composed of probably millions of galaxies, of which our own galactic universe, or milky way, is but one. Some of these galaxies are known to be hundreds of millions of light years from the earth. In our own solar system the sun is but a speck, though its diameter is 865,000 miles, for that of Antares, which has been measured, is approximately 400,000,000 miles. Countless other solar systems added

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<sup>11</sup> David Dietz, *The Story of Science*, New York: Holston House, Sears Publishing Co., 1931, 265-266.

to ours constitute our own galactic system, which is but one of the millions of galaxies in the cosmos. It requires 300,000,000 years for our galactic system to complete one revolution around its sidereal axis, thus making a galactic day 300,000,000 years multiplied by 365.

Most astrophysicists think that the cosmos will eventually die because of the dissipation of energy. The thermodynamical law of entropy, which shows that heat produced by energy cannot be reconverted into energy, makes inevitable, they say, the death of the cosmos by heat uniformity.<sup>12</sup> Millikan and others reject this theory and hold that cosmic waves are constantly changing energy into matter. Other scientists hold that light, not energy, is the key to the mystery of the universe and, indeed, the velocity of light has been assumed by all astrophysicists to be invariably constant. Recent experiments of Mount Wilson astronomers have raised doubts about that assumption.

What is the value of this astronomical knowledge? While most of it has no practical use that we can now see, it is only through such pure research that we can ever hope to understand the meaning of the universe and man's place in it. In the cosmic scheme not only man but also the earth appear to be very insignificant.

**Progress in Physics.**—Among the important discoveries in physics has been that of the greater understanding of the atom, and of the electron, which has culminated in the harnessing of atomic energy. Out of the study of the atom has come the quantum theory that energy is radiated not in continuous waves but in *quanta*, or bundles, a theory which some physicists still question. All atoms and, indeed, the whole universe, are composed of electrons, which are the smallest known entities, and which move within the atom at a speed of nearly 186,000 miles per second. In measuring the electron's velocity, the scientists found that the more accurate was their measurement of its speed the less accurate was their determination of its position. That discovery has led to a questioning of the assumption of cause-and-effect relationships in the physical universe, and to the conviction on the part of some that there is operating in nature a law of uncertainty or indeterminacy. Back of the progress made in the study of the atom was the work done on X-rays and radium, which made recent investigation of the atom possible. The problem of what matter itself is still remains to be solved.

**Progress in Chemistry.**—Research has brought elaborate developments in the theory of chemistry, but the practical achievements

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<sup>12</sup> Hyman Levy, *The Universe of Science*, New York: Century Co., 1933, 42.



appear in the creation of synthetic products. We make, for instance, smokeless powder, salad oil, and dozens of other by-products from cottonseed. One will find the story told in Slosson's *Creative Chemistry*. Chemical research, too, seems to indicate that life and death are chemical phenomena. Experiments with female rats seem also to indicate that mother-love is reducible to chemical substances. Physiological chemists have discovered a close relationship between the secretions of the endocrine glands and bodily growth and emotional behavior. To these scientists also goes the credit for our knowledge of vitamins and minerals and their relation to health.

**Progress in Biology.**—In this field more light has been thrown by research upon the problem of heredity. Hereditary traits are now known to be controlled by the element which biologists call the *gene*. It appears from more recent research that the *gene* is not changed by any form of environmental influence, and that the older view that acquired characteristics are inherited is erroneous. While additions and corrections have been made in the Darwinian theory, Darwin's basic evolutionary principle has been confirmed rather than weakened by recent research.

**Progress in Medical Science.**—Progress in chemistry and X-ray photography has brought many improvements in medical practice, chiefly in surgery, while bacteriological research has continued to enlarge the field of preventive medicine. The germ of syphilis was discovered by Schaudinn in 1905. The Wassermann blood test of its presence followed and, in 1910, salvarsan was discovered as a specific remedy for the disease. Paresis, too, has been found to respond to artificially induced fever. Yellow fever has also been brought under control.

**Progress in Psychology.**—Since the turn of the century, psychology has become a full-fledged experimental science. Man's psychic life is, however, interpreted in different ways by different schools. Some of these scientists might be described as psychophysicists, for their experiments clung closely to the measurable physical behavior of man, such as perception. Titchener and Boring belong to this group. Others, following G. Stanley Hall, are usually called biological psychologists, or functionalists. These men studied psychic phenomena to see how they met the needs of the human organism, viewed as biological. James, Dewey and Thorndike fall into this group. The behaviorists, carrying the biological principle to its extreme, confined themselves narrowly to a study of the behavior of the organism, ignoring such things as the nature of consciousness. To

them behavior patterns are but conditioned reflexes. William McDougall, and his followers, though biological psychologists, insist that there is a "purpose" back of human behavior, and thus assume the operation of an external spiritual force in the realm of human life. The Gestalt psychologists, holding that most of these experimentalists have overanalyzed behavior, advance the theory, which they say stands supported by observation and experiment, that there is in the behaving organism a unifying element which they call "insight," which produces a generalized response to situations in which the organism finds itself.

**Progress in the Social Sciences.**—Perhaps the most significant advance in these sciences has been the refinement of scientific methods as applied to them. While cultural prejudices, no doubt, continue to be an obstacle to the discovery of facts in social fields, the social scientists, where they have been free from political domination, have set that discovery as their goal, regardless of the effect it might have on traditional social practices. They have aimed to provide the light needed by men in their search for a better world.

In history the emphasis has shifted from political and military to the economic, social and cultural aspects of social evolution. Historians have turned to the history of civilization, of the origin, meaning, and development of man's culture and institutions, in order to gain a fuller understanding of modern society and its problems.

In economics, the scientist has investigated our economic institutions historically, and their evolution is now fairly well understood. He has also revealed the relation of economic institutions to social life. Capitalism, the Industrial Revolution, and labor problems are among the many phenomena which have been critically examined by these scientists not only historically but in all their present forms. More than other social scientists, the economists have used statistical techniques in investigating problems and practices. While there still remain grounds for controversy in the realm of economics, we now understand the economic problems of the world much better than we did at the turn of the century.

The sociologists have continued their investigations of culture, folkways, and the whole gamut of social institutions. The scope of the science has not been sharply defined, with the result that it has overlapped the fields of economics and political science. The sociologists have borrowed much from anthropology and, more recently, from psychology. As a result of their researches we now have much definite knowledge of group life and of the forces that affect it.

Political scientists have added much to our knowledge of political institutions as regards their origin and the factors that determine their character. Influenced, no doubt, by Marxism, they have investigated widely the bearing of economic institutions and the alleged social struggle upon political practices. The historical and social foundations of political institutions have also been carefully investigated. Legal institutions, too, have been critically examined, and the concept of law as an instrument for directing social change, rather than for perpetuating the old social order, has been widely accepted not only by jurists but by an increasing public.

Under the leadership of Boas, in America, and Marett, in Europe, anthropologists have reexamined primitive life, and their findings and interpretations have thrown new light upon cultural and social evolution. The archeologists have added much to our knowledge of primitive life; and anatomists, working on skeletal remains, to our knowledge of man's physical development.

Under the leadership of such men as Bertrand Russell and John Dewey, ethics has been studied scientifically, and has been divorced by them from religion and theology. Its goal is no longer outside of this world. Its aim, as a science, is the improvement of human relationships and life here.

**Progress in Philosophy.**—While the older philosophies have survived, and continue to be ably defended, the most significant development in philosophy has come from the expansion of science and the use of the scientific method in exploring the physical and the social worlds. The philosophy of Dewey, Russell, and Morris Cohen embodies the conviction that science and the scientific method are the necessary and only acceptable bases of philosophy. Among the philosophers of this school, Dewey stands preëminent. Said he: "The method we term 'scientific' forms for the modern man (and man is not modern merely because he lives in 1931) the sole dependable means of disclosing the realities of existence. It is the sole authentic mode of revelation."<sup>13</sup> A critical examination of the philosophy of Dewey, as representing this modern outlook and as compared with other schools of thought, together with a similar study of his educational theory might well be included in all teacher-training programs. Few aspects of life and thought have remained beyond the range of his investigations. He has surveyed such realms of thought and human activity as aesthetics, politics, ethics, logic, religion, and edu-

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<sup>13</sup> Albert Einstein, *et al.*, *Living Philosophies*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1931, 24.



cation, and has made a notable contribution to thought in all fields which he has touched. The revolt against Aristotelian logic, planned by Francis Bacon and further developed by J. S. Mill, has been brought to completion by Dewey and others in recent years. Dewey's basic philosophical position is that of biological pragmatism. He views man as a psychophysical organism struggling to preserve itself against its environment. What counts is success in that struggle, not futile speculation about the traditional questions of philosophy: What is real? What is true? What works is true, say Dewey and other pragmatists. The test of the truth of any idea, or of the value of any action, is its utility in solving the problems of individual and group life. Functionalism, though not narrowly interpreted as some educators have done, is the test of the value of educational practices. Thought, according to Dewey, is an instrument which makes for the successful behavior of the organism when it finds itself in a crisis, or novel situation. Because of that view some have used the term "instrumentalism" to describe his philosophy.

Marxism, Fascism, liberalism, and their economic and political assumptions have had much effect upon recent philosophy. Preoccupation with science and the scientific method, if these are narrowly conceived, might divert the philosopher's attention from important social phenomena. Marxism and Fascism are not only ways of communal life but also philosophies.<sup>14</sup>

**Progress in Art.**—Upton Sinclair, in his *Mammonart*, advanced and elaborated the thesis that all art is propaganda and that the artist, because he must sell his products and his service, must cater to the needs and tastes of the ruling, conservative elements in society. Various interpretations, no doubt, of the motives back of art might be, and have been, advanced, and there is some element of truth in them all. Art is one proof of man's superiority to the animals, and one evidence of his striving to lift himself above the level of creatures that seek merely physical comforts. That it has reflected the needs, ideals and tastes of societies, or the rulers of societies, is more than an assumption. It could not have been otherwise. There probably never has been, strictly speaking, a free, creative art. The freedom of the artist, as of us all, is limited by culture and by those who control culture.

The architectural progress of this century has been the result largely of commercial and industrial needs, and has appeared mainly

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<sup>14</sup> See Sidney Hook, *Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx*, New York: The John Day Company, 1933.

in factories and business buildings, particularly the latter. Population pressure in urban areas created the need for architectural change, and the perfection of structural steel made that change possible. American cities have been the chief centers of the development. We have become the land of skyscrapers, the Empire State Building in New York towering above a city of skyscrapers to the height of 1,248 feet. Louis Sullivan and Frank L. Wright, whose influences have been felt in Europe as well as America, have been the creators in this field. The motive of utility has permeated their work. The form of a building must, they held, follow its function, or purpose. The demand that beauty be not sacrificed to function brought in the beginning a retention, in skyscrapers, of traditional ornamentation which, in more recent buildings, has been abandoned, without sacrificing beauty. The use of glass as a building material promises to attain greater vogue in the future.

In painting, Cubism, Expressionism, Dadaism, Surrealism, and Futurism have been departures from traditionalism, and have been attempts to create an art reflecting a purely aesthetic motive. They represent an embodiment of individualism, of the free creative spirit, in art. Subjectivism is their chief general characteristic. These artists strove to express their own conceptions and feelings rather than to depict their themes objectively. Subject matter is of secondary importance for them. It is the mode of artistic expression which is the measure of the value of art. The subject very often has been an unreal, sometimes weird, creation of the artist's imagination, and the mode of depicting it has accentuated its unreality. Men, however, have always created realities, and these modern artists exercised a right to create theirs. They were not working aimlessly. The Futurist, for instance, aimed to give to his creations a sense of motion, thus recognizing the fact that everything is in a state of change. Theirs we might call dynamic art. The Surrealists were influenced by Freudian psychology, and dream worlds became their realities. Traditional art aimed to be true to objective reality. These new forms of art aimed to be true to the artists' emotionalized conception of life.

**Industrialism, Socialism, Communism, and Art.**—These recent forms of painting and, indeed, much of the older painting, have been either beyond the comprehension of the masses or far removed from their lives. Whether the masses could, or could not, appreciate it, traditional art in general was not intended primarily for their enjoyment and enlightenment. The architectural art of cathedrals and

churches, their images of saints, their mural ornamentation and stained-glass windows that decorated them were once the literature of the illiterate masses. Only religious art can be said to have really reached them, until the moving picture, with its various forms of propaganda, developed in the present century.

The Communists have taught that art is the people's own creation, that it ought to be comprehensible to them, and that its purpose is to stimulate them to artistic effort, and to unite them in one great cultural brotherhood. Holding that all art in the past has been class art, they have been creating a proletarian art, which they frankly admit is propaganda, and justify on the ground that it is in the interest of the laboring masses. They further claim that only in a classless society can the artist attain the maximum degree of freedom possible to man living in organized society. The whole Soviet experiment, in its largest aspect, is an attempt to build a culture different from that of their western neighbors, and to universalize it throughout the entire Union of Socialist Republics. Literature, in all its forms, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the dance, the theater, science and technology, etc., are viewed as the people's own, and the government has attempted to bring them to the people in intelligible form, and to make the people capable, through education, to understand and appreciate them. All culture is to be brought to all the people through the schools and a variety of extra-school activities organized and controlled by the state. The ideal of "art for art's sake," which probably never existed except as an empty verbalism, has been cast aside here. Art has been socialized and related to the life and problems of the state and its people. The creators of literature, music, and art are among the most honored and highly rewarded workers in the socialist state. Scientific and art museums, theatres, cinemas and radio performances, all of which have been brought within the reach of the people either free of charge or at nominal cost, carry the message of socialism to the people. Here we have art with the single purpose of building a socialist society.

A somewhat similar development, but limited largely to painting, has occurred in Mexico where artists such as Rivera and Orozco have created murals depicting events in Mexican history, and modern social conditions. They have told their story in a way intelligible to the Mexican masses. Some of Rivera's murals in public buildings in the United States gave offense to some who thought they saw in them socialistic and anti-ecclesiastical propaganda.

In the United States, the economic depression stimulated certain artists to depict the evils of our social system. Their interest turned



upon such subjects as the lives of strikers, of the unemployed and hungry, and of corrupt politicians. There was also organized the American Artists' Congress, the members of which pledged themselves to work against the spread of Fascist propaganda. The federal government, through the Works Progress Administration, aided many unemployed artists.

**Scope of the Cultural Scene.**—We have but touched upon a small part of the changing cultural scene in our review of the art of the century, and we have looked at but a few forms of art. Any complete account would require an examination of all forms of art, including music, and of the literary output of the period. In all of these fields, each nation has made its contribution. While the spirit of internationalism has not disappeared from literature and art, the local and national stamp marks most of it. Local color has always given charm and significance to men's cultural creations, and the world has grown richer through its cultural exchange. Science, art, literature, religion, and philosophy have not been national. To them all the nations have contributed. We all have given, and we all have borrowed. To examine all things and hold fast to the things that are good is a principle the wisdom of which has been attested by experience.

**The Age of Uncertainty.**—As the closing decades of the eighteenth century are described as the Age of Reason, so the opening decades of our century may some day be described as the beginning of an Age of Uncertainty. Dewey and his school tell us that the only certainty is uncertainty; that everything is subject to the law of change. The scientists, philosophers, and theologians are bewildered in proportion to their knowledge. Only the uninformed man knows no doubts. It is important that our leaders should know, at least broadly, what the limitations of knowledge are. From the certainties of mediaeval theology and scholastic philosophy we went on, in the nineteenth century, to supposed certainties of science. While the scientific "laws" still furnish a usable working basis of human behavior, even the once most certain of them, such as that of causality and the conservation of energy, are now of doubtful validity. While our exact knowledge about man's nature, society and the universe has been greatly increased by science, the more we know about the little things the more baffling becomes the riddle of the greater things, and of the meaning even of the little things. Science, and rightly so, does not propose to give us such meanings, but it keeps searching for facts without which there can be no sound meanings. The uncertainties of

our time, resulting mainly from science, and alarm over their possible social consequences have been, among other considerations, responsible for such educational demands as have come from Professor M. J. Adler and President R. M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago. Regretting the disunity in intellectual life in the modern age, which they attribute largely to the development of the sciences and to specialization in education, they would restore a oneness of purpose to university education and a unity of higher studies based upon a study of metaphysics. They have singled out the philosophy of Dewey and the functionalists for special attack. Their views may be examined in Hutchins' *The Higher Learning in America* and *No Friendly Voice*. An attempt has been made by S. Barr and S. Buchanan at St. John's College, Annapolis, to reduce the Hutchins' philosophy to practice. It has been, however, subjected to telling criticism by Dewey and many others. It has, for instance, among other reasons, been criticized on the grounds that metaphysics is but another name for theology; that there is no one metaphysics but many metaphysics, just as there are many theologies; that the intellectual unity it aims at can be achieved only by coercion and indoctrination, as was mediaeval cultural unity; that the so-called "chaos," which it rails against, is more desirable than the "order" which it aims to create; that, for all essential purposes, the grounds upon which unity is needed can be reduced to a few ethical principles embodied in fundamental laws, which our people have accepted; and that unity of belief in the dogmas of theology and metaphysics is not necessary for peaceful social life.<sup>15</sup> In periods of unrest and rapid change, there is always a hankering on the part of some to restore some "golden age" that has passed. That desire seldom accords with realities that change has brought and which men must face realistically.

**Science, Social Change and Religion.**—There has been a rapid decline of supernaturalism and of public interest in church activities during the past forty years. While progress in the sciences has weakened the hold of supernatural religion upon the masses, city life and the rise of secular interests, due largely to industrialism, have been more potent factors back of that change. The automobile, movies, and golf have had damaging effects upon church congregations. For more and more people, the stage and screen are supplying the emotional satisfaction which many of them once found only in church services. Many have found modern books, magazines and Sunday

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<sup>15</sup> Frank H. Knight, "Theology and Education," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, March, 1939, 649-683.

newspapers more interesting than sermons. Radio and newspaper moralists and practical ethical experts have gained in popularity at the expense of ministers and priests. Social work, recreation, and charity, formerly prominent church activities, have passed largely into the hands of lay, secular agencies, of which the state is the leading one. However, nothing has weakened the influence of the church as much as has the secularization of education which, in varying degrees, has accompanied the development of national school systems. Once the church was responsible for the building of character and the inculcation of morals. The lay, public teacher now carries that responsibility, and our secular teacher-training institutions offer courses in "character education." Against these devastating influences the churches have struggled, some by urging, as has the Lord's Day Alliance, the enforcement of "blue laws," and others by organizing social and educational programs secular rather than religious in character. One of the results of this whole change has been that some progressive churchmen have become active leaders in the work of economic and social reform, and have accepted that rather than the preaching of "old-time religion" as their chief duty.

Supernatural religion has suffered a decline as a result, also, of advances in science. The doctrine of evolution and the views of the "higher critics" of the Bible have been reaching the masses through such channels as textbooks in biology and cultural history, popular scientific and historical books, and popular magazines. Many psychologists have interpreted the rise and acceptance of basic theological dogmas as well as men's religious experiences and behavior, both normal and abnormal, in a natural, psychological way, and they have acquired a considerable following. If saintliness and religious mysticism, as religious mania, are but natural, psychological phenomena, then we no longer need to postulate the operation of a supernatural agency even in the realm of religious experience. The theologian, moreover, has not profited by the admitted inability of the scientist to unravel the mysteries of the universe and of life, for it is not easy for him to convince the world that he has succeeded where the scientist has failed. The belief that, if an answer to these mysteries is possible, science, not theology, will provide it seems to have been gaining wider acceptance. The quest of the scientist, like that of the theologian, is a quest for God, or the first cause of things, but scientists generally hold to the view that that discovery is dependent upon the completion of man's exploration of the physical universe. Says Professor James H. Leuba: "The claims of the religions and of philosophers that they have given an adequate answer to the problem



of God are made in an adolescent conceit. An adequate solution would demand a complete knowledge of all things in heaven and earth; it will, therefore, be long delayed!"<sup>16</sup> Such developments as the doctrine of relativity, with the doubts it creates about supposed physical ultimates and absolutes, such as time and space, and the growing uncertainty regarding the supposed law of causality point to the coming of a serious crisis for traditional theology. Some scientists, such as Eddington and Millikan, bewildered by scientific discoveries and uncertainties, have found in theology the consolation they sought, but other scientists, such as Russell and Dingle, have condemned that stand as unjustifiable.

In theological circles and churches, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, the origin of which we have discussed earlier, came to a head as a result of advancing science. The most radical of the modernists, found chiefly among the Unitarians and Universalists, but also among other Protestants, have either rejected the basic Christian theological dogmas as untrue or hold that we can have no certainty about them. Other but less radical modernists have retained a few of the old beliefs such as that in the existence of God and in personal immortality. Against all of these the fundamentalists have stood for the continued belief in all the old-time "fundamentals" of the Christian religion. This group has been unrelenting in the war against science at every point where it clashed with the traditional dogmas of formal Christianity. Their leaders attacked modernist ministers and teachers, and organized many societies to carry on their work. They succeeded in having anti-evolution laws passed in a few states, one of them being Tennessee, where a teacher, J. T. Scopes, was tried in 1925 for teaching evolution. William Jennings Bryan, the chief prosecuting attorney and prominent fundamentalist, urged the view that the schools exist to teach not what is true but what the people want them to teach. Scopes was convicted in spite of his able defense by Clarence Darrow, a leading modernist.

The Catholic church, fearful of modern thought, which a few prominent Catholics would have the church accept, has consistently refused to make any concession to modernism. Such Catholic modernists as George Tyrell, Alfred Loisy, and Louis Duchesne, and their writings have been pronounced heretical. In 1907, Pope Pius X placed the official anathema of the church upon modernism. One cannot be a modernist and remain within the Catholic fold.

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<sup>16</sup> James H. Leuba, *God or Man*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933, 320-321.

**The Growing Distrust of Science.**—Fear of knowledge, particularly of new knowledge, is as old probably as human society. In the Hebrew-Christian epic knowledge is represented as having brought the curse of heaven upon the human race. Christian ecclesiastics, in varying degrees since early Christian days, have opposed the free spirit of inquiry. They viewed reason and the intellect as dangerous aspects of man's nature.<sup>17</sup> Distrust of science by theologians is thus an old phenomenon. They have been joined, in our own day, by some eminent scientists who have become bewildered by the magnitude of the mysteries which scientific research has revealed. Such men as Millikan and Eddington reject, however, only the view that science has a right to investigate even the realm of ultimate truths. In that highest field, and there only, they do not trust the answers of scientists. A popular form of distrust of science has been based upon the belief that progress in science has dehumanized man, and is responsible for many of our economic and social dislocations and the more horrible aspects of modern warfare.

Science and scientists are thus blamed for our failure to keep our spiritual culture in step with our advancing material culture, for our failure to control the machine, and for our abuse of scientific discoveries and inventions. Those who misuse the gifts of science, rather than science itself, are responsible for our perversion of knowledge or our failure to make the proper use of it. Perhaps the worst aspect of the revolt against science appears in the anti-rationalism and the worship of myths which characterized the totalitarian régimes, particularly those of the Nazi-Fascists. Hitler and Mussolini rejected science when it conflicted with their socio-political programs. Alfred Rosenberg, the high-priest of the Nazi cult, would, however, destroy the scientific foundation of human certainty, even in the physical realm, by making feeling rather than observation and reason its basis. Said he, in his *Blut und Ehre*: "We believe that the three possibilities of understanding the universe through perception, will and reason, originate from a single faith, from a single myth, the myth of the blood, the myth of the people."<sup>18</sup> Professor P. Lenard, of Heidelberg University, a prominent Nazi physicist, rejects the international character of science and scientific truth. Said he: "Science, like every other human product, is racial and conditioned by the blood."<sup>19</sup> To

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<sup>17</sup> J. B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought*, New York: Holt, 1913; Andrew D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, New York: Appleton, 1896.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in M. Rader, *op. cit.*, 25 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 (by permission of The Macmillan Co.).

make nation and race the test and measure of scientific truth destroys objectivity which is the essence of science.

Back of most of this distrust of science are prejudices, both old and new, and the failure of our educational agencies to keep pace with advancing knowledge and to interpret it to the public. The scientific method of discovery is itself known only to specialists in scientific fields, to technologists, to business men, who reap profit from its use, and to an almost negligible fraction of the general public. That it is a way of discovering and dealing with facts in every field of reality, including that of human life and activity, is still largely unknown. The modern politician and preacher generally approach their problems through rhetoric and ancient logic rather than through scientific thinking. Perhaps the teacher, too, fails often to use the tool of scientific method where it applies to problems that confront him. One of the big tasks of educators in the future is to teach men to substitute science for prejudice in the world of social as well as of physical phenomena.

#### FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. The basic factor underlying world conflicts and unrest within nations is the economic factor. If we knew the solution of the economic problem, we would not hesitate to apply it.

2. Wars have never ended struggles, have never solved problems, and probably never will. They have always sowed the seeds of future wars.

3. Since free communication of news and ideas is an essential prerequisite of peace, the power to control news ought to be transferred from national governments to an international authority.

4. Facts about the world have always been easily accessible to American teachers and students.

5. Because of our well-rooted liberal tradition, Communism, Nazism, or Fascism can never triumph in America.

6. The social struggles which followed the First World War in Europe are not likely to follow the recent one. If they reappear, England and the United States will support the proletariat, because this was a war to put an end to Fascism.

7. The political force in the modern world operates independently of the economic and social forces.

8. Nazism and Fascism were not revolutionary but reactionary; not revolutions but counter-revolutions.



9. The philosophy of Nazi-Fascism has important elements in common with Communism and liberalism. Liberals, for instance, insist as strongly upon individual loyalty to the state as do totalitarian governments and, like the latter, but unlike the Communists, they permit race antagonisms to exist.

10. Totalitarianism is nationalism arrived at its logical and inevitable conclusion.

11. Liberal societies must inevitably become collectivistic.

12. Activism and the activity school in their present form everywhere are the product of American experience and thought.

13. Dean H. Johnson, the Anglican divine, has sound reasons, based upon facts, for his assertion that the Soviet system is the fulfillment of the ideals of Christ.

14. The philosophy of dialectical materialism is in harmony with science and human experience.

15. The triumph of Communism in Russia was an inevitable result of traditional social conservatism.

16. It is probable that in America we have been given a distorted picture of life under the Soviets.

17. It is possible for us in America to restrict the economic liberty of the citizen without restricting his political liberty.

18. Resolved that our schools return to the certainties and eternal verities of the "good old days."

19. Unless the churches preach a Gospel in harmony with the realities of the modern world, the men from the foxholes are not likely to pay allegiance to them.

20. In the world of tomorrow, teachers, like preachers, will have to be well-informed and realistic, if they are to deserve the respect of their students.

21. Neither the teacher, nor student, nor the man in the street has a right to express an opinion on any question unless he has facts to support it. Only personal experience and the sciences can provide us with facts.

22. Though civilizations change, there are ideals which men must not permit to be changed or discarded because the wisdom of ages attests their value.

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## Chapter 15

### EDUCATION AND THE WORLD CRISIS

In the preceding chapter we have examined the changing economic, social, political, and cultural world scene in the present century. Education in the great nations has been profoundly influenced by these changes. In the democracies of the United States, England, and France until its temporary defeat by Germany, the most significant changes appear in the increasing democratization of education. In Germany and Italy educational change has been a phase of the revolt against liberalism and the democratic way of life. The Communist social experiment in Russia has been accompanied by an educational experiment of equal magnitude and import. The internal social struggle within nations as well as the international tensions of the period have affected, in greater or less degree in different countries, the educational practices of the world. As always in the past, the school has played the rôle of servant to society. In the democracies, because of economic and social unrest and the changing world scene, educational thought has been marked by indecision and controversy regarding values and procedures. The United States has been the chief center of the debate. The views expressed reflect democratic-collectivist, traditional liberal, and reactionary ideologies. In the totalitarian states there has been neither controversy nor indecision regarding education. In these, the governments defined with unmistakable definiteness the goals of education, made schools subservient to their will, and determined minutely the procedures of instruction. Life ran according to the official plan, and the school, bearing the mark of an imposed uniformity, was made to serve that plan. In England and the United States, where, in varying degrees, men continued to believe that progress is best attained through the freedom of individuals and groups to experiment, we proceeded without an official plan, and our educational procedures and institutions were marked by variety within an organized national, or state system.

#### Educational Reforms in the German Republic

**The German Republic and Education.** (a) NEW DEMANDS.—With the establishment of the Republic demands for educational re-



form were made by many groups. The Youth Movement, in existence since 1898, and the Teachers' Association, composed largely of elementary teachers, made the most important demands. Youth, not keenly aware of the organizational defects of the old system, limited their demands to reforms of method, curriculum and the spirit of the school. They wanted, among other things, more freedom for students, more physical education, more stress on art, nature, the German environment, and real life, and less bookishness in the schools. The teachers' demands struck deeper into old defects than those of the Youth Movement. They demanded (a) a unified school system (*Einheitsschule*), with a six-year common school, in place of the multi-track system of the past; (b) the abolition of the caste system in education by making ability the only basis of educational privilege; (c) the emancipation of the school from church authority; (d) the improvement of training for elementary teachers by founding it upon secondary and university education; (e) the establishment of a professional supervisory system in the schools; (f) the freedom of teachers to experiment in education; and (g) the participation of teachers in the administration of schools. This teachers' program of reform was opposed by many secondary teachers on grounds of efficiency and, among the denominations, particularly by Catholics, on sectarian grounds.

(b) NEW CONSTITUTION.—The educational provisions of the Weimar Constitution (1919) reflect the struggle that was going on. That instrument stated that (a) education is a public function, (b) that teacher-training be unified throughout the Reich and given in higher institutions, (c) that control of education be vested in the several states, (d) that education be compulsory for eight years and be supplemented by free part-time vocational schools, (e) that a common foundation school be organized for all children, (f) that the churches may organize their own schools paralleling the public schools, (g) that private schools be closely supervised and controlled by the states, (h) that citizenship and international understanding be made basic goals of education, (i) that the states make provision for adult education, and (j) that proper provision be made for religious instruction, without requiring parents or pupils to submit to it, or individual teachers to offer it.

(c) THE GRUNDSCHULE.—The Reich school law of 1920 established the common foundation school (*Grundschule*), made the first four grades of the elementary school compulsory for all, and ordered the closing of all preparatory departments (*Vorschulen*) of secondary

schools which were doing the work of these grades. Henceforth instruction in the first four grades was to be the same for all classes, and pupils were to be selected for secondary and middle schools on the basis of their achievement during these four years, scholarships and, sometimes, maintenance for poor students in such schools being liberally provided by the several communities. Opposition to the closing of preparatory departments of secondary schools was so strong that some of them remained until 1936.

Upon completing the work of the *Grundschule*, students might remain in the upper four grades (*Oberstufe*) of the elementary school (*Volksschule*). From the *Oberstufe* they were required to go to part-time continuation schools, or full-time trade schools, for four additional years, or until they had reached the age of eighteen. The continuation school requirement was poorly enforced particularly in the rural areas.

(d) REFORM OF TEACHER-TRAINING.—To abolish further the spirit of caste in education and to bridge the gap between elementary and secondary education, all future teachers were required to be graduates of secondary schools, and the old normal schools were replaced by "pedagogical academies" of university rank. In these, intending elementary teachers were to be educated, the course being two or three years in length. Different states adopted somewhat different practices. There was general agreement that the elementary teacher should have university education, or its equivalent, and a thorough training for teaching and social leadership.<sup>1</sup> Secondary school teachers were required to attend a university and receive their professional training under state supervision. Strict examinations were set up to test the qualifications, both academic and professional, of all those who sought appointments in elementary or secondary schools. To abolish social distinctions between teachers, the salaries of elementary teachers were raised. To emancipate elementary teachers from church domination, local supervision was taken from ministers and priests and transferred to the teachers themselves.

(e) NEW SPIRIT OF EDUCATION.—The republican reforms touched the inner life of the school, and teachers were given freedom to experiment with the curriculum and methods. In most schools a program of extra-curricular activities was developed, and stress was placed upon learning under friendly guidance rather than upon the traditional disciplinarian teaching. Child and adolescent psychology received the increasing attention of teachers.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Kandel, *Comparative Education*, 568 ff.

(f) NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—In secondary education the democratic drift brought the establishment in rural areas of the six-year *Aufbauschule* to which able students might go from the *Volkschule* at the end of the seventh grade, and from which they could enter the university. Such schools grew rapidly in number and popularity. Another new school was also established: the *Deutsche Oberschule*, officially recognized as the equivalent of the traditional secondary schools. As its name implies, the stress in it was placed upon German culture, although two modern languages and Latin were on its program. German language, literature and history, geography, the fine arts, philosophy, and music were the subjects given most attention in it. Its appearance reflects the spread of the philosophy, stated by the Prussian minister of education in 1924, that all secondary schools must be German, and that national culture, not "general education," must be the core of secondary education.<sup>2</sup>

(g) UNIVERSITY CHANGES.—The Republic opened the doors of universities to adults who had never attended secondary schools by providing a special entrance examination for them. In addition, a liberal system of university scholarships was established to enable promising poor students to continue their studies. Such measures, coupled with the expansion of secondary education, brought overcrowding in the universities, and an oversupply of university graduates who could not find employment. Most of these unemployed intellectuals became Nazis.

(h) GROWING VOCATIONAL EMPHASIS.—The Weimar Constitution required that manual instruction and civic training be made compulsory studies. In pre-Republican Germany, vocational education was rigidly separated from general education, and the caste system left its mark upon it. There were vocational schools for graduates of the *Volksschulen*, and others for the graduates of secondary schools. Manual training, however, was generally avoided by the secondary school caste. The framers of the Weimar Constitution saw the need for practical training for everybody, and their continuation school plan was intended largely to meet that need for graduates of the *Volksschulen*. It is sufficient to say here that the vocational ideal tended to extend to all forms of education in the near future.

(i) THE SOCIAL STRUGGLE AND EDUCATION.—The schools became centers of political factionalism and were disturbed by the

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<sup>2</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939, 173. I. L. Kandel has edited the *Educational Yearbooks*.



general social unrest. Furthermore, Catholics, Protestants, Communists, the Youth Movement, and other groups established adult schools to propagate their own pet ideals. The schools of the Republic lacked a common unifying ideal, and the demand that a common goal be set for them arose and was frequently urged, particularly by teachers. Education under the Nazi régime was a rejection of these Republican reforms and tendencies in some of their aspects, while, in other aspects, it was but an enlargement and intensification of them. In its nationalistic emphasis, Nazi education built upon the German heritage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as did, in many ways, the Republican régime which preceded it.

### The Making of Nazis

**Nazi Educational Ideology.**—The Nazi theory of education was rooted in the social and political ideals which have been discussed in the preceding chapter. It denounced as liberal and Marxist the Republican drift toward decentralized control of education, which would destroy the authority of the central Reich government in education and, through the governments of the separate states, confer increasing power upon local communities. It denounced experimentalism in education and the view that the purpose of education is the free development of personalities, ideas that had taken hold under the Republic. It denounced the disintegrating practices of the Republic, as evident in the diversity of schools which it encouraged, and its failure to set a common national ideal for all schools. These criticisms ignored the official Republican emphasis upon national loyalty as a goal of education, and upon the importance of the German environment and the soil in fixing the spirit and content of education.

**Purpose.**—On the positive side, Nazi theory found its summation in the often reiterated and officially approved view that the purpose of education is to bring every individual will into complete, submissive, harmonious accord with the will of the Nazi state of which the *Führer* is the living embodiment. Integration was the magic word in the educational formula, and the individual was to be integrated with his political society not for his own sake but for the well-being of his society, to which alone he owes loyalty and for which he must sacrifice his life, if needs be; for society was said to have given him even his life. This ideal applied not only to the schools but to educational institutions, such as camps and the Youth Movement, which functioned outside of schools. That the school might serve the state efficiently, great stress was placed upon the training of leaders im-

bued with the ideals of blood, race, soil, and race-folk nationality, and possessed of the physical and emotional traits harmonious with the militaristic ambitions of Hitler and his subordinates. The masses, in whose judgment or capacity for government the Nazis had no faith, must be meek and obedient followers of leaders who, in turn, must look to the "great personality" at the top. The "common goal" of all education, said the Reich Minister for Science, Education, and Popular Development in 1938, is that "of forming the National Socialist Man."<sup>3</sup>

**Educational Values.**—First in value the Nazis placed physical training, and after this, in order of importance, character building and intellectual training. Back of this evaluation, as indeed of all aspects of Nazi educational theory and practice, lay the social and political struggle. Said Reich Minister Rust: "The National Socialist system of education is not the outcome of a pedagogical planning but of political struggle and of the laws which govern such a struggle. . . . The National Socialist historical epoch will build a school which will be its true image."<sup>4</sup> To this end it must develop the body and then the soul. "This path," said he, "leads beyond the development of mere intellectual capacities."<sup>5</sup> All of this was in keeping with the Nazi philosophy of social life. Said Rust: "The National Socialist philosophy of life is not a special subject of instruction or a practical exercise but the very foundation of the new school. . . . [It] solves all the difficulties which existed with relation to courses of study and timetables during the epoch of educational pluralism. The new philosophy of life furnishes not primarily a new subject matter but above all a new unified and unifying point of view, a new general educational method, and a new principle for the selection of subject matter."<sup>6</sup> The new principle, he said, is that of utility and accordance with Nazi ideology.

In keeping with the general philosophy of values, the theorists stated in detail what the school should do to form "the National Socialist man." Thus, they listed the desirable character traits and called upon teachers to develop them. Loyalty, the spirit of sacrifice, strength of will, and resolution were among the traits to be developed. Ernst Kriek, *Rektor* of the University of Frankfort a/M, saw the Prussian soldier as the embodiment of the finest traits of German character.<sup>7</sup> In intellectual training, the pupil should be

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 183. All citations from the *Yearbooks* by permission of Teachers College, Columbia University.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-186.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1934, 460-461.

taught only the things essential to his own needs and the needs of the national community. Foreign languages were said to be a waste of time for most students. In all cases, courses should be reduced to their minimum essentials, so that the more important things, such as physical and vocational training and the moulding of the Nazi spirit, might receive proper attention. History, geography, the natural sciences, literature, etc., should be used in every possible and appropriate way to develop national and racial loyalty. The new Germany was to avoid in its schools any emphasis upon foreign cultures, because in the past such practice weakened the German spirit. All education must begin and end with the national community and its needs, and all of it should be rooted in blood and soil, for these are the sources of race and character.

***Volk* as the Basis of Science and Teaching.**—The theorists denounced the “scholar” of the old schools who stood aloof from the *volk* and their life and struggles. Toward the *volk*-life the school must not be neutral. They denounced the old universities with their ideals of academic freedom, pure intellectualism, and of science without preconceptions. Said E. Krieck: “Absolute freedom of teaching is absolute nonsense.”<sup>8</sup> All teaching and research must be rooted in the spirit of the people and must promote National Socialist truth, for that truth springs from the spirit of the people. The state must not tolerate any teaching or research which runs counter to the interests of the common people, for they are the purest embodiment of the German spirit.

**Views on Women’s Education.**—“The goal of feminine education,” said Hitler, “must be fixed as the education of the future mother.” On that principle the theorists agreed. They viewed women as beings different from men in nature, and destined by nature and the needs of the Nazi state for their own peculiar social sphere and activities. Said Rust: “It follows from the close-to-life conception of instruction that the education of girls should be organized in accordance with its own laws. . . . The nature-decreed differences between the sexes manifest themselves even in childhood.”<sup>9</sup> Their education must, he said, “develop from its own roots,” and “take its inspiration from the nature and the world of women.”<sup>10</sup> State officials, among them the Reich Minister of Education, and other Nazi writers declared coeducation to be opposed to the interests and spirit of National Socialism.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939, 191.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



**Theory of Activism.**—In keeping with the anti-intellectualism and activism of the state and its philosophy of life, the theorists stressed activism in education. Said Rust: "Action and action only, not indolent pondering of the past, is the soul of education."<sup>11</sup> And, he said that past German educators, who looked to humanism, neo-humanism, and "German idealism," with their intellectual emphasis, as a basis of national unity, made a mistake in assuming "that spiritual development can give a nation what only a great personality, through political action, can wring from fate."<sup>12</sup> He continued: "In asserting the priority of life and action over all educational theories, National Socialism is faithful to the law which governs the development of every great culture."<sup>13</sup> "The basic principle of instruction," he said, "shall be that of planned and systematic activity, for which the teacher shall set the goal and during which he shall firmly hold . . . leadership in his hands. All instruction which promotes the pupil's own effort and stimulates his thinking and judgment is instruction through activity."<sup>14</sup> Because the state imposed its philosophy upon the schools, the entire ideology of Nazi education was activist, pragmatic, and opposed to the problem-solving philosophy of the Republican years. The Nazi theorists stressed the training of the will as the source of action. Education must create a desire for action, and an energy which leads to action. The school must be formative rather than informative, stressing the drawing-out rather than the pouring-in process.

All this does not mean that intellectual training and knowledge were to be ignored in the educational process. Rust said, for instance, that the secondary school seeks to develop "ability for independent responsible judgment," and seeks it through knowledge not only of the culture and problems of Germany but of other nations and their relations with Germany. But knowledge and "responsible judgment" had as their final goal the well-being of the Nazi state.

**Anti-pluralism and Its Implications.**—For education, the principle of anti-pluralism, discussed in the preceding chapter, implies that (1) youths must be educated in the ideals of the Nazi state to which alone they owe loyalty, and (2) that the state is the only legal educational agency, and that other agencies, such as the family and church, may educate only by authority delegated to them by the state. Anti-pluralism thus provided the philosophical justification of the ideas that all education must be political in its goal, and that the

<sup>11</sup> G. Ziemer, *Education for Death*, Oxford University Press, 1941, 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1939, 184.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

state must have exclusive control over it. Education for citizenship under the Republic was said to have been impossible because the schools then had to stress loyalty to the family, church, and other groups which often differed in their political beliefs. The dominant political party in each locality was said to have determined the character of civic education and political indoctrination without regard to the well-being of the whole German community. In Nazi Germany political education must be the same everywhere, and must be the center of all instruction. Nor could the state share responsibility for education with private agencies. Here, as against the practice of liberal states, non-political agencies had no right to teach unless they had been delegated by the state to do so. Nazi opposition to private schools was in keeping with the steady drift toward a state monopoly for the past two hundred years. Nazi practice conformed with this theory, and the educational influence of the family, church and other agencies, was largely destroyed. Reich Minister Rust could say: "A new political order as a new binding force is the necessary precondition for a new system of education. The German State of Adolf Hitler has become the determining educational force because the *Führer*, by creating his State, summed up the political strength of his people in one single political will and in one all-pervading philosophy of life. This it was which made possible a great and meaningful system of education."<sup>15</sup>

**Reform of the Spirit of Education.**—On gaining control of the state, Hitler and the Nazis proceeded immediately to bring the school, the Youth Movement and all other educational agencies into harmony with the new political ideology. All teachers from the elementary to the university level were required to renounce all liberal educational ideals and practices, such as individualism and intellectualism, and to accept the new philosophy. Jewish teachers were dismissed. Fear of dismissal or the concentration camp brought German teachers of wavering faith into submission. Their duty toward the new political order was made clear to them and apparently most of them proceeded, as the Nazi leaders wished, to develop in the masses the desired emotional response to it. The school was thus made an agency of Nazi propaganda.

In the classroom the teacher was expected to assume the rôle of a *Führer*, and obedience to his authority and respectful listening were declared by officialdom to be the duties of students. Education was made again a physical, moral, and mental discipline. The lecture

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

method was given high official praise, as was also directed student activity. The unrestrained freedom of the student to question and discuss was declared by Minister Rust to be harmful. Discussion, when it was permitted, he said, "must have its goal in an experience, a valuation, and a decision."<sup>16</sup> Yet, excessive drill, he warned, may lead to the passivity of the student and a weakening of his power of judgment, an evil which must be avoided.<sup>17</sup> The Nazi man must be courageous as well as obedient, and care must be taken to mould spirits, not to break them.

Religion was retained in the curriculum, but there seems to have developed an official fear of instruction in it. The Reich Minister said in 1938: "I refrain from issuing a new program for religious instruction. All matters conducive to the disruption of the educational unity of the school shall be carefully guarded against in religious instruction."<sup>18</sup> Earlier, in 1933, the government decreed the closing of non-sectarian schools, apparently as Marxist-inspired and conducive to irreverence for authority, and required new students in future to attend denominational schools. Fear of some aspects of denominationalism resulted in the taking over by the Reich of the Catholic schools of Württemberg and of Bavaria in 1937.<sup>19</sup> Such action brought religious instruction directly under state supervision and into harmony with the ultimate goal of all education, the political and cultural well-being of the Nazi nation.

The military ideal permeated the physical training program in and outside of the schools. History was taught to inflame the will and to develop national pride, and without regard for objective truth. The Teachers' Journal (*Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerzeitung*), August 19, 1933, declared: "We care nothing about an insipid enumeration of 'objective' facts; we want a historical science for Germans. . . . Nationalist research in history is Pan-German, that is to say it considers the Austrians as Germans of Austria. . . . The German Swiss and the Dutch are also members . . . of the German *Reich*."<sup>20</sup> Later in 1933, the *Lehrerzeitung* said: "The taste for militarism must be inculcated in children. . . . Germans will be victorious in the next war; it is the will and the way of God. . . . No one can resist our health within and our young strength."<sup>21</sup> The spirit of the Nazi school was symbolized by the Hitler salute which all educational employees were required to give at specified times and in specified places. Thus every class in every school began with the raising of

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Times*, June 5 and 22, 1937.

<sup>20</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1934, 487-488.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 489.



the right arm and the words *Heil Hitler*. The spirit of humanism, neo-humanism, and liberalism had departed from the schools.

**Administration and Control of Education.**—The leadership principle (*Führerprinzip*) determined all administrative and supervisory practices. Instead of many teachers' associations of the past there was now but the National Socialist Teachers *Bund*, with its own *Führer*. Each principal was *Führer* of his school who explained their duties to teachers and pupils. There were local school committees, appointed by the local Nazi leader, a majority of whom had to be approved by the Nazi Party. Each committee *Führer* might decide issues without taking a vote. At the top of the administrative hierarchy stood the Reich Minister, embodying the authority earlier reposed in the separate state ministries, whose function it was to impose a unity of spirit and practice upon the whole educational system. He was the supreme school *Führer*, and his authority extended over all aspects of the school system. The press, radio, cinema, theater, music, art, and all other cultural activities fell under the supervision of the Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*) of which Goebbels was the *Führer*. What state control of education meant for the individual can be gathered from the following words of Dr. Ley, the *Führer* of the Labor Front: "We begin with the child when he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think he gets a little flag put in his hand; then follows the school, the Hitler Youth, the S.A., and military training. We don't let him go; and when adolescence is past, then comes the *Arbeitsfront*, which takes him again and does not let him go till he dies, whether he likes it or not."<sup>22</sup>

**Organization.**—The Nazis introduced a few changes into the plan of school organization which they inherited. Nazi education began with the selection of parents of pure Nordic blood. For children of working mothers many day nurseries were established, where children began to practise the cult of the *Führer*. In addition there was a growing number of pre-schools, supervised by the state, in which the cult of the *Führer* was also stressed. One additional year of compulsory education was instituted for city children. That year (*Landjahr*) they spent under leaders among farmers and peasants for the purpose of physical training and indoctrination in Nazi ideology. *Landschule* was the name applied to such schooling. In 1941, Minister Rust announced that the Austrian *Hauptschule*, a higher elementary school, would be introduced into the German system for the purpose of diverting some students from secondary schools.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1941, 200-201.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

This step was taken later. These were the only important organizational changes on the elementary level.

By a decree of January 27, 1938, secondary education was reorganized. To provide more time for compulsory labor and for political and military training, the secondary courses were reduced from nine to eight years, and the many traditional school types were reduced to two. All this was ordered, said the Minister, to translate "the National Socialist educational will into practice."<sup>24</sup> Under this plan there remained the *Gymnasium*, which was for boys only, and the *Deutsche Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule*, which were types for both sexes, special schools and courses for each sex being the rule. The intention of the government seems to have been to limit the *Gymnasium* to large cities, and to favor the new secondary schools.

For Nazi political, social, and military leaders new types of schools were created: (a) local leadership schools, of which there were about 150<sup>25</sup>; (b) the National Political Educational Institutions, of which there were about 20<sup>26</sup>; (c) the Adolf-Hitler Schools, of which there were about 10<sup>27</sup>; and (d) four higher schools for leaders of leaders called *Ordensburgen*.<sup>28</sup> The last three types were residential, although the students of the *Ordensburgen* were regularly transferred from one center to another so that they might learn more about Germany. It was from these special schools, not from secondary schools and universities, that Nazi leaders were to be chosen.

**Students and Their Selection.**—The selective process began at the end of the *Grundschule*. Those deemed unable to profit by a transfer at this point to middle or secondary schools, which are pay schools, or who could not bear the financial burden of such a transfer remained in the free *Volksschule* for the four remaining compulsory school years. Said Minister Rust: "There is no place in a secondary school for incapable pupils nor for pupils showing clear signs of weakness of will power and character."<sup>29</sup> There were, however, many free places available in the pay schools for deserving poor students. Character, physical fitness, intelligence, and "national fitness" were the chief bases of selection for these schools. "National fitness" meant the acceptance of Nazi ideology. Selected graduates of middle schools (*Mittelschulen*) might enter the seventh grade of a secondary school, but had to make up work in Latin and Greek if they entered a *Gymnasium*. In order to prevent overcrowding in

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939, 179.

<sup>26</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 283.

<sup>28</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 484-485.

<sup>25</sup> G. Ziemer, *op. cit.*, 145 ff.

<sup>27</sup> G. Ziemer, *op. cit.*, 154 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939, 180.

the universities and other higher schools and in the professions, and to divert secondary school graduates into non-professional careers, the Nazi government, in 1934, instituted a *numerus-clausus* (closed number) procedure to control enrollment in universities. Recently this quota practice for entrance was abolished in the larger institutions, because of the success of Nazi propaganda and pressure intended to divert secondary school graduates immediately into practical pursuits. A shortage of professional personnel probably caused the easing of the restrictions. Since 1935 the universities have conducted their own entrance examinations. Candidates for admission had to have the approval of their secondary school principals, and had to meet certain standards of physical, mental, character, and racial fitness. Physical stamina, political orthodoxy, race purity, and properly directed wilfulness were deemed of greater importance than academic ability and achievement as bases of selection. Before being admitted to higher institutions all men had to have completed six months of labor service (*Arbeitsdienst*), which was compulsory for all men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Two years of military training for men was also compulsory for those under the age of twenty-five, and many secondary school graduates were diverted by that requirement from higher institutions. Women might not constitute more than 10 per cent of the enrollment in any university, and Jews not more than 2 per cent.

**Curriculum.** (a) **ELEMENTARY.**—The goal of the elementary school is, said Rust, “to qualify German youth by means of fundamental knowledge and skills to participate in the work life and cultural life of our people.”<sup>30</sup> In the *Grundschule* the curriculum drew its inspiration from the local environment and Nazi ideology, and consisted of (1) the environment, (2) German, (3) arithmetic, (4) gymnastics, (5) music, (6) drawing and manual training, and (7) needlework. The environment and German were given nearly three times more hours weekly than the other subjects so that, in the Minister’s words, “the child shall learn to know . . . and love the homeland, and to feel himself a rooted member of the German people.”<sup>31</sup> In the *Oberstufe*, or upper four classes of the *Volksschule*, stress was placed upon the study of German, history, geography, biology and race study, and physical education. Nazi bias colored the work of these years. Students studied such topics as the status of labor in Germany, Germans abroad, population problems, German

<sup>30</sup> Alina M. Lindegren, *Education in Germany*, United States Office of Education, 1938, Bulletin No. 15, 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.



autarchy, airplanes, flying and air defense, cost of defectives, Nazi race theory, German military needs, etc. The following, from an arithmetic textbook, indicates the bias that pervaded the school: "An aeroplane flies at the rate of 240 km. per hour to a place at a distance of 210 km. in order to drop bombs. When may it be expected to return if the dropping of the bombs takes  $7\frac{1}{2}$  minutes?"<sup>32</sup> Beyond the *Grundschule*, National Socialist needs and ideology were the basic influence determining the curriculum; and education of the body and will, leading to action, predominated. Eugenics and home economics had a prominent place in the elementary education of girls. Ziemer in his *Education for Death*, a story based, however, on the observation of only a few schools, shows us some *Volksschule* teachers at work: A history teacher proclaims loudly: "Destiny always provides Germany with heroes. . . . The noblest German ever born in any hour of need is our beloved Fuehrer."<sup>33</sup> A nature-study teacher interpreting the life of ants, bees, etc., declares: "Everywhere you looked, you saw how nature employed the *Fuehrer Prinzip*. . . . One thing you did not see, and that is the principle of democracy."<sup>34</sup> A teacher of English musing on the law of might in the animal kingdom declares: "This struggle is a natural struggle. Life could not go on without it. That is why the *Fuehrer* wants his boys to be strong, so they can be the . . . victors, not the victims."<sup>35</sup> A geography teacher tells his pupils that few countries can boast of race purity, and that America is fastest on the decline because it is the chief sinner against such purity.<sup>36</sup>

(b) SECONDARY CURRICULUM.—In the *Deutsche Oberschule* the subjects were (1) physical education; (2) German subjects—German, history, geography, art, and music; (3) science—biology, physics, chemistry—and mathematics; (4) foreign languages—English, Latin; (5) religion. In the last three years of the course students might elect a science major or a language major. However, with the exception of chemistry, physics, and Latin, all subjects were constant for all throughout the eight-year course.

In the *Aufbauschule* the subjects were the same as in the *Deutsche Oberschule* but, being a six-year school, less time was given to them. Here, however, there was no choice between two lines, or majors.

In the *Gymnasium*, the subjects were the same as in these other schools, except that Greek was included, that Latin was given more time, and English less. In 1938, Minister Rust recommended that

<sup>32</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 204.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, 64.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–68.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–69.

*Gymnasium* students be given a chance in the last three years to study French for two hours weekly.<sup>37</sup>

The general plan of the Minister for eight-year schools called for two courses in the last three years, one emphasizing science and mathematics, and the other, foreign languages. To safeguard the unity of education for all the students, he ordered that "all will receive instruction in common in the other subjects of the program, that is in the subjects bearing upon German civilization (German, history, geography, art, music), in biology, and in physical education."<sup>38</sup> He also ordered the organization of study groups in science and languages, care being taken that the work of these groups be adjusted to the National Socialist philosophy of education.<sup>39</sup>

The spirit that pervaded the elementary school pervaded the secondary school as well. In 1935, the Minister ordered that instruction in heredity, race science, and Nazi family and birth policies be given in the fifth year of the *Volksschule*, and be fully studied in all middle and secondary schools, so that "no boy or girl [may] leave school without being brought to full appreciation of the necessity and spirit of blood purity."<sup>40</sup> Biology, history, geography and German, as well as the study of "race science" were used to develop a feeling of Germany's need for pure blood. But students were not only to be brought to worship blood purity and to abhor race defilement; there must also be inculcated in them an appreciation of the whole system of Nazi ideology in its political, economic, military, and social aspects. Respect for the *Führer* and the Party stood first among the goals of education. To these ends the acquisition of knowledge was subordinate and must be contributory. General culture was relegated to the scrap-heap of traditional fallacies and of liberal stupidity or hypocrisy. Knowledge is not power but the root of weak character unless, in acquiring it and through it, there is developed a passionate devotion to National Socialism and a strong will to realize its objectives. Rust's close-to-life philosophy of education can be seen, for instance, in science textbooks where such topics as instruction on shots, military aviation, weather science, explosives, and poison gases and gas masks are treated.<sup>41</sup>

**Education of Nazi Girls.**—"The absence," says Alfred Rosenberg, "of all-round abilities in women is directly to be attributed to the fact that woman is vegetative."<sup>42</sup> This view of one of the leaders of the Nazi Party may not have been shared by all the members. There

<sup>37</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1939, 182.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 282.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>40</sup> A. M. Lindegren, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>42</sup> *The Nation*, Feb. 6, 1935.

seems, however, to have been agreement among them regarding woman's peculiar sphere and destiny in the social order, and for her they established an education in keeping with their views. Coeducation was forbidden for children above the age of four,<sup>43</sup> unless conditions in the local community made separation of the sexes impossible. It was, however, common in small communities. Boys were taught by men; girls, by women and men. In exceptional cases girls were admitted to secondary schools for boys, but such schools had to make special instructional provision for them in accordance with the official rules governing girls' education. Boys were never admitted to secondary schools for girls.

Girls then had their own elementary, middle, and secondary schools, of the types which we have described above, except the *Gymnasium* which was for boys exclusively. With the permission of the Reich Minister himself, a girl might be admitted to a *Gymnasium*, but that school might never make any special provision for her. Girls had their own *Landjahr* training, and their own labor service (*Arbeitsdienst*) for those between the ages of eighteen and twenty, though the latter was compulsory only for those entering the universities. The basic goals and spirit of girls' schools were the same as those for boys. Assigned their own special place and activities in the social system, their studies and instruction were especially designed to prepare them for the life that had been decreed for them, that of being the mothers of pure-blooded soldiers.

**Curriculum for Girls.**—On the elementary level, studies were the same for both sexes, except that eugenics, and home economics, with the stress on needlework, had a prominent place in the training of girls. On the secondary level, girls might, in the *Deutsche Oberschule*, elect, during the last three years of the course, the language line or the home economics line. English was the only foreign language they studied, except that language majors in the last three years of the *Oberschule* might substitute Latin or another foreign language for it. There were no choices for them in the *Aufbauschule*. German subjects, home economics and physical education were the subjects stressed throughout the middle- and secondary-school courses for girls. When in boys' schools, girls had to stick to their own studies. Since Latin had been almost eliminated from the curriculum for girls, their admission to universities became very difficult.

**Education of Jews.**—Under a state regulation of 1937, Jews had to comply with the compulsory education law, and attend public

<sup>43</sup> G. Ziemer, *op. cit.*, 50.



schools where there were no private or special public schools for them. The *Landjahr* was for Aryans only. One-fourth Jews were admitted without restriction to middle, secondary, and technical schools but, in these, students of more than one-fourth Jewish blood, among new admissions, might not number more than 1.5 per cent of the total. Only the academic activities of schools were open to pure-Jews. The teachers in Jewish schools had to be Jews or part-Jews. German children might never be taught by Jews or part-Jews. Universities and other higher schools could not admit pure-Jews to the examination for the doctorate. Part-Jews might become physicians and dentists if, before graduation, they renounced their right to practise in Germany.

**Vocational Education.**—Elementary school graduates, not enrolled in other schools, had to attend a part-time vocational continuation school, having a three-year course in cities and a two-year course in rural areas. These schools were free. There was also the full-time, pay, trade school (*Fachschule*), open to graduates of *Mittelschulen* and often of *Volksschulen*, and designed to train an intermediate personnel for industry, commerce and agriculture. Above these, but open only to graduates of secondary schools, were many special higher technical schools, such as mining academies, technical high schools (*Hochschulen*), higher schools of agriculture, forestry, commerce, physical education, political science, art, etc., all of them being of university rank.

Apprenticeship held an important place in vocational training, and the Labor Front, which was the Nazi substitute for the old labor unions, encouraged and guided youths in their vocational training. The enrollment in the continuation schools and *Fachschulen* increased rapidly under Nazi direction, and attempts were made to bring the latter into closer touch with the secondary school. As much attention was given in vocational schools to German culture, Nazi ideology, and the sciences as to technical training for jobs. That the state might be served, an elaborate system of vocational guidance and placement was organized, and every secondary school teacher was required to cooperate with the guidance authorities. The guidance system was, however, of greatest service to vocational school students. Under the Nazis, the drift was toward vocational training of youth as a means of promoting the economic, military and political ends of the state.

**Adult Education.**—Adult education in the nineteenth century was rooted in economic and political unrest. In the totalitarian nations

it has aimed at the political re-education of the masses. In Germany, a branch of the Labor Front, called the Strength through Joy Association, acting with the Minister of Education and local committees, directed the program for adults. Except in sparsely settled rural areas, every Nazi community had its Popular Education Group or its better organized Popular Education Centre (*Volksbildungstätte*). The program was built around the needs of the home, the local community, and the nation, with stress upon Nazi ideology. Every community of more than 500 people must have a National Socialist library of officially approved literature. Special adult schools and courses for women were provided by the Central Organization for German Women. There were special schools and courses for mothers, prospective brides, and women in industry. In 1938, nearly 2,000,000 women attended these courses.

**The Training of Nazi Teachers.**—Throughout history societies have considered the unorthodox teacher a menace, and ignorance preferable to heresy. From that tradition the Nazis did not depart. The right of elementary teachers to secondary education and the equivalent of a university education, recognized and acted upon under the Republic, was denied them under the Nazi régime. The Republican two-year *Hochschulen für Lehrerbildung*, of university rank and operating until 1941, was replaced by new institutions of lower rank called *Lehrerbildungsanstalten*. Thereafter future elementary teachers had to go into the new higher elementary school (*Hauptschule*), introduced from Austria, and pass from it, at the age of fourteen, to the five-year *Lehrerbildungsanstalten*, where students were to pursue general and professional studies. They would be ready to teach at the age of nineteen. The aim of the new training schools was to mould heralds of "the community spirit in education."<sup>44</sup> As Christian ecclesiastics, kings and emperors, among them those of old Germany, thought that too much learning in teachers is dangerous, so a similar fear probably lay back of this Nazi reform. The new schools, like the *Hochschulen*, were apparently to be located in villages and rural areas where the German spirit was said to be purest. The Nazis admitted no one to the teachers' *Hochschulen* whose political orthodoxy had not been proved by his activities in the Youth Movement. In them, he was led further into the ideals of National Socialism and taught how to disseminate them. The curriculum of these latest training schools we do not yet know, but the curriculum of the *Hochschulen* included educational theory, race

<sup>44</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 319.

science, sociology (*Volkskunde*), practice teaching, physical education, German and political activities, and arts and crafts. The students were expected to participate in the activities of such groups as the League for Germans Abroad and other political and social agencies. A similar program of teacher training was, no doubt, planned for the *Lehrerbildungsanstalten*.

No important changes were made in 1941 in the plan of training secondary teachers. The Nazis introduced the practice of requiring them to spend a year in a teachers' *Hochschule* with future elementary teachers, where they received the same political-ideological training as the others. An approved one then entered a university or one of the special technical *Hochschulen* where he completed his academic and professional preparation, folk-culture and race science receiving all possible attention. Having passed his final examination, he was appointed to a position as practice teacher for one year, during which he was enrolled in a seminar in education. At the end of this year he took an examination in professional subject matter, which included training of youth in Nazi ideals. A permanent appointment was the reward of success.

The whole program of teacher training was under the supervision of the Party and the Labor Front. Replacing the many old professional teachers' associations, one was set up which all teachers had to join, the Union of National Socialist Teachers, a basically political organization, first organized in 1927, and which conducted compulsory vacation courses for teachers in the political phases of their work. Teacher training was "close-to-life" as the Nazis had shaped life.

**The Landjahr.**—Introduced in 1934, the *Landjahr*, compulsory since 1935, is the most striking innovation of the Nazis. It brought city elementary school graduates into contact with the peasantry and rural life for nine months, in order to strengthen their health and character, and make them realize the importance of the peasant in the life of the nation, and appreciate his sturdy qualities. The small groups of boys or girls were housed in hostels or farmhouses and, in addition to physical training through athletics, military training, and hikes, were instructed by their teachers in (a) the German environment, (b) race science, (c) history, (d) geography, and (e) singing, music, and folk-dancing. Each youth was provided with food, clothing, medical care, and a small daily allowance of money. Through the *Landjahr*, the Youth Movement, and the labor service (*Arbeitsdienst*), the transition of youth from family to community life was effected.



**The Youth Movement.**—By a decree of 1936 all German boys and girls at the age of ten had to join the youth organizations. Those for boys were (a) *Pimpf*, (b) *Jungvolk*, and (c) *Hitlerjugend*. These were the official road to membership in the Storm Troops (S.A.), the Élite Guard (S.S.), and the Party. At six years of age a boy became a *Pimpf*; at ten, a *Jungvolk*; and at fourteen, a *Hitlerjugend*, which held him until he was eighteen. The organization for girls between ten and fourteen years of age was the *Jungmädel*; for those between fourteen and twenty-one, the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (B.D.M.). Only pure Aryans, or those of less than one-fourth defilement in blood, were admitted to these groups. All groups had their officer-leaders, uniforms and emblems, elaborate ceremonies, titles and degrees, and physical and ideological activities. They assisted the formal schools which, in turn, acted in close unison with them. In physical, military and ideological training of youth they did what the school could not do, and they supplemented what it did.

Zierner, whose account we shall follow, describes the Spartan training of these youths. The slogan of the *Pimpf* manual is "clinch your teeth, boys, endure!" The *Pimpf* was lightly clad and marched sometimes fifty miles a day. Before a flag dipped in the blood of a martyred Nazi he recited at his promotion to the *Jungvolk* this oath: "In the presence of this bloodflag which represents our Fuehrer, I swear to devote all my energies, all my strength to the savior of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God. One People, one Nation, one Fuehrer." <sup>45</sup> During his training the *Pimpf* learned Nazi ideals, camping, spy work, shooting, and military geography, while his spirit was being inflamed with Nazi songs. The *Jungvolk* received similar training, except that their physical and military exercises were more strenuous. The *Hitlerjugend*, in addition to the study of German culture, Nazi ideology, military geography, sciences, a foreign language, and military tactics, learned also flying, gliding, parachute-jumping, and dive-bombing. For each year they had a program such as "Health is Power" and "Every Youth a Flyer." They had camps in which they spent a part of each year; organized sports for boys throughout Germany; sent thousands of boys yearly to foreign countries; and brought many more thousand foreign boys yearly to Germany.

**Leadership Training.**—From these organizations were selected the students of the schools for leaders, already mentioned, in which the future political and military leaders of Nazi Germany were trained.

<sup>45</sup> G. Zierner, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

The physical stamina, character, race purity, and ideological orthodoxy of those selected were thoroughly tested, and selection was deemed, apparently by most boys, the greatest honor and privilege. The course in the National Political Educational Institutions, which boys entered at the age of ten, was eight years in length, and was nearly the same as that of the *Deutsche Oberschule*. Physical and military training, however, were given about four hours daily. These were pay schools, but poor students received scholarships in them. The Adolf-Hitler Schools were free and more selective, and received boys at about the age of twelve. Their goal was the hardening of the bodies and souls of boys in a military atmosphere. On the academic side the course was the same as that of the *Aufbauschule*.

From the graduates of these schools were chosen physically perfect students who, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, entered the *Ordensburgen*. The selectees had to be married. During their three-year course they were given complete financial support and, if needed, a family allowance. The course was two-thirds physical, and one-third ideological in character. Leaders of leaders were formed here.

**Girls' Youth Activities.**—Girls of the *Jungmädels* wore uniforms and engaged in many forms of physical activity. Even in these earlier years they were taught the duties of women to the state, particularly as regards that of motherhood. They had but little leisure. When not in school they were with their youth group or attending girls' meetings, through which they were imbued with Nazi ideology. Later, as members of the *Bund Deutscher Mädel*, they were instructed further in their duties as future mothers and housewives. Many of them, at the age of eighteen, went to camps for labor service. In camp they engaged in physical exercises, assisted peasant women with their various household duties, particularly the care of children, and performed a variety of other practical activities such as cooking, sewing, etc. For all *Bund* girls great stress was placed upon Nazi ideology. Many of the songs in their official song book were intended to arouse fervor for Hitler and the Party.

The *Bund* established leadership schools for girls, in which teachers of home economics and eugenics were trained for duties in schools and camps.

### The Making of Fascists

The story for Fascist Italy differs only in unimportant details from that of Nazi Germany. Of all the reforms achieved after 1922 that of education was, in Mussolini's words, "the most Fascist."

In twenty years education was brought into complete harmony with Fascist ideals and institutions.

**Reform of the Spirit of Education.**—The actual reform was begun by Gentile, Mussolini's first Minister of Education, in 1922, assisted by G. Lombardo-Radice. Their views on education were a counterpart of Hegelian political idealism and, at the same time, a reaction against the philosophy of positivism with its materialistic outlook which, for a quarter of a century or more, had influenced the viewpoint of Italian educators. The positivist teacher, stressing scientific truth and information, had neglected the emotional development of the child. He used science and information to transform the savage, superstitious child into an enlightened being. Gentile and Radice taught that the child brings truth, Italian cultural reality, from his fireside to the school, and that teachers, instead of changing that truth, must respect it and build upon it. Education, they taught, is formative, not informative, and its task is to form Italian spirits. The religious faith, for instance, that is a part of Italian culture must not be weakened by the teaching of science, the facts of which may, in the hands of indiscreet teachers, clash with the cultural heritage of the child. The state, according to Gentile, is a moral, spiritual reality, and its ends are attained only through the education of the individuals who compose it. As the years advanced, Fascist educators, no doubt with official approval, represented Mussolini as the embodiment of the spirit, the culture of Italy. For this leader, sent by God, children were taught to pray. Hitler also was represented as God's anointed one. While "Italian Catholicism" was recognized as a part of Italian culture, the power of its ecclesiastical controllers was challenged by the *Duce*, who apparently wished to be thought of as God's special gift to Italy. The Young Fascists' Decalogue (1929) has among its commandments: "Mussolini is always right" and "One thing should be dear to thee above all: the life of the Duce." One of the political prayers runs in part:

God of Italy,  
Intercede to protect always from every danger and free from every  
evil Il Duce whom Thou hast given to us;  
Grant long life for our welfare and for the glory of Italy to Benito  
Mussolini. Amen.<sup>46</sup>

The Catholic ritual traditionally included prayers for kings and governments. The Fascist state had its own ritual and its own prayers

<sup>46</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1941, 81.



for itself and its leaders. The poor child before eating his free meal in school had to pray: "Il Duce, I thank you for what you give me to make me grow healthy and strong. O Lord God, protect Il Duce so that he may be long preserved to Fascist Italy."<sup>47</sup> Each classroom was decorated with a crucifix placed between pictures of Mussolini and the king. School altars and tablets commemorated Fascist martyrs. Education became largely Fascist indoctrination. The spirit of Fascism pervaded every school from kindergarten to university. Said Mussolini: "The government demands that the school shall derive its inspiration from Fascism; it demands that the school shall not be, I do not say, hostile but not even aloof from Fascism, or agnostic in the face of Fascism; it demands that every school in every grade and in all its instruction train Italian youth to understand Fascism, to ennoble itself through Fascism, and in the historical atmosphere created by the Fascist Revolution."<sup>48</sup> The Education Charter of 1939, made inoperative by the war, proclaimed that the school is the foundation of the moral, political and economic unity of the Fascist nation-state and must, through discipline and labor, develop "the human and political conscience of the new generations."<sup>49</sup>

While Gentile viewed education as the interaction of the spirit of the teacher and of the child, free from external interference, the ministers who succeeded him interfered with teachers' freedom, inspected their work, and dictated their behavior. Teachers had to be ideologically orthodox, had to be adept in Fascist ceremonial observance and had to follow state textbooks, which officially interpreted Fascism for them and their pupils. At the start of the régime teachers conformed or were dismissed. Castor oil is said to have been used as a persuasive medicine. Many university professors fled the country. Academic freedom was soon abolished. The work of the school was supplemented by that of the Youth Movement, whose goals were the physical and military training of youth and the promotion of the Fascist spirit. Physical education, character and political training received here, as in Germany, the greatest emphasis. Intellectual training held a subordinate place. Said E. Codignola, President of the *Ente Nazionale di Cultura*: "Children and adolescents, like adults, cannot be brought up on concepts, theories, and abstract instruction alone. The truth which we wish to inculcate in them must address itself first to their imagination, and their hearts, and only then to their minds."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-128.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1937, 322.

**Administration and Control of Education.**—The control was vested in the Minister of National Education, appointed by Mussolini, and his authority was exercised through a hierarchy of subordinate officials. His power over teachers, schools, curricula, method, etc., was supreme. He was aided by nine central boards with special knowledge of cultural and educational questions. Gentile organized the general framework of that central administration. Physical education and the Youth Movement were under the Minister's control after 1929.

In local administration, Gentile substituted nineteen regions for the sixty-nine provinces which were the units in pre-Fascist days, each region having a supervisor representing the Ministry. The region had its subdivisions, and its sub-officials, among whom the inspector, who was true to his title, held a leading place. In 1933, the last vestiges of local autonomy were destroyed, and after that all elementary teachers were under the direct control of the Minister. In 1934, all city schools were brought under his control. In 1936, Minister De Vecchi reestablished the provincial system of local administration, with a school superintendent in each provincial capital, but the change only tightened the grip of the Ministry upon teachers and schools, especially the secondary schools, which since then have been under close inspectorial scrutiny. As in Germany, there was one Fascist teachers' association to which all teachers had to belong.

De Vecchi effected also the regimentation of universities, scarcely touched by the Gentile reform, by reorganizing higher education, and by strengthening ministerial control over them. The Minister might not accept faculty proposals. His control over curricula, content of courses, examinations and degrees, and teachers was almost complete. Professors were made meek servants of the régime.

**Organization.** (a) **ELEMENTARY.**—In 1923, school attendance was made compulsory for children between the ages of six and fourteen, thus raising the leaving age by two years, but the law was difficult to enforce in many areas, due mainly to inadequate housing facilities, labor needs, and financial conditions. The state was forced to subsidize church and private teachers and agencies to effect its ends. Pre-schools, taking children between the ages of three and six, long existing under private sponsorship, were officially encouraged after 1923. In 1934, the *Balilla* was given the administration of private rural schools, as well as the support of all indigent children in elementary schools. Private schools, meeting all state requirements regarding teachers, curriculum, etc., might be opened, but they re-

maintained few and with a small enrollment. There were in cities kindergartens, mostly church-owned, but state-supervised. The state provided training schools for pre-school teachers; and the church, with state permission, others of similar nature. In 1934, the enrollment in state elementary schools was 4,621,553; in private schools, 142,331.

(b) **SECONDARY.**—State schools above the elementary level were for those only who, by character, Fascist spirit, and ability, were deemed worthy to be admitted to them. They were pay schools. Others might go to private or church pay schools. Gentile founded secondary education upon that of the primary school, and provided it in a variety of schools, each with its own function. Until 1939, there were four types of secondary schools: (a) classical, (b) scientific, (c) normal, and (d) technical. The enrollment in state secondary schools in 1934 was 493,022; in private schools, 43,909. Differentiation began at about the age of eleven, when students were transferred to the free pre-vocational, terminal upper-elementary schools, or to more definitely vocational, post-primary free schools, which led to lower-technical pay schools, and so-called "professional" schools for girls; or they were admitted by examination to the lower division of the secondary schools, which, except for the normal school with its seven- and ten-year courses, were eight-year schools, and prepared for higher institutions.

Above the secondary schools stood the universities and other special higher institutions. These were open only to graduates of secondary schools.

**New Education Charter.**—In 1939, the Fascist Grand Council promulgated a new school "Charter," framed by Minister Bottai. It aimed to bring the entire school system, in its organization and spirit, into closest unison with Fascist ideals and needs; to unite the educational activities, under the control of the Minister, with the physical, military and political training program of the Fascist Party; and to knit together more closely the schools in the system. It would make labor, education and Fascist activities a single unit, and would place curricular and extra-curricular activities, chiefly represented by the Youth Movement, in the same category. It would make labor an essential part of education, and would have formal schooling begin at the age of four. Proclaiming that school age and political age coincide, it would make participation in the program of the Youth Movement compulsory until the age of twenty-one. Under it, education would be in practice compulsory between the ages of four and twenty-one.



While the Charter would abolish a few old schools and add many special schools, it would simplify the organization. Having spent two years in the maternal, three in the primary, and two in the manual school, the student would be transferred to a three-year artisan, a three-year vocational, or a three-year middle school. The vocational school would lead to a two-year technical school. Only the tested ideological and mental élite would enter the three-year middle school which, with its Latin basis, would be the only road to the secondary schools. The Charter provided for (a) four five-year secondary schools—classical, scientific, commercial, and normal—for (b) four four-year secondary schools—agricultural, industrial, architectural, and nautical—and for (c) a five-year female institute, with a two-year extension, in which teachers for that institute would be trained. The universities at the top of the structure would have fourteen faculties, all courses being four years in length, except that of medicine, industrial chemistry, engineering, and architecture, which would be given more time.

The spirit of the Charter is more important than the forms it created. It is the last in a series of protests against the idealism of Gentile, and a long step toward the complete Fascistization of education, which it would degrade, from kindergarten to university, to the level of undisguised indoctrination. The spirit of humanism and individualism, of which Italy was a cradle, and which Gentile aimed to preserve, would thus depart from the schools of Italy.

**Students and Their Selection.**—Selection began at the age of eleven, when the abler students who could bear the cost were chosen by examination for the middle and secondary schools. In addition to yearly tuition in these schools, there were entrance, promotion, matriculation, and other fees to be paid. Deserving poor students, however, had whole or partial free places. Mussolini's contempt for the mentality of the masses was reflected in their exclusion from secondary and higher schools. The unqualified rich were also excluded, but to them private secondary schools were open. Promotion from grade to grade in the secondary school was by examination, the admission and final examinations being under state supervision. In the secondary schools in 1934 boys outnumbered girls by three to two. In 1934–1935, there were 58,928 students in all universities and higher schools, of whom about 10 per cent were women. Of 7,617 faculty members in these schools in 1933–1934 only 50 were women. Sex was an effective basis of selection on the secondary and higher levels, though the official attitude toward women's education was less restrictive than in Germany, and there was no *numerus-clausus* law fixing enrollment in universities.

**Illiteracy under Fascism.**—Since Fascist propaganda was less likely to succeed where illiteracy prevailed, Mussolini and the Party struggled to make all the people able to read the safe literature which they provided for them. Ability to read it opened the door to the Fascist heaven. Before Fascism, the rate of illiteracy varied from 10 per cent, in some areas, to 70 per cent of the school-age and adult population, in other areas. For the entire country the illiteracy rate dropped gradually from 68.8 per cent in 1871 to 21 per cent in 1931. By the latter year, the Fascist war on it was well under way, but the difficulty, rooted in centuries of indifference, was not easy to overcome. While the accuracy of official statements is questionable, it was asserted in 1937 that illiteracy "has at length been everywhere liquidated."<sup>51</sup> Noncompliance with the compulsory school law was made a violation of the penal code.

**Curriculum.** (a) **ELEMENTARY.**—In the elementary school proper, attended by children between the ages of six and eleven, the studies, as suggested by Gentile, were religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary geometry, history and geography (particularly of Italy), the political system of Italy, economics, bookkeeping, elementary science, art and knowledge of works of art, drawing, elementary agricultural and industrial training, hygiene, games, gymnastics, domestic science, or any other studies approved by the local superintendent. The law required that all instruction be given in the Italian language.

In the Gentile plan, great stress was placed upon Italian culture, and Catholic religious instruction as a part of it. It was officially decreed that "instruction in the Christian doctrine according to the form handed down in Catholic tradition is the foundation and crown of elementary education in all its stages."<sup>52</sup> The dogmas of Catholicism, which he called the "mythical wrappings of a spiritual reality," Gentile considered of less importance than the "reality," and he would not have them stressed in religious instruction. Culture and religion, for him, were growing things, not found so much in books as in the growing spirit of man. The ecclesiastics opposed this secular, national interpretation of the "Catholic tradition," and, in a Concordat between Mussolini and the Pope (1929), it was agreed that all religious instruction, in all of its aspects, should be under church control. Expediency, rather than a strong conviction of the importance for Fascism of the dogmas, was probably the motive for

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>52</sup> I. Kandel, *Comparative Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933, 469.

the Fascist surrender to church demands. Non-Catholics might be excused from attendance during the period of religious instruction.

Aesthetic training and self-expression were given great emphasis by Gentile, and art assumed prominence in the elementary schools. Folk songs and music had a large place in the program. The recreational uses of the various studies in the curriculum were stressed.

While the Gentile plan guided school practice the teachers enjoyed much freedom in selecting subject matter. That freedom was gradually destroyed by the growing spirit of Fascism. In 1927, the government decided to publish its own texts as instruments "for the revival of culture and national education." After 1929, all elementary schools, public and private, were required to adopt these state texts. Fascist ideals pervaded them all. The glories of Italy, what *Il Duce* had done for Italy and Italians, flag worship, and the duties of children and parents to the state, particularly the duty of obedience, were stressed in them. Their basic purpose was that of indoctrination. October 28, the children were told in one of them, "Is the anniversary of the March on Rome. The Fascists with their black shirts entered Rome and placed everything in order. Then the Duce arrived and said: 'Away with all the bad Italians who do not know how to do things well. Now I am the one who has the task in hand, and I will place everything in order! Long live Italy!'" <sup>53</sup> In another place the children were reminded that Italy won the First World War for the Allies in "the glorious battle of Vittorio Veneto." In the texts there were many prayers for Italy, *Il Duce*, etc., which, with other parts of them, had to be committed to memory. The books were artistically illustrated, the pictures being intended to glorify *Il Duce* and the new way of life.

The writer has examined some texts that have circulated among Italians in America. Stories of the noble and heroic life of *Il Duce* fill their pages. One of these stories narrates how the boy, Benito, with his youthful gang invaded an orchard. The boys were filling their pockets with apples when the farmer, armed with a shotgun, surprised them. All of the boys, with one exception, fled as fast as their legs could carry them. Little Benito courageously stood his ground, and faced the consequences of his act at the hands of the exasperated farmer. Thus "the lineaments of the man were early discernible in the child," and Italian youths were taught that their *Duce* was born to greatness.

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<sup>53</sup> H. R. Marraro, *The New Education in Italy*, New York: S. F. Vanni, 1936, 73 (by permission of the author).



In keeping with the political and military ambitions of the Fascists, physical education was given great prominence in all schools. Under the administration of the *Balilla*, it received four half-hour periods weekly in the third, fourth and fifth grades, and two one-hour periods in the remaining elementary grades and throughout the secondary school course. The schools, indeed, became militarized.

(b) SECONDARY.—In the case of secondary schools, the curriculum was determined in each type of school first by the political purpose which permeated all education, and then by the special function which the school was expected to perform.

Under the old organization, established by Gentile, which the new Charter of 1939 would modify, the curriculum of the classical schools, minutely prescribed by the state following the abandonment of the Gentile philosophy, consisted of Italian, Latin, Greek, a modern foreign language, history, geography, philosophy, history of art, political science, religion, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural sciences, and physical education. Only about one-fifth of the time was given to mathematics, physical and natural sciences, and physical education. Literature and other cultural studies received the chief emphasis, the instruction deriving its inspiration from the Fascist outlook which, in turn, it was designed to serve.

The curriculum of the scientific secondary schools consisted of Italian, Latin, a modern foreign language, geography, history, political science, philosophy, religion, physics, chemistry, natural sciences, mathematics, drawing, and physical education. Here, however, the academic emphasis was upon the sciences, while the general outlook of the schools was determined by Fascist ideology. These and the classical schools led to universities.

In the secondary schools for the preparation of elementary teachers the subjects were the same as in the scientific schools, except that pedagogy, hygiene, and oral and instrumental music were added.

Under the new Charter, the studies in schools corresponding to these would probably be the same as under the old plan. The Fascistic spirit of the Charter will probably be changed in the Italy of tomorrow as a result of the defeat of the Fascist war machine. It would have made Latin compulsory for the middle school which, under the Charter plan, was designed to prepare students for all of the eight contemplated secondary schools.

Under the Charter, the classical secondary school would lose prestige. Formerly its graduate could enter without examination any university department except that of education. By its provisions he might enter, without examination, only the faculties of letters and

philosophy, law, and political science, and he is excluded entirely from the faculty of education. All special secondary schools, under the Charter plan, would lead to the corresponding special faculties in the universities.

**Pre-charter Vocational Schools.**—For more than 90 per cent of students beyond the age of eleven, schools and courses were either pre-vocational or vocational. The three-year trade school and the three-year complementary, or higher primary school, both of which led to trade and lower technical schools, were quite definite in special forms of vocational emphasis, and offered specific training for vocational pursuits. Then, there was the four-year general school with a vocational bias, which enrolled the majority of post-primary students.

Of the less than 10 per cent elected for higher rewards, most of whom went to the secondary schools, which we have described, some went to an eight-year technical school which, after the fourth year of the course, had many specialized outlets, industrial, commercial and agricultural. Fascism thus brought an increasing emphasis upon vocational training, and no Fascist could escape work in some form. Yet, in actual instruction, there was everywhere an emphasis upon the theoretical aspects of the various trades and other pursuits, for the purpose of stimulating pupils' imagination and creativeness, an emphasis traceable to the influence of Gentile. In the vocational, as in the general schools, Fascist ideology was given a prominent place. All needs were secondary to that of the development of the Fascist-nationalistic spirit, but that included devotion to work.

**The Inner Life of the Secondary School.**—What the Fascist authorities considered a proper atmosphere for schools on the secondary level may be seen from the following extracts from an address to students and parents delivered by a secondary school principal in 1926:

I would summarize the educational program in three words: discipline, order, decorum. . . .

From this concept of discipline and order we shall permit no deviation. . . . You should accustom yourselves to feel . . . the religion of the environment in which you are, the sanctity of the work which is done in this environment, which is the temple of learning.

For that reason you will enter and leave in good order; on entering as well as on leaving you will extend the arm in the Roman fashion to salute the Tricolor. . . . You will enter your classrooms in order, and you will attend to the fulfillment of your duties. . . .

And around the Sacred Banner, among the cherished memories of the departed Great Ones, we shall gather together on memorable holi-

days, . . . in ritual celebrations, in which we shall temper our hearts to the faith of our Fathers and shall form our conscience. . . .

It [the school] will not only instruct; it will be the forger of souls; it will form worthy citizens. . . .

And you will all be soldiers of duty. You will be *Avanguardisti*, the vanguard of other soldiers, . . . always happy to consecrate yourselves to our fatherland. . . .

Long live Italy, Long live the King, Long live il Duce, Long live the National Government.<sup>54</sup>

Another Fascist educator said: "I have no hesitation in reiterating . . . what I consider the most important aspect of the work of a high school teacher, namely, its national or Fascist character. . . . His soul must vibrate in unison with the Fascist conscience, which has its ethical and political imperatives, its cultural designs, and its firm faith in the ideal forces of the Fascist Revolution."<sup>55</sup>

The emphasis throughout the elementary and secondary schools was upon the cultural and formative rather than upon the informative aspect of education. While that was particularly true of schools stressing "general education," it was also true, but to a lesser degree, of the vocational schools.

**Education of Girls.**—Addressing, in 1938, sixty bishops and two thousand priests, whom his bodyguard saluted with uplifted daggers, Mussolini declared: "'Only big families yield the big battalions. . . . It is the duty of Italy, a Catholic nation, to be a bulwark of Christian civilization by her intrinsic strength and by her high birth-rate.'"<sup>56</sup>

From such a view it follows that here, as in Germany, women's primary duty was to be the mother of soldiers. Fascist thinking regarding the educational implications of that view was not so pointed as that of the Nazis, and practice was more temperate than in Germany. The need for an iron-clad stand on the question was not so imperative in Italy, for here a persistent patriarchal family culture has traditionally checked the freedom of women, and the Catholic conception of female virtue and character, which glorified meekness, modesty, obedience, patience and all the Holy-Family ideals in women, strengthened the patriarchal tradition. The Vatican could find little to oppose in Mussolini's view of the rôle of women in society. Regarding woman's mentality, *Il Duce's* views were similar to those of the Nazis.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-108 (by permission of the author).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-115 (by permission of the author).

<sup>56</sup> M. Rader, *No Compromise*, New York: Macmillan, 122 (by permission).



While coeducation was not officially reprobated in Italy, and was a common practice on all levels, the tendency on the secondary level was toward the establishment of special schools and courses for girls in keeping with their future social rôle and needs. Such was the three-year Professional School for Girls, open to those who had completed the post-primary vocational school and, by examination, to girls in secondary schools. It prepared girls for "women's professions" and home management. In the secondary schools proper, girls were found in largest numbers in the classical and normal types, particularly in the latter, since many of them entered the teaching profession. About one-third of the students in classical schools, and two-thirds of those in normal institutes, in 1934, were girls. Only about 10 per cent of university students in recent years have been girls.

Under the Charter of 1939, there was planned for girls a special secondary school, the five-year Female Institute, and above it a special two-year normal school which would train teachers for it. What plan of studies was intended for these schools was not made clear, but the new institutions indicated a drift toward differentiation based upon sex.

While many women became teachers, Fascist law prohibited a woman to instruct a male over the age of eleven in any subject which contributed in any way to the formation of character.<sup>57</sup> Women elementary teachers ranked with men in salary and status, but this was not true of women teachers in secondary schools, where some inequalities existed.

**Education of Jews.**—The recent restrictions upon Jews, which we have examined earlier, would have both direct and indirect effects upon their education. Special elementary and secondary schools were being provided for them under the new race laws. Italy seemed to be following in education the general features of the Nazi scheme described elsewhere. Teaching, except in Jewish schools, was completely closed to Jews by the Fascist decrees.

**Teacher-Training and Status.**—All teachers were state officials, and were carefully trained to mould Fascist minds, and prepare youth for service to the state. For salary purposes, teachers were divided into five classes based upon the population of the community in which they taught. Salaries of all teachers in state schools were paid by the central government.

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<sup>57</sup> S. Parkhurst, "Women in Totalitaria," *The Living Age*, June, 1939.

Elementary teachers, through a licensing examination, were appointed as "extraordinary" teachers to the lowest class. After three successful years in that rank they became "ordinary" teachers. Promotion to the upper four classes was by competitive examination open to teachers in each lower class. With some minor modifications due to subject matter of instruction and special types of schools, secondary teachers were chosen and promoted in the same way. The salaries of teachers varied with the size of the community and, to some degree, with the subjects taught. Salaries ranged from about 5,000 lire minimum, in the lowest class, to 15,000 maximum, in the highest class, but the maximum in each class could not be reached until the end of twenty-five years of service. Under Fascism, however, the lira declined to about one-fourth of its earlier value.

The training of the elementary teacher was provided in the seven-year secondary school (*Istituto Magistrale*), organized for that purpose. Students entered it by examination at the age of eleven. The course, as we have seen, was a general secondary course with a few minor variations from that of the scientific secondary school. What was called "pedagogy" in the curriculum was essentially the philosophy of Fascism. The Fascists had reason to distrust a scientific approach to educational problems. The students received no practical training in teaching. Those who passed the final state examination of the school received a diploma. Graduates might enter a university faculty of education by examination. Under the Charter of 1939, they might enter that faculty, but no other one, without taking an examination.

Secondary school teachers were trained in universities, or in higher normal schools, of which there were three, and which provided a four-year course. An important function of these latter schools was the training of teachers for the *Istituto Magistrale*. The course in them was cultural, and pedagogy was studied only by those who aimed to teach philosophy in an *Istituto Magistrale*, but again it was a philosophical pedagogy. The universities had faculties of education which prepared secondary school teachers. The state examination for the teacher's license was, however, open to graduates of other faculties. As in the case of elementary teachers, an understanding of Fascist ideology and its educational application, rather than practical and scientific pedagogical training, was stressed for the secondary teacher.

How all teachers were deprived of freedom under Fascism appears from the story of the regimentation of university professors. At its start, they did not understand Fascism, for to them it lacked

historical roots, and they fought against early decrees directed at their work. In 1927, the government organized the Fascist Association of University Professors, as a voluntary group, composed at first of Party members who were assigned the duty of converting infidel colleagues to the new faith. They persuaded nearly all of these infidels, through private conversations and alleged threats of blackmail, to join the Association. Even as members, they have been closely watched, particularly by students sworn to report disloyalty to the government. After 1931, all professors were required to take an oath of allegiance to the government. At first, twelve refused and were dismissed. All professors thereafter had to be Party members, wear the black shirt on stated occasions, join Fascist parades, deliver Fascist speeches whenever called upon, and, on trips to foreign countries, tell foreign professors that the Italian teacher remained free.<sup>58</sup> They had to teach compulsory courses which were predominantly Fascist in content, and all their courses had to conform with Fascist ideals. Truth for them was Fascist truth.

**The Youth Movement and Organizations.**—Supplementing the school, and working with it, was the Youth Movement. Mussolini declared in his *Autobiography* that nothing had been closer to his heart than the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*. Boys under six years of age might join the Pre-Balilla, and those between six and eight, the *I figli della Lupa* (Sons of the Wolf). In the latter group, the boy learned camping, marching, the wearing of gas masks, etc. At eight, he was required to join a *Balilla* corps, which held him until he was fourteen, when he was required to join the *Avanguardisti*, which kept him until he was eighteen. Under the Charter of 1939, these groups would be brought into one unified organization, the *Italian Youth of the Littorio*, which would hold him until he was twenty-one. If he was a university student, he would belong to the Fascist University Youth. In all of these his training was, or would be, military and ideological, the military training being intensive for boys beyond the age of eighteen. At twenty-one, he was subjected to eighteen months of compulsory military training and, thereafter, as a member of the army reserves, he had to drill at regular times until he was forty-five. Boys were thus brought up from their infancy to be soldiers, according to the ideal of Mussolini, who once said: "I prefer fifty thousand rifles to five million votes."<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Max Ascoli, "Press and Universities in Italy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1938.

<sup>59</sup> M. Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, New York: Stokes, 1925, 327.



For girls between the ages of eight and eighteen there were organizations (the *Piccole Italiane* and the *Giovani Italiane*) designed to prepare them for the duties of women in the Fascist state. No one could escape the regimentation which the system imposed.

Thus through school and extra-school activities the Italian state moulded the youth of the new day. The training provided by the Youth Movement was essentially the same as that of Germany. To build strong bodies and to mould Fascist character were its goals. Its spirit was that of militarism. The Youth Movement was the only road leading to membership in the Fascist Party.

**Adult Education.**—A number of pre-Fascist organizations for adult education were recognized by the Fascists, and continued active. The most significant work was done, however, by an agency, the *Dopolavora* (After-work), established to direct workers' leisure time, and make them better workers and citizens. Active since 1919, it has been, since 1924, the official agency of adult education. Its programs grew out of the culture, art, and work of the people, and were both educational and recreational. It popularized local music, customs and history; organized local theatres, clubs, libraries; and provided radio and motion-picture entertainments, etc. It provided, free of charge, courses for illiterates, vocational courses, and courses in general culture. Its vocational program was a large one. It had stationary and traveling libraries which were integrated with all phases of its program. While much of its work was Fascist propaganda, its basic approach to adult education represented one of the most significant modern developments in that field. Where the Fascist school, youth organizations, and army left off, the *Dopolavora* continued the education of the Fascist citizen.

While we have described the Fascist reforms of education in the past tense, many of them will probably be retained in the Italy of tomorrow. It is yet too soon to venture a prediction about the fate of the spirit of those reforms. An atomic bomb cannot destroy an ideology.

### The Making of Communists

New minds, if not new men, were needed for the success of the Communist social experiment. An educational revolution was needed for the success of the social revolution. Men are not born Communists; they must be made Communists. To industrialize the backward nation, and to train workers to serve it, called also for large-scale reforms in education. Some changes in official policy have oc-

curred as the régime developed. The family, earlier denounced as a "bourgeois" institution, has been stabilized, and nationalism has evidently weakened the earlier class internationalism. The anti-religious policy of the state has been changed slightly, but that toward private capitalism has remained uncompromisingly hostile. The official policy has always been reflected in education.

**Educational Ideals and Purpose.**—The social principles of the Communist state, discussed earlier, find educational expression in an emphasis throughout schools and other agencies of education upon anti-liberalism, militarism, activism, atheism, materialism, sex equality, social equality, the dignity of work, and the duty of everyone to be a worker. Professor A. P. Pinkevitch, a Communist educator, said that the aim of Soviet general education is "to aid in the all-round development of a healthy, strong, actively brave, independently thinking and acting man, acquainted with the many sides of contemporary culture, a creator and a warrior in the interests of the proletariat and consequently in the final analysis in the interests of the whole of humanity."<sup>60</sup> That statement covers the need for certain knowledge and skills, Communist character and the acceptance of Communist ideology. From the start, the Communists strove to remove the taint of social and race inequality from education, and yet, until a few years ago, the children of the liquidated classes were denied equality of educational and social opportunity which children of workers enjoyed. Article 121 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (1936) has this to say of education:

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is insured by universal, compulsory elementary education, by the fact that education, including higher (university) education, is free of charge, by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher schools, by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization of free, vocational, technical and agronomic training for toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective farms.

Education, officially viewed as extending from birth to death, must be closely integrated with the changing ideals, practices and needs of the régime. The aims of the government and the school must always be the same. When the government embarked on its Five-Year Plans, so did the school. When the government struck at

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<sup>60</sup> A. P. Pinkevitch, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, New York: John Day, 1929, 28.

the *kulaks*, so did the school. The morality approved by the state must be inculcated in youth by the school. The whole system of state-approved economic, social, political, ethical, philosophical and other forms of ideology must be promoted by the school.

**Soviet Science of Education.**—Marx, Engels, and Lenin laid the theoretical basis of Communist educational “science.” Philosophically it finds its justification in dialectical materialism. Its goal is the improvement of the practical work of the school. The “scientist” seeks in the history of education, and in modern foreign practice, experiences which may be of value in his own society. When the doctrine that the state would wither away was dear to Communist hearts, Soviet educators predicted the withering away of the school, and sponsored the Dalton Plan, the project method, etc., to hasten the process. The withering-away idea had lost prestige in the Kremlin by 1930, and the “scientists” promptly abandoned it. The science of education must conform with changing political ideals and needs. Utility is the test of truth in the Soviet science of education. The freedom of the earlier schools has been replaced by planned discipline, and by formal courses, methods and examinations, which are rigidly adhered to. The idea of the earlier scientists that heredity and a fixed environment determine the child’s growth has been pronounced heretical. The orthodox idea is that Communist education determines his growth.

**Liquidating Illiteracy.**—Considering the diversity in language and culture in Russia, and the prejudices that had to be overcome in building the new society, the magnitude of the Soviet educational problem was stupendous. When the Communists came to power, approximately 75 per cent of the population was illiterate. Lenin warned that the Socialist state could not be built if the people were to remain illiterate. Not only the government, but the army and other agencies attacked the problem. The Communist youth organizations joined in the crusade. The project was made a part of the first two Five-Year Plans, during which it was officially announced that 45,000,000 were made literate.<sup>61</sup> In 1935, the government ordered the publication of 30,000,000 textbooks in various languages for use in literacy schools and schools for semi-literates.<sup>62</sup> Illiteracy is now reported to have been completely liquidated. If that is true, Russia is far in advance of the United States. However, figures issuing from Moscow sometimes look too big to be credible.

<sup>61</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1937, 527.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*



**Administration and Control.**—Educational policies are determined by the Central Executive Committee, the Council of Peoples' Commissars, and the General Committee of the Communist Party, while educational planning is done by the State Planning Commission. Legally, control of general education and libraries is vested in the Commissariat of Education in each of the republics, but Party officials insure their concordance with central powers. There is no such Commissariat in the central government. Vocational education is controlled for the whole Union by an array of industrial Commissariats, each one in charge of a special industry, or a subdivision of it, though each of these takes suggestions from the Council of Peoples' Commissars. That Council, the Red Army, and other appropriate groups control adult education. Special Union committees have control of physical and art education, the press, etc. The support of the system comes from state grants and from funds of industrial, agricultural and other organizations. Parents, however, bear directly about 30 per cent of the cost of nurseries and kindergartens. In 1940, due in part to the rising military expenditures, a fee system, requiring tuition of 150 to 500 rubles yearly, was adopted for secondary and higher schools for those who had not at least a rating of "A" in two-thirds, and "B" in one-third of their courses. State educational expenditures, as separate from those of trade unions and other groups, rose from 1,151,000,000 rubles, in 1929, to over 19,000,000,000 rubles, in 1938, the ruble then having a value of about 20 cents. Of the national budget about 20 per cent went to education in the latter year.

**Organization.**—Pre-schools and kindergartens, some under control of industries and others, of the republics, keep the child until he is eight years of age. Then he may enter a four-year elementary, a seven-year incomplete secondary, or a ten-year complete secondary school, the course for the first four years being the same in all of them. Schooling is compulsory for those aged eight to fifteen. Elementary school students may transfer without examination to either type of secondary school at the age of twelve. From the incomplete secondary school he may go to a factory apprentice school or a *Technicum*. From the complete secondary school he may go to a university or to a higher institute, in which the courses take usually five years, and lead to post-graduate studies.

The *Technicum*, a middle vocational school with a three- or four-year course, is entered by examination. Above it stand the two-year Teachers' Institutes and the four- or five-year Higher Institutes.

In 1940, this scheme was changed by the creation of new free vocational schools to train a reserve labor force against the threat of war. Students are drafted into these schools, if they do not enter voluntarily. These are (a) trade and (b) railway schools, with a two-year course, and (c) industrial schools, with a six-month course. Students enter the first two at the age of fourteen and fifteen, and the last one at sixteen or seventeen. They will train 1,000,000 youths annually. They replace the factory apprentice schools but, unlike them, they are for boys only. Girls who went to the factory schools may enter *Technicums*. Students in the new schools will be given free clothing and food, and, if necessary, free lodgings. Graduates, if working in specified industries, are exempted from military service for four years.

For adults, working adolescents and illiterates, there is a special system of schools, beginning with the elementary and running through incomplete and complete secondary, and a variety of higher schools. The most interesting among them is the three- or four-year *Rabfac*, or workers' faculty, open to graduates of the incomplete secondary schools, and providing a path for working adults to universities, higher institutes, and graduate studies. It is not indicated that the recent fee plan will apply to students in this system.

**Curriculum.** (a) CRÈCHES AND KINDERGARTENS.—Pre-schooling covers the years from birth to the eighth, and it is provided in an elaborate system of *crèches*, kindergartens and playgrounds. The first takes care of children, in cities and on farms, to the age of three, and looks after the health of mothers as well. Health training is its chief activity, to which are added rhythmic movement, singing and Communist propaganda. In kindergartens, which aim at all-round development of the child, there is added to the activities of the *crèche* the rudiments of knowledge and some formal social and ideological instruction. The program includes free play, dressing, bathing, meals, and sleep.

(b) ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY.—Being the schools of general education, and united into one unbroken organization, the curriculum is an unbroken unity of general studies. These include Russian language and literature, history, geography, social science, a foreign language, nature study, art and manual work, machine drawing, chemistry, physics, geology, mineralogy, mathematics, physical and military training, and singing. There are ten subjects taught in the elementary, and eighteen in the secondary grades. Mathematics,

manual training, and physical education are constant throughout the ten grades. The other studies receive varying amounts of time. State textbooks are the basis of instruction. In 1936, 126,000,000 texts were published. Laboratory work, visualized instruction, excursions, etc., are everywhere in use. Promotion is based upon examination results, except in grades one and two. The grading system is the same throughout the Union. Later we shall refer to the polytechnical bias which pervades even these schools of general education. With the exception of secondary school students with excellent marks, everyone who would enter a university or other higher school must pass an examination in language and literature, social studies, mathematics, chemistry, and physics.

**Education of Girls.**—Legally, and generally in practice, coeducation is the rule throughout the Union. Theoretically all occupations, with the exception of very heavy ones in industries, are open to women. All political, social, and professional activities are also open to them. Consequently all forms of education are open to them on an equal basis with men. The new vocational schools, created in 1940, represent a departure from that practice. The exclusion of girls from them is probably an emergency measure made necessary by the then impending war for survival. In 1935, 37.1 per cent of students in *Rabfacs*, and 38 per cent of those in universities and higher institutes were women.

**Vocational Education.**—The new vocational schools, the *Technicums*, *Rabfacs*, part-time *Technicums* attached to industries, part-time Higher Institutes attached to industries, higher technical schools, agricultural schools, and many short courses provide a network of vocational schools, in which students are trained by the million. Thus, between 1932 and 1937, 2,736,000 students were graduated from the now abolished factory apprentice schools, 548,000 from tractor drivers' schools, and 430,000 from collective farmers' schools. These are but a few of the many types of schools in operation. The government aimed to enroll nearly 8,000,000 in industrial, transportation and agricultural courses in 1936.<sup>63</sup> In 1937, there were about 1,200,000 students enrolled in *Technicums* alone.<sup>64</sup> These figures, being official, are not entirely trustworthy. The vastness of the program and the speed with which it was organized create some doubt about its efficiency. It reveals, however, the backward socialist state struggling desperately to catch up with its neighbors in the industrial

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 518 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*



race, and to prepare itself for the struggle against its Fascist enemies, which the Kremlin long deemed inevitable.

**Polytechnization.**—The objective of Communist education, set by Lenin, is the “mastering the great cultural heritage of mankind and of the teaching of Communism as its scientific synthesis.”<sup>65</sup> In that task, the economic aspects of the new society and its economic practices must have a large place. More definitely, Marx preordained polytechnization when he said that one purpose of education is to “impart the general principles of all processes of production and simultaneously initiate the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.”<sup>66</sup> That idea has been fundamental in Soviet education from the start, and with it has gone a striving to make education meet the needs of workers in a socialist society, which aims at complete industrialization. In practice, polytechnization means that the worker must not be a mere artisan, but must understand the fundamentals of the whole system of production and distribution at home and throughout the world. He must be an informed worker who knows more than his own little craft. All schools, from the elementary up, have that as a leading goal. Students study the industrial system in connection with various courses, and spend much of their school time on visits to factories, power plants, farms, etc. A leisure-class mind is not formed here. Polytechnization means that industry is being made the basis of a general education, of research, of art, and of culture. Perhaps we have here the basis of a new conception of a liberal education.

**The Soviet Student and School Life.**—Before October, 1940, all schools were free and open to everyone who could meet entrance requirements, where such existed. In addition, free maintenance for the student and sometimes for his dependents was provided, especially in universities and higher institutes. In the future the abler ones will continue to be free in the now pay secondary and higher schools. The Soviet press, commenting on that change, said that free education led to neglect of studies by students, and indifference to their success in parents. In future the state will reward merit alone. Until 1935 class was a basis of student selection, particularly in higher schools, and, in practice, even since then the children of the industrial and agricultural proletariat have been favored. The number of children in pre-schools in 1932 was over 5,000,000. In 1935, there were about 19,000,000 in elementary schools, and about 7,000,000 in secondary schools proper while, in the same year, the enrollment in higher

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 478.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 504.

schools was nearly 9,000,000. These figures do not include students in many types of vocational schools.

In the schools, by a law of 1935, all students wear uniforms, those for girls being particularly colorful, even to the apron which they must wear. A system of student government exists in most schools, and students' committees look after sanitation, libraries, school supplies, clubs, school newspapers, etc. Those most active in the Youth Movement are usually leaders in these school activities. The life of the school centers around the economic, political, social, and anti-religious activities with which the state, for the time being, is most concerned. Education is "close-to-life." Extra-curricular activities have here a purpose in harmony with that of the state. Children inform their parents of the policies of officialdom. They go on excursions, and visit factories, museums, collective farms, etc., spreading the gospel of Communism, and upbraiding those of little devotion to the cause.

**The Youth Movement.**—Perhaps more important than the school in moulding Communist spirits are the youth organizations, open alike to boys and girls. They are: (1) *Octobrists* (for children aged 7 to 10), (2) *Pioneers* (for children 10 to 15), and (3) *Komsomols*, or Young Communist League (for youths 15 to 25). In 1936, there were approximately 7,000,000 *Octobrists* and *Pioneers*, and 4,000,000 *Komsomols* in Russia. The *Komsomols* organize a variety of children's organizations in schools, and the *Pioneers* do the same among children in apartment houses. Directed by the Communist Party, and aided by trade unions and the educational authorities, the *Komsomols* organize the activities of the *Pioneers*, and provide clubs, sports, theatres and camps for them. Leaders of the *Pioneers*, who are mostly girls, are *Komsomols*.

The *Pioneers* are constantly marching to the beat of a drum, and performing all kinds of official services for the Party. At every turn they are being imbued with Communist doctrines. They are taught physical exercises, gardening, and manual skills. They publish newspapers, and write and deliver speeches. Among their earlier rules we read:

The Pioneers are faithful to the workers' cause and the commandments of . . . Lenin.

The Pioneer is the friend of the children of workers all over the world. . . .

The Pioneer watches out for his health and cleanliness and neither smokes nor drinks nor swears.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> W. H. Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1929, 329.

Membership in the *Pioneers* comes as a reward of character and service, and many youths are excluded. The requirements for membership in the *Komsomols* are stricter, and youths are admitted on probation. They are the junior members of the Party, pledged to make all youths good Communists. Not all of them are admitted to the Party, for that honor is reserved for the elect only. The life of the *Komsomols* is a military life, and military training is their chief activity. In assisting the government and the Party in all phases of their work, they take a prominent part. Should the government need scrap rubber or scrap iron, they would collect it quickly. They have been most active in the anti-religious campaign. They publish a newspaper, *Young Communist Truth*, which reflects in an interesting way the growing Communist mind.

**Adult Education.**—Many aspects of this work have been examined in connection with the literacy campaign, and schools for adults and working adolescents. Supplementing these are some 70,000 libraries. These libraries in 1934 had 103,558 traveling branches. In 1935, there were 768 museums, dealing with art, industry, the Revolution, health, science, technology, etc. In 1935 there were 60,083 cultural clubs, which provided education in all aspects of Communist culture. The theatres, attended, in 1935, by 714,000,000 who paid admission, are one of the chief agencies of adult education. Radio and moving pictures, accessible everywhere, supplement these other agencies. Nobody seems able to escape from the education which Soviet Russia provides.

**Teachers and Teacher Training.**—The schools are staffed with regular teachers, supervisors, psychologists, manual instructors, doctors, and nurses. *Komsomols* are also there to see that the others do their duty. The health program seems to be excellent, and includes lunches, gymnastics, sports, and summer camps. In 1935, there were employed in elementary and secondary schools 746,645 teachers. All teachers are state officials, and as a group they are fairly well paid for their labors, which never seem to cease. Pensions, free rent, privileges for children, free travel for professional purposes, social insurance benefits, etc., supplement their salaries. At the start of the régime many of them were suspected of heresy, and some were "liquidated." Those who were retained became loyal servants of the state.

They are trained in (1) *Pedagogical Technicums*, with a three-year course, which admit graduates of incomplete secondary schools, in (2) *Teachers' Institutes*, with a two-year course, and *Institutes of*



*Education*, with a four-year course, both of which admit graduates of complete secondary schools, in (3) special institutes which train teachers of extra-curricular activities and teachers of adults, and (4) universities and higher schools. Teachers of vocational subjects are specialists trained usually in universities or higher technical institutes.

A special course is provided in *Pedagogical Technicums* for pre-school and elementary teachers, and practice teaching, ideological and social service training are stressed in it. The course has an industrial or agricultural bias, and its students must engage in local labor service, in factory or on farm. Various sciences appropriate to the economic life of the locality are taught. Among the other subjects of the course are the history of the class struggle, political science, economic geography, the theory of evolution, dialectical materialism, Communist economics, political education, music, singing, drawing, the Russian educational system, political education, and physical education.

The four-year *Institutes*, in which most secondary teachers are trained, are of university rank, and stress specialization in the various subject fields. Manual labor, military education, Communist history and ideology, psychology, educational theory, and practice teaching hold an important place in the program.

Teachers for *Technicums* are selected graduates of higher schools who have been given further training in higher pedagogical institutes. Physical education teachers are trained in the two- or four-year *Institutes*. In every case the ideological training of the teacher is considered of paramount importance.

There are twelve Unions of Educational Workers in Russia which plead the cause of teachers and perform many social, political and professional functions.

**Physical Education.**—Since 1923, the All-Union Council for Physical Culture has had charge of the health of the nation. Doctors are paid by the state, and medical service is free. Hospitals, sanatoria, physical culture circles, etc., exist everywhere, and the people have been made health-conscious. Youths carry the message of health to their elders. There are over 4,000 state athletic fields in the Union. In the curriculum and extra-curriculum of all schools, and in the Youth Movement, physical culture is a required activity. Industrial efficiency and military training are its basic goals.

**Leadership Education.**—The Soviet Party Schools, Communist Universities, Communist Higher Schools, the Communist Academy and the Lenin Institute provide a special training for Communist

leaders. Chosen Party members and *Komsomols*, of both sexes, attend the Party Schools for three years, and are maintained by the state. There were 45,000 enrolled in 593 such schools in 1928. Political science and Communist ideology are the chief studies here. Communist Universities, numbering 54, in 1932, train selected Party members and *Komsomols*, of both sexes, for political offices and for teaching in Party Schools. These students are maintained by the state. There are about 80 Communist Higher Schools. The Academy and Lenin Institute are the highest leadership schools, and they train the saints and scholars who will provide the light which guides the Communist state toward its goal. The enrollment in all leadership schools is about 100,000. Special training of leaders has been undertaken by the totalitarian states, and the democracies may have something to learn from the practice.

### Recent Changes in English Education

**Reorganizing the System.**—Little need be added here to what we have recorded earlier regarding English education. The most important developments since the First World War have been the gradual reorganization of the system following the Education Act (Fisher Act) of 1918, the increasing public interest in education, the persistent demand, particularly of the Labor Party, for secondary education for all, and the efforts of the Board of Education and the L.E.A.'s to improve the system.

The Fisher Act raised the school leaving age from twelve to fourteen, partly as a reward for the loyalty of the common people during the war but, probably, for the more urgent reason of keeping them loyal and making them more useful "subjects" (as citizens are called) in the years ahead. Other important laws were (1) the Act of 1921, a general school Code, which, among other provisions, permitted L.E.A.'s, with official permission, to keep children in school to the age of sixteen, and placed all provided and non-provided schools in their areas under their supervision; (2) the Act of 1936, which raised the school leaving age for those not "beneficially employed" to fifteen, the operation of which was delayed by the war; (3) the Act of 1944, which creates a national Ministry of Education, and provides for many changes not possible to make under earlier acts.

The Fisher Act created the problem of what to do with children compelled to stay in school for two additional years, and the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, asked to study it, made its report, *The Education of the Adolescent*, usually referred to as the Hadow Report, in 1926. It urged that all pupils in elementary

schools be transferred at the age of eleven plus to some higher school, senior, central, or secondary. This represents at least a step toward a break with the tradition of social privilege in education. Some enthusiasts seem to have overestimated its social significance. The past war bids fair to shake the citadel of privilege in education far more profoundly than the Hadow reorganization. England moves slowly and conservatively, and it is difficult to arouse certain influential groups to the weakness of a system which sacrifices talent before the altar of privilege. After the past war began, some conservative journals and newspapers in England pointed to that weakness as a national peril. Demands that the Great Public Schools, and Oxford and Cambridge universities become servants of the nation, rather than of a caste, by throwing their facilities open to talent wherever it appears, were frequent. The claim that some Englishmen built a great empire because of their training in these schools was called a myth. Asked a critic in Parliament in the early days of the war: "If the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, on what field were the battles of Singapore and Hongkong lost?" Thus did the war stimulate educational thought. The Hadow reorganization prepared minds for other changes to come.

It gave rise to the non-selective senior school for pupils of elementary schools, now significantly called "primary" schools, who at the age of eleven plus are not transferred to the selective central school, or the secondary school. It is not like the American junior high school, because it is a terminal school, but it is an important step toward the rise of a school like our high school which, too, arose through an upward expansion of our public elementary schools. The Hadow Report recommended that the senior school curriculum should, in the first grades of the school, have much in common with that of secondary schools, including a foreign language, and that a vocational bias should come only in the last two years. In 1937, the Board of Education suggested, as desirable common studies in all the differentiated curricula of the school, the following subjects: physical and health training, music, art, handicrafts, English, history, geography, mathematics, natural science, a modern foreign language, and commercial work. Theory and practice show a striving to adapt the program of the schools to the abilities, needs, and what Sir Percy Nunn has called the "opportunities" of individuals.<sup>68</sup> At the age of thirteen, selected students may transfer to the two- or three-year junior vocational schools, discussed earlier. Early opposition to the senior school, because of its distance from homes and because of

<sup>68</sup> *Educational Yearbook*, 1939, 84.



religious feelings, is gradually disappearing. About two-thirds of the L.E.A.'s have reorganized their systems, and the others will follow when difficulties have been overcome.

This new school is the school of 90 per cent of primary school graduates. The rest of them go to central and secondary schools. The central school, like the senior school, is free, while, as we saw, "special places," costing what parents can afford to pay, are provided in secondary schools. Admission to central and secondary schools is based upon a general examination, conducted by partly external examining boards, and taken by nearly all primary school pupils at the age of eleven plus. Sometimes the examination is supplemented by an intelligence test.

The senior school, unlike the secondary school, is not hidebound by external examination requirements, and can adapt its curriculum to changing needs. The stranglehold of the matriculation ideal on secondary schools has, however, been broken. There remains the external examination for the secondary school certificate; and the examiners are still influenced by the thought that secondary students are going on to higher education although only about 15 per cent of them do. Practical studies have come to receive constantly wider recognition by the examiners, and differentiated curricula have appeared. The war brought urgent public demands for more science and practical work in all the schools, and the literary tradition in education is losing ground. Not only in theory but in practice great emphasis has come to be placed upon practical training and physical education throughout the entire system. It will, however, be more difficult to change the social tradition in secondary education, although that too in state-aided schools is on a slow decline, and even Eton may some day question the myths of heraldry and doff its castor to the demon of change.

Reorganization efforts did not stop with the creation of the senior school. In 1931, the Consultative Committee of the Board published its report, *The Primary School*; in 1933, its report, *Infant and Nursery Schools*; and, in 1938, its report, *Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools*, known as the Spens Report. Some progress has been made in realizing the various recommendations of the Committee. Of particular difficulty, due to a variety of conditions, has been the attempt to bring all secondary schools into one unified national system.

The Spens Report urged that senior, central, secondary, and technical high schools (a new type of school) be recognized as equal in status as regards their administration, size of classes, etc., and that

fees should be abolished as soon as national finances warranted. The Committee rejected the idea of an all-purpose secondary school, such as the American high school, chiefly on the ground that it would not be as efficient in attaining specific goals as the one-purpose school. It recommended also the breaking up of all multi-curricular, post-primary schools into special schools, each with one special goal. It was urged that all post-primary schools should pursue the same general course for the first two years, and that handicrafts, physical education, and domestic science for girls be among the core subjects. It recommended that these schools be adapted to the needs of their several localities, and that technical high schools, stressing applied sciences in the last two years of their course, be organized. Individual abilities, interests and needs were said to be the basic guide in determining studies and school activities.

**The Act of 1944.**—In the midst of war England laid the legal basis for plans of progressive reorganization of education. Generally, the Act of 1944 provides for the doing of some important things which could not be done by the education authorities under the provisions of earlier acts. We can mention here only a few of its many provisions.

Earlier laws divorced county elementary from county secondary education by creating 169 L.E.A.'s whose responsibilities were restricted to elementary education. These sent their pupils to secondary schools provided by other local authorities. There were only 100 local authorities with powers to provide for all stages of education. The Act of 1944 aims to overcome the evils of that old plan by merging many of the non-county authorities with those of the counties, and by providing for district executives in the county councils. This means a reduction in the number of L.E.A.'s and an enlargement of the function of the county authority.

The new law defines compulsory school age as that between five years and fifteen years, and it authorizes the Minister of Education (since 1899, President of the Board of Education) to raise the upper limit to sixteen when that has "become practicable."

Religious education, with which the Board was only negatively concerned, has by the new Act been made compulsory in every county and voluntary school, though parents may secure the exemption of their children from school worship and religious instruction. Religious instruction in county schools must not "be distinctive of any religious denomination." However, if students who have been exempted from it by parental request cannot conveniently find the sectarian instruction of their choice, provision may be made for such

instruction in the school, providing the education authority concerned does not have to bear the cost. Religious instruction in other than the state schools, namely, those aided by the L.E.A.'s, comes under the control of the managers of such schools. Teachers of religion in the aided schools are to be appointed by the L.E.A.'s, but they may be dismissed for incompetence in teaching that subject by the managers of these schools.

The new Act brings the purely independent, proprietary schools under close government supervision. It requires them, with certain exceptions, to register with the Ministry, and imposes fairly heavy penalties for non-compliance with the law. They may be removed from the Register under stipulated conditions, and thus be forbidden to operate.

The voluntary, denominational schools have gained a marked financial advantage under the new law. They may now receive 50 per cent of their expenditure for school buildings out of the taxes, and borrow from the government the additional money they require for building purposes in excess of that grant. The Catholic Church and the Church of England have thus won a victory in this strengthening of the dual system of schools. The Free Churches, long opposed to the dual system, continued their losing struggle to abolish it, but they welcomed the new requirements for religious education.

The Act recognizes three stages of education: (1) *primary*, for pupils under twelve; (2) *secondary*, for pupils over twelve who are of compulsory school age; and (3) *further education*, which is that for all pupils who have passed the compulsory age, whether it be the education provided by schools, or that provided by organized cultural, vocational, or recreational agencies outside of schools.

In the immediate future there will be four types of secondary schools:

1. The senior schools, already established in about 60 per cent of the school districts. These will be the secondary schools of the great majority of British pupils.
2. The traditional provided and non-provided secondary schools.
3. Schools aided by direct grants from the Ministry of Education.
4. Technical and arts schools, on the Ministry's direct grant list but generally supported by the L.E.A.'s.

It seems to be the public intent to regard all of these types as of equal worth. England will probably have, under the Act, grammar schools (types 2 and 3); modern secondary schools (type 1); and technical secondary schools (type 4). There is some evidence that



some L.E.A.'s may establish large all-purpose secondary schools like the American high school. It is more than probable that the reform of the senior schools will be long delayed.

Fees (except for boarding) are abolished in all schools completely maintained by the L.E.A.'s. Fees remain in the very large group of secondary schools outside of this classification. Fees have always been forbidden in senior schools and continuation schools (now called "county colleges"). It is probable that the abolition of fees in the maintained secondary schools of the traditional type will eventually bring an increased enrollment in them and a decline of the non-provided grammar schools.

The most significant change created by the Act is the increase in the powers of the central authority and the reduction in the powers of the L.E.A.'s. The Act creates a national Ministry of Education with powers far exceeding those of the old Board of Education, which it abolishes. The Minister may overrule almost at will very many of the acts of the L.E.A.'s, and the courts may not interfere with his decisions. The best that the L.E.A.'s can hope for is that he will use his powers reasonably. Henceforth they must go to him for approval of the most important policies and functions which formerly they exercised independently. England has now gone the way of the authoritarian world in the control of education. American educators will follow with interest the educational developments under the new Labor government, whose policies have been marked by conservatism to the time of this writing.

**Adult Education.**—English adult education is liberal, or academic. It is not vocational. It has grown up since the early nineteenth century when literacy training was given adults to enable them to read the Bible, and Mechanics Institutes taught workingmen the sciences and politics mostly for liberal ends. University extension non-credit courses were first offered to working adults in 1873. Since 1909, university tutorial credit courses have been offered chiefly to skilled workers, and in this activity the Workers' Educational Association, organized in 1903, has participated with the universities. The Fisher Act asked the L.E.A.'s to provide such education, and they do so in many evening schools, and in vocational and cultural courses open to adults. The L.E.A.'s make grants to universities for the same purpose. The Board of Education authorized both of these practices in 1924, and makes grants to "responsible bodies" offering approved adult courses. In 1938, there were enrolled 56,712 adults in 3,004 approved courses, and 42,331 more in courses not covered by the Board's regulations. In 1940, there were 600 teachers offering

courses under these regulations. The courses are determined by students' interests, and these have centered in economics, political science, sociology, and allied subjects. Art and the physical sciences are not popular.

Other agencies include Women's Institutes, active in villages and rural areas, the Y.M.C.A., Communist Labor Colleges, and hundreds of Listening Groups of the British Broadcasting Company. As compared with its status in *totalitaria*, English adult education is poorly provided.

### Recent Changes in French Education

In 1923, the elementary school curriculum, static since 1887, was revised slightly, but the purpose of elementary education continued to be thought of in terms of the mastery of formal subject matter of which the French "cannot afford to be ignorant," as it was officially stated. As a result, little change took place in the curriculum, methods and disciplinary spirit of the school, and the failures in the leaving examination of elementary schools remained around 20 per cent of those examined.

In 1936, the compulsory school leaving age was raised from thirteen to fourteen, and it was proposed to make the work of the additional year vocational in character.

The most important development since the First World War was the progress made toward the creation of the *école unique*, or unified system. Toward that end, a common curriculum was introduced into the primary schools and the preparatory departments of all secondary schools, and the teachers in all of these were required to possess the same qualifications. In 1933, fees in the secondary schools were abolished. There was also instituted a common scholarship examination for all pupils desiring admission to any post-primary school, and what used to be called "secondary education" came to be described significantly as "education on the secondary level."

Thus, as in England, all pupils up to the age of eleven plus had come to receive the same education, whether they were in primary schools or secondary schools. Those not transferred then to a higher primary, a technical, or a secondary school remained in the elementary school until the end of the compulsory period. France did not make as much progress as England in reforming the work of these upper elementary grades. Admission to higher elementary schools has remained on a competitive basis, while the examination for admission to other schools on the secondary level is a qualifying, not a competitive, one. This condition has kept the enrollment in higher ele-

mentary schools almost stationary, and has increased that in secondary schools proper.

Thus did the *école unique* develop prior to the recent tragedy of France, and thus did France attempt to adapt education to the interest and abilities of students as well as to the needs of individuals and the nation, while she still clung to her faith in "general culture" as the best means of training the intellectual élite who, in the view of republican statesmen and educators, make the best leaders for a nation.

In the building of the *école unique* there was much debate about "general culture" and the value of the old "liberal" studies. Some clung fast to their faith in "disinterested" studies, whose stated goal is the development of mind, intelligence, and intellectual virtues. Others called "general culture" a "beautiful edifice which . . . has disappeared with the sweetness of life."<sup>69</sup> A government commission which studied the *école unique* said, in 1924, that "general culture" is a common culture which ought to be provided by both elementary and secondary schools, and have certain common elements, among them art, manual work, science, history, languages, literature, and philosophy. Yet strong opposition to changing the literary and humanistic character of the secondary schools proper continued chiefly because it was felt that such a change would be a sin against the culture of France, and bring the spiritual decline of a nation "with the longest and most beautiful traditions of intellectuality, the richest literary and artistic past, the most brilliant social life, the most refined cultural taste."<sup>70</sup> While these things were occurring, France was about to enter another tragic epoch in her history.

**Fascism and Fascist Education in France.**—In 1940, the Republic fell before the military might of Nazi Germany, and with it fell the ideals of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, and fraternity. In their place Pétain placed the symbols of Fascist France—fatherland, family, and labor. The spirit of the Republic could not be killed by symbols, and the victory of the United Nations will most probably result in a restoration of the old ideals and way of life, though that way will, doubtless, be changed somewhat by the lesson of defeat.

What happened to education under the régime of Pétain and Laval was foreshadowed by pronouncements of the former in 1934, and of General Weygand in 1937. They declared that France was menaced by her public schools which, they said, did not inculcate patriotism

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.



in youth, and neglected religious, moral, physical, and military discipline. These sentiments were inspired, no doubt, by practice in *totalitaria*. Pétain in a pamphlet, *L'Éducation Nationale*, published after the fall of France, denounced the intellectual emphasis and the individualism of the schools, to which he attributed the woes of the nation. For intellectualism he would substitute work, and for individualism, service to the nation. By manual work, to be stressed in primary schools, he would have Frenchmen rooted in the soil and made useful citizens. Of the *école unique* he said: "The *école unique* was a lie among many others; it was, under the guise of unity, a school of division, of social conflict, of national destruction. We . . . undertake to create for you, for France, the true *école unique*, which . . . will be inspired by a single spirit, which will put all French people in their place. . . ." <sup>71</sup>

Among the actual educational changes which the Pétain government introduced, or was about to introduce, are the following: (1) administrators suspected of hostility were dismissed; (2) the various consultative committees attached to the Ministry were dissolved; (3) the national teachers' association, enrolling nearly all public school teachers, was dissolved, and a new state organization in harmony with new political ideals was being formed; (4) the primary normal schools were abolished; (5) only two types of secondary schools were planned: (a) the higher primary school and (b) the *collège-lycée* type, both leading to the *baccalauréat*, but of which only the latter, predominantly classical, would lead to universities, and thus supply France with its future élite; (6) fees were restored in secondary schools, except for the most worthy; (7) civic instruction, aiming at state-approved virtues, was to be stressed in primary schools; and (8) religious instruction was apparently being restored to the curriculum of the "lay school," and church schools would probably receive state recognition, if not support.

The attack on the normal school was one of the most significant of these reforms. If it should be given a second place, it would be second in importance only to the restoration of ecclesiastical privileges in education. The teachers' association, *Syndicat* as it was named, had been for years an advocate of leftist political reform, but there is no evidence that the members urged their views upon students. The *Syndicat* advocated the *école unique*, the teaching of truth in history, and respect for other nations. It may have made a mistake in affiliating, as does the American Federation of Teachers, with labor and political organizations, but that is a debatable ques-

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1941, 188.

tion of professional policy upon which teachers disagree, although it seems that a large majority in America, and the vast majority in England believe that their influence is increased by remaining aloof from political entanglements. The normal schools were considered the breeding ground of radicals, and were closed. Thereafter, future teachers were to be educated in secondary schools from which, on graduation, they would go to a Pedagogical Academy, a new type of school, for two years of professional training. In that way the Pétain government hoped to destroy the teaching caste, which, recruited mostly from lower classes and reared in social and professional isolation, had lost sight, as was thought, of the unity of France and the well-being of the nation. No one yet can say what the future will bring to France, but it is probable that all Republican institutions and practices will be again restored, and that all of the Fascist educational changes introduced by the Pétain government will be rejected under a restored liberal régime.

**Adult Education in France.**—Adult education was legally authorized in 1886. In 1918, part-time public agricultural four-year courses were authorized, for which the state undertook to pay three-fourths of the teachers' salaries. In 1937, 903 such courses were being taught. They were controlled by the Minister of Agriculture. Free vocational courses were compulsory for youths under eighteen years of age employed in local industries, who had not had adequate vocational preparation. The People's University Movement, organized in 1900 to give workers university education, failed, but its work was being continued under the auspices of the General Confederation of Labor, which organized labor colleges to train labor leaders in politics and social problems. Adult education has not been well provided, and courses have been mostly in the field of general education. About 5 per cent of the adult population, in 1931, was illiterate. What the new government plans to do for adults has not yet become a matter of record.

### Recent Changes in American Education

**Administration.**—By the silence of the Constitution of the nation, education has been, and is, a function of the several states. These in turn have delegated certain broad educational powers to local authorities. The recent tendency has been toward the enlargement of the local unit and the centralization of power in the state. Three states—Michigan, Nevada, and Delaware—have come close to the practice of complete state control by restricting the powers of local authori-

ties. In Delaware, with the exception of certain city districts, the state is the administrative unit, and local authorities are but state supervisors. There is much variety in the types of administrative organization adopted by the several states. While opposition to federal control of education remains strong, conditions during the years of depression, and during the recent national crisis, have brought an increase of federal aid to education, and a consequent increase in federal control. Thus, under the Smith-Hughes Act, national aid depends upon the approval of state programs by the federal board which administers the funds. The national government has long engaged directly in a variety of educational activities, and has participated with the states in other similar activities. Since 1933, it has granted funds to states for such items as teachers' salaries, school buildings, student aid, workers' education, adult education, etc., etc. Emergency activities are likely to become permanent activities. With our entry into the Second World War, the government called upon the schools of the nation for many services, particularly for instruction in practical and military subjects. There was an urgent federal demand for greater emphasis upon science and mathematics as vital to our war effort. Today everything seems to point to an increase in national control of education. Men's actions often bring results which they never intended. It is not unlikely that we ourselves may some day do what we have been wont to condemn in others.

There has been also a steady drift toward increased state support of education, the states' share in the total expenditures for public elementary and secondary education rising from 16.9 per cent, in 1930, to 29.3 per cent, in 1936. The total picture is marked by variety of practices. Thus the state of Colorado contributes practically nothing, while Delaware contributes nearly all the funds needed to operate the school system. Local real estate has carried most of the burden of support, though other sources of revenue have recently been tapped in some states.

**Organization.**—In the national scene we find the 8-4, the 6-3-3, and the 6-6 plans of school organization, the first, and oldest, being still the most frequent. The movement to push secondary education downward has its counterpart in the movement to push elementary education in the same direction. Most larger cities provide kindergartens, and some of them, nursery schools, as a part of their elementary system. On the other hand the movement to extend public education upward for two years to include the junior college promises to continue. *The New York Times* of August 9, 1942, reports Dean James B. Edmondson, of the University of Michigan, as predicting



as "likely" the expansion of public education into a fourteen-grade system in the post-war years. While some cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, have established special vocational high schools, America has clung tenaciously to her unique single-ladder scheme of organization, which keeps students together throughout all the grades, while providing differentiated curricula for them within the high school.

**Enrollment.**—Because of restrictions placed upon immigration, and of a declining birth rate, there has been a decrease, since 1930, of about 2 per cent in the number of children enrolled in kindergartens and elementary schools. The effect of the change in population has not yet been felt in secondary schools, and in these the enrollment, in keeping with the trend for many decades, continued to increase. Not only has the number of students in secondary schools about doubled during every decade since 1890, but the percentage of students of secondary school age in those schools has jumped from about ten, in 1905, to about 60, in 1935. While the holding power of the secondary school has increased, there has been a steady elimination of students at the end of each of the four years. About two-thirds of those who enter in the ninth year remain to graduate. The percentage of the graduates who have gone to college has decreased by about 12 per cent since 1920. That decrease has been due to an increase of non-academic types of students in the schools, to the rise of the junior college, and to economic conditions during the depression years.

**Curriculum and Method.**—Most state departments of education provide a suggestive general curriculum as a guide for local supervisors and teachers. California, where each county makes its curriculum; Connecticut, which permits each locality to plan its program; and some states, which merely issue suggestive bulletins, are exceptions to the general rule. The American scene is marked by great variety in the procedures of making the curriculum. Quite commonly teachers, supervisors and experts coöperate in the work, and keep revising from time to time what they have done. In a few areas, the revolt against formal methods and formal subject matter, which antedates in its origin even the *Emile*, and to which Dewey and, still more, his interpreters in the progressive school movement have contributed, has resulted in an abandonment of traditional subject organization, and the building of integrated units drawn from the field of life activities. Where the old subject-matter organization remains, many teachers have attempted to vitalize it by destroying the formalism which marked the earlier method of teaching it. The activity

movement has been slowly influencing the work of our schools. The integrated unit plan of curricular organization is illustrated, for instance, in suggestions issued by the Kansas State Department of Education, in 1937. Among the nearly fifty suggested units, we find (1) protecting life from accidents, (2) improving industrial relations, (3) making gasoline substitutes from farm products, (4) protecting health in the home, (5) selecting proper clothing, (6) using the telephone, radio, etc., effectively, (7) preventing fire losses, (8) evaluating movies, (9) choosing a mate wisely, and (10) getting a job. The unit being studied, it is said, ought to be learned through a suitable form of activity. Advocates of vitalized programs want them adopted throughout all the schools.

The desire for integrated units and activities led to the general introduction, into secondary schools particularly, of such studies as "general mathematics" and "general science"; and now comes the movement for a "general education," organized around activities and without any subject-matter divisions. The problems of the individual as related to society ought, it is said, to be made the unifying basis of the whole unified school program, which must be made vital for students through the activity method. Such an approach to the problem tends to place perhaps too much emphasis upon the present scene, though with proper planning that might be avoided. The objectives of the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education (1918), recently reexamined under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education, have been again approved substantially as they were first stated. Differentiated programs in the comprehensive high schools are suggested as the proper way to their attainment.<sup>72</sup>

We still cling in theory to our faith in the dignity of man, the sacredness of human personality, and the supreme worth of the individual, while we recognize as essential the individual's sense of responsibility to his society founded upon these ideals. In the interest of the social need which we call equality, we restrict the liberty of the individual where its exercise is opposed to the common good. Our educational thinking in the present century has been marked by an effort to reconcile the logically irreconcilable notions of freedom and equality, to effect a compromise between the needs of the individual and the needs of society, while preserving the essence of our faith in individualism. In our groping to attain our ideals, there has been indecision and controversy among leading educators not only regarding curriculum and method but also regarding goals, a question which

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<sup>72</sup> H. R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1937.

touches the very foundation of all educational procedures. The variety in our practices may be seen in the fact that the National Survey of Secondary Education in 1932 (issued by the U. S. Office of Education), reported 419 different courses of study offered in the high schools of 148 cities.

Through all this variety runs a common emphasis upon citizenship training, though many are the ways to the attainment of that goal. Here as in all other school activities, including the extra-curricular ones (now arrived at great prominence), the positive, functional character of subject matter and method is receiving increasing emphasis. We, too, subscribe to the close-to-life philosophy of education, as we conceive life and its problems.

The emphasis on "character education" has also increased in recent years. Some states have required courses in it, while others have courses, though not required. Most of the states either provide for it indirectly through other school activities, or, having no definite plan, hope that school experience will incidentally provide it. Unlike the totalitarian states, we have not formulated a national conception of ideal character, though, no doubt, a high degree of unanimity exists regarding basic, desirable character traits. While exceptions exist to many generalizations in the social field, we can say that, generally throughout history, character ideals have been relative to different social systems and philosophies of life. The required courses of some of our states emphasize, among other things, such items as morality, good manners, honesty, obedience to law, understanding the dignity of labor, respect for the flag and the Constitution, and respect for the Bible and the Christian moral tradition.<sup>73</sup>

The First World War led to an increasing emphasis upon health and physical education, because we then discovered that many young men were physically unfit for military service. It is impossible to state the relative weight of the motives back of the growing concern for the health of the nation. Different interests are actuated by different motives. However, happiness and the fullness of life for the individual, vocational and social efficiency, and national strength were, doubtless, all at work in intensifying our awareness of the importance of the health and strength of our youth. Yet many gaps remain to be filled in our health program. According to a recent report of the United States Office of Education it appears that only 10 per cent of college and secondary school students have studied hygiene.

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<sup>73</sup> H. L. Smith, *et al.*, *Character Development through Religious and Moral Education in the Public Schools of the United States*, School of Education, Indiana University Bulletin No. 3, 1937, 27-32.



Recreational physical activities are still but poorly provided for in our communities. The middle class particularly suffers from a lack of medical care. The schools have gradually introduced courses in hygiene and physical education, and have woven into some science and home economics courses instruction in matters of health. Giving instruction regarding social and, in some communities, occupational diseases seems still to demand much prudence in the teacher.

In recent years "Safety Education" has been given a prominent place in thought and practice. In November, 1938, the National Education Association published in its bulletin an article on the subject, *Safety Education through Schools*. It is estimated that accidents cost the nation nearly \$4,000,000,000 yearly. To that we usually add the tragedy of suffering and the loss of life. Many agencies such as automobile clubs and insurance companies have promoted the movement, and many schools are giving systematic or incidental instruction in it. Some universities, such as New York University, are training teachers of the subject. While accidents among school children have steadily decreased in the past two decades, it is too soon to appraise the value of formal school instruction in the ways of safety.

**Adult Education.**—We have come through lyceums, workers' institutes, mechanics' institutes, Chautauquas, and other movements to a great national program of adult education, which reaches about 28,000,000 persons yearly at the present time. They are reached through many channels such as agricultural extension courses, private correspondence schools, radio programs, public schools, forums, museums, etc. The national government, public schools, public libraries, many universities, and many private agencies provide the instruction. Correcting educational and vocational deficiencies, providing cultural enrichment and an understanding of the economic, social, and political problems of the modern world are among the goals of the adult program. The students represent a cross section of American social life, and the teachers are frequently college-trained men and women.

### The Nationalistic Spirit in American Education

The faults that we see in the educational practices of other nations we often fail to discern in our own. The nationalistic spirit found its way into American schools as it did into those of European nations, and there is an abundance of evidence showing the intensification of that spirit in America since the First World War. With a few excep-

tions, our history textbooks depict the nation as sinless in its dealings with other nations. The policies and actions of Spain, England, France and other countries toward us are often described in such ways as to create contempt, if not hatred, of their governments and people. The stories, for instance, of the Revolution often depict the British and their soldiers ("redcoats" they are sometimes called) as "cruel," "greedy," "cowardly," "stubborn," "selfish," etc.; while our troops are described as "brave," "unselfish," "just," "hard-fighting," "straight-shooting," etc. Our "noble victories" were "remarkable feats." At Breeds Hill, one textbook says:

On came the British. All was silent behind the breastworks. A thousand eyes were sighting the barrels, each with its man picked out. A thousand fingers pressed the firelocks ready to pull at the word. The courage shown was wonderful. Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes, said the American commander.

The word was given, "Fire!" . . . Outside, lay the harvest rows of death. . . .<sup>74</sup>

Textbooks in civics, sociology, economics, political science, and "problems of democracy" are often permeated by the same spirit. The Constitution is described as the "most precious document" in the world, and American citizenship as the greatest of all privileges.<sup>75</sup> Anyone who desires a fairly complete picture of the spirit of nationalism in our schools ought to read such works as Bessie L. Pierce's *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*; C. E. Merriam's *Civic Education in the United States*; and Howard K. Beale's *Are American Teachers Free?* An examination of such books on England and France as John M. Gaus' *Great Britain*, and C. J. Hayes' *France a Nation of Patriots* will reveal that, in the democracies, as in *totalitaria*, the spirit of nationalism has been systematically cultivated both in and outside of schools. The problems of civic education and education for international understanding must be faced courageously by statesmen and educators in the world of tomorrow. It is perhaps the most urgent of all educational problems.

### Educational Unrest in the Age of Uncertainty

The social and intellectual changes of the past five centuries, and particularly the startling changes that have come since the First World War, have brought doubt and unrest into educational thought

<sup>74</sup> Cited in B. Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, University of Chicago Press, 1930, 25-26.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 140 ff.

in the liberal nations. The totalitarian states settled the issues. We have not. The struggle among liberal theorists, which has centered in the United States, is largely a reflection of the social and political struggles of the modern world, and of realizations and, sometimes, anxieties created by change in a rapidly changing civilization. Men's conceptions of educational values are, no doubt, colored by some philosophy, such as idealism or pragmatism, each of which has its social implications. The educational theorist cannot reasonably ignore the problem of the suitability of his theory of knowledge to the needs of his society. Perhaps social suitability ought to be the test of the value of any philosophy. What philosophy best meets the needs of liberal, dynamic societies? Each school of philosophy in America attempts to reconcile its position with the needs of our social life, and usually claims for it preëminent utility in that respect. To effect such a reconciliation often calls for an advocacy of some way of democratic living deemed desirable by the philosopher.

How can the school serve our social order best? That is the question at issue in the battle of our modern theorists, and their answers to it are colored by a variety of philosophical and social preconceptions and experiences and, at times, by differences in psychological conceptions.

Among the important educational questions upon which contradictory or divergent views have been urged are those of (1) the nature and meaning of education, (2) educational goals, (3) curriculum, (4) method and discipline, (5) administration, and (6) tests and measurements. The views expressed run through many positions from that of marked conservatism to that of extreme progressivism. There is perhaps none who would advocate a return to the extreme authoritarianism of the schools of our distant forefathers, but there are still many theorists and teachers who defend the doctrine of the existence of "eternal verities," of theological, philosophical, social, and ethical "truths," and of the need for fixed ways of individual thought and behavior, which must be imposed upon the child by a method more effective than that of the rod. And there are those for whom education means growth for the sake of further growth of the natural capacities and personality of the child, and who oppose all authoritarianism and all moulding of the thoughts and habits of the individual in conformity with any preconceived pattern. Some would indoctrinate the child in the principles of the rugged individualism of laissez-faire days. Others would indoctrinate him in the principles of a collectivistic society which they see emerging. And still others oppose all indoctrination, and ask that we teach him not what to think



but how to think intelligently about the changing world, so that he may participate sanely in directing that change and in adjusting himself to it.

While all the spiritual aspects of education have been involved in the controversy, that of the curriculum has loomed largest in the debate. Ultra-progressives would break with the past in every way. For them, the curriculum would be rooted entirely in the realities of the present and would look to the needs of the individual in the kind of future into which, it is supposed, he is about to enter. That curriculum would grow out of the pupils' "interests," impulses and experience, and would consist of "activities" and "projects" leading to a "reconstruction of experience." These progressives take their stand upon Dewey's principle of "education of, by, and for experience," but some of their views and practices embody a misinterpretation of Dewey's position. In his *Experience and Education*, Dewey makes it clear that he does not consider all experiences and activities educative. For him some experiences are mis-educative, and all pupil activities ought to be purposeful and intelligent activities. He rejects that brand of progressive education which identifies impulse with purpose, which, he says, ought to be rooted in careful observation, broad information and sound judgment. Dewey's teacher must direct the educative process, and ought to be chiefly responsible for the selection and organization of the subject matter of instruction. Yet, he would not have the child's education follow the path of traditional subject matter. Nor do his "activities" exclude intellectual subject matter. For him growth is intellectual as well as physical and moral. In his adverse criticism of certain views and practices of the ultra-progressive school, he is joined by Bode and other moderate progressives.

Far to the right even of the moderate progressives on the question of the curriculum, as well as of some other issues, stand the "essentialists" led by such educators as Professors Bagley and Kandel of Teachers College, Columbia University. They denounce the emphasis by the progressives upon such principles as "freedom," "interest," "personal-experience," "pupil initiative" and "immediate needs" as guides to educational procedures. While they look upon "effort," "discipline," and "remote goals" as among the "essentials" of a sound educational process, they advocate vigorously the restoration or retention of a curriculum of organized subject matter in which solid studies, "race-experience" and the wisdom of ages shall be presented, not incidentally in connection with pupil experience but systematically. And they condemn the increasing emphasis upon the "social

studies" and the preoccupation of progressive schools with modern social problems.

The debate between these two groups has attracted the attention of the laity, among whom the social conservatives have been the most vociferous. These have professed, often over national hook-ups, their devotion to the old educational fundamentals, and have protested against the exposure of students, particularly in elementary and secondary schools, to controversial modern questions.

In the list of selected readings following this chapter the student will find some of the many sources of information on various aspects of the problem of education in a democratic civilization now in a process of rapid change, and on the divergent views of our educators as to the rôle which the school must play if it will preserve and improve our civilization.

The past war has increased the alarm of the educational fundamentalists about the dangers of educational modernism. And certain progressives have shown a willingness to retreat from some of the advanced positions which they once defended. The future is as uncertain as the present. Free minds, however, will keep on exploring, and the survival of democracy will mean that the debate of the schoolmen will be continued. In that direction lies the better school and the better world.

Authoritarian ideologies are not likely to disappear with the victory of the United Nations. The advocates of liberal ideals have, however, been urging their own cause with vigor during the war years. There met, for instance, at Hood College, Maryland, in 1944, the International Education Assembly. Among other things, the Assembly formulated the following nine principles of education for a free society, which represent the ideals of many educators in the liberal world.

- "1. Education develops free men and women. . . .
2. Every one should be educated. . . .
3. Opportunities for advanced and adult education should be ample and justly distributed. . . .
4. Modern tools of communication should be fully and freely used for popular enlightenment. . . .
5. There should be complete freedom to learn. . . .
6. Education should enrich human personality. . . .
7. Education should develop economic competence. . . .
8. Education is concerned with the development of character. . . .

9. Education should develop civic responsibility and international understanding. . . ."<sup>76</sup>

In the elaboration of these principles the Assembly stated at some length what it deemed to be the essential characteristics of a free society and of the education which such a society should provide. The following brief extracts will reveal the mind of the Assembly upon some basic issues.

The aims of education and the values held by the community are reciprocal. No society can, or will, teach freedom unless it puts freedom into practice; no society can practice freedom unless it learns what freedom is. . . .

A free society is a self-governing society which recognizes the equality of all human beings, regardless of race, color, creed, sex, or economic circumstance. . . .

Social, economic, and political institutions can either create freedom or destroy it. Hence, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage and petition, freedom of private and public discussion of all matters of public policy, are maintained, especially as applied to teaching and learning.

The social institutions of a free society are not ends in themselves. The State, for example, is a useful institution; but it has no self-sufficient reason for existence except that derived from its service to the individual men and women who compose it. . . . Man was not made for institutions, however venerable or wholesome these institutions may be. Men make institutions to serve their own needs. No institutional symbolism should be superior to the people who created it. The freedom, welfare, and happiness of men and women are the points of reference from which social values are measured.<sup>77</sup>

No social institution, whether state or church or school, is big enough or good enough to tell any man what he must think. These institutions can advise, they can organize knowledge, they can teach, they can inspire and lead, but in a free society they can only ask for intellectual approval of what they teach. . . .

Freedom to learn and to teach is an absolutely indispensable element of education for a free society. To any threat to impair the freedom of learning, teaching, and thinking, free men and a free society can offer no appeasement, no compromise.<sup>78</sup>

Thus have men spoken from time to time since the days of Socrates.

<sup>76</sup> *Education for a Free Society*, 8 ff. Distributed by *The School Executive*, New York.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9,

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20,



## FOR FURTHER STUDY

Discuss the following statements, indicating whether they are true or false, or partly true and partly false, giving all the facts you can to support your position:

1. History of education reveals that education has always been the servant, not the master, of society. To that rule there has never been an exception.

2. Nazi education has been but the normal, logical culmination of tendencies that can be traced back with certainty to the Reformation.

3. Because we have no formulated political philosophy in America, we can have no educational philosophy.

4. The basic weakness of education in democracies is that, having no defined political ideals, they have no definite educational goals to guide their schools and teachers.

5. Because one cannot shoot an ideology, the war will not bring an end to Nazi-Fascist ideals, and re-education of German and Italian youth by their conquerors will but strengthen their devotion to their ideology.

6. American educational values have long been similar to those of the Nazis and have apparently been placed by our educators in the same order of importance.

7. For our own preservation as a nation, we ought to create a Department of Education in the national government, headed by a Secretary of Education legally endowed with supreme authority over all phases and aspects of education.

8. Compulsory military training has never saved any nation, and has weakened nations by arousing suspicion and fear in their neighbors. It is better for a nation to prosper by the respect and good will of its neighbors rather than by their fear.

9. Minorities everywhere ought to be accorded the same educational opportunities as those enjoyed by majorities. In that matter, Russia has shown us the way, and we ought to follow her lead.

10. No nation can put its destiny into the hands of private school-masters.

11. To compel teachers to do their duty to the state, all examinations ought to be controlled by the government.

12. It would be better to have representative government control the curriculum and methods of schools than to have them determined by pressure groups in local school systems.

13. National culture ought to constitute the bulk of the curriculum in the schools even of democratic societies.

14. Our great neglect of foreign languages in education is a proof of our own intense nationalism. Commercial and political expediency, not

a desire for better cultural relations, has been our motive for teaching foreign languages.

15. In America, leaders will emerge, as in the past, by their own natural gifts. It is undemocratic and socially dangerous to provide special educational opportunities for leaders, because that practice would destroy equality of educational opportunity and open the door to an obnoxious form of favoritism.

16. The polytechnization of education in Russia is a practice that seems to be adaptable to the needs of the United States.

17. Because of its political and educational value in totalitarian societies, a Youth Movement ought to be organized in the United States.

18. Our preoccupation with pedagogy and psychology in training teachers in the United States indicates that we are losing sight of our most important goal, the making of citizens, to which these sciences can contribute but little.

19. It is imperative that England and the United States give great attention in the future to a program of political adult education.

20. With the experience of ages to guide us, we ought to know the answers to the questions, "What shall we teach?" and "How shall we teach it?"

21. We are living in a rapidly changing civilization, and as always in the past, our schools are not keeping abreast of social change.

22. The democracies ought to stress the political education of their citizens, as the totalitarian states have been doing in regard to their citizens.

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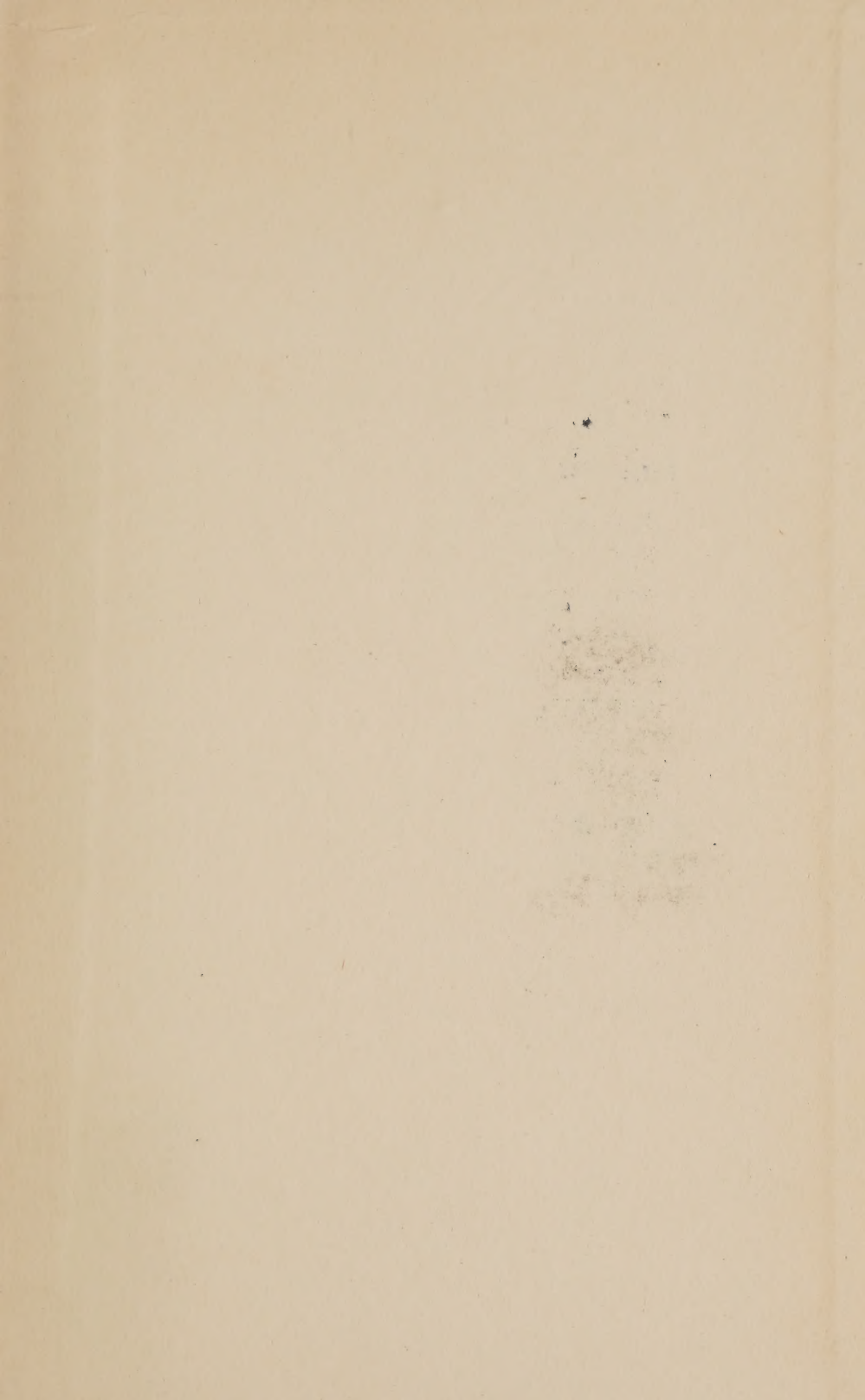




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